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ANNESLEY, ALEXANDER (*d.* 1813), legal and political writer, was a London solicitor and member of the Inner Temple. After many years' practice, by which he acquired a large fortune, he retired to Hyde Hall, Hertfordshire, and died there on 6 Dec. 1813. Annesley was a man of many accomplishments, paid repeated visits to the continent, and was an enthusiastic sportsman. In politics he followed Pitt. His works, which evince wide historical reading, are: 1. 'Strictures on the true Cause of the present alarming Scarcity of Grain and Provisions, and a Plan for permanent Relief,' 1800. The pamphlet was dedicated to Pitt, and attempted to trace the cause of the high prices of the time to 'the rage for accumulating wealth' which led the merchants to raise prices by arbitrarily restricting production. To meet the evil, Annesley proposed 'bounties on production rather than on importation, an excise on all grain, the establishment of public granaries and additional corn-mills.' He justly protested in behalf of the poor against the methods employed in enclosing common lands, and advocated a system of peasant proprietorship by colonising the common lands with superannuated soldiers and sailors, beginning as an experiment with the New Forest. 2. 'Observations on the Danger of a Premature Peace,' 1800. 3. 'A Compendium of the Law of Marine Insurance, Bottomry, Insurance on Lives, and of Insurance against Fire, in which the mode of calculating averages is defined and illustrated by example,' 1808. A brief history of English commerce and navigation forms the introduction to the treatise, and very full references are given to the leading law cases bearing on the subject. It is dedicated to John Julius Angerstein. Testimony to the usefulness of the book at the present time is borne by Mr. Cornelius Walford in his 'Insurance Cyclopædia' (i. 96) published in 1871. Annesley contributed largely to Tomlin's 'Law Dictionary,' and to the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia.'

[Gent. Mag. lxx. 1270, lxxi. 58, lxxviii. 419–24, lxxxiv. 94, where a memoir may be found; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Annesley's Works.] S. L. L.

ANNESLEY, ARTHUR, first Earl of Anglesey (1614–1686), was born at Dublin on 10 July 1614. His father, Sir Francis Annesley [q.v.], better known as the Lord Mountnorris of Strafford's rule in Ireland, had held high office under James I and Charles I for forty years. His mother's name was Dorothy Phillips. In 1624 he was sent to England, and in 1630 to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1634 (Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* iv. 181, and *Happy Future State of England*, p. 3). In the same year he joined Lincoln's Inn. Having made the grand tour, he returned to Ireland in 1640. It is stated (Collins's *Peerage*; *Biographia Britannica*) that he was then elected for Radnor county, but that he at once lost his seat upon petition, and that Charles Price, Esq., was elected in his place. This is a mistake. No such vote occurs in the Commons' Journals. Moreover it appears (*Parl. Hist.* ii. 629) that Charles Price was the first member elected, but that he was disabled, and that Annesley succeeded him, though it is uncertain when; and his admirer, Sir W. Pett, says nothing about his being a member until 1647 (*Happy Future State of England*, p. 5). It is affirmed also that Annesley sat in the king's parliament at Oxford in 1643. Not only, however, does his name not occur in the list, but that of Charles Price does (*Parl. Hist.* iii. 219). These mistakes have doubtless arisen from a careless misreading of the passage in

Wood's 'Athenæ' (iv. 182, ed. Bliss), from which the former notices have evidently been copied. Annesley's first public employment was in 1645. It seemed probable that Ormond would succeed in establishing a cordial union with the Scotch forces under Monroe in Ulster. To defeat this, Annesley (selected no doubt for his knowledge of Irish affairs) and two others were sent over with a commission under the great seal. Their duty was fulfilled ably and with entire success (Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 79, 100). In February 1647 Ormond, who was with difficulty holding Dublin against the Irish, reluctantly applied to the parliament for help, and Annesley was placed at the head of a second commission to conclude the matter (Carte's *Ormond*, iii. 168, 305). By the 19th all was settled, and Dublin handed over to the parliament. Annesley appears to have identified himself with the parliamentary as opposed to the republican party, and, according to Heath's 'Chronicle' (p. 420), was one of the members secluded in 1648. This appears confirmed by his letter to Lenthall printed in 'England's Confusion' (note to p. 182 of vol. iv. of Wood's *Athenæ*). His name, however, does not appear on the list in the parliamentary history taken from the well-known 'Vindication.' In Richard Cromwell's parliament of 1658 he sat for the city of Dublin, and endeavoured, with some others of the secluded members, to gain admittance into the Rump parliament when restored by the officers in 1659 (Heath, p. 420). For the statement (*Biog. Brit.*) that he was concerned in Booth's abortive rising there seems no authority; but he was certainly in the confidence of the royalist party, though a professed friend to the presbyterians (Reid, ii. 335), for he held a blank commission from Charles II, with Grenville, Peyton, Mordaunt, and Legge, to treat, on the basis of a free pardon, with any of his majesty's subjects who had borne arms against his father except the regicides (Collins's *Peerage*). In February 1660 he was chosen president of the council of state. In the Convention parliament he sat for Carmarthen town (*Parl. Hist.* iv. 8). On 1 May he reported from the council to parliament an unopened letter from the king to Monk, and he was on the committee for preparing an answer to that sent direct to the house. On the same day he took part in the conference with the lords on 'the settlement of the government of these nations.' On 1 June he was sworn of the privy council, and on 4 June was placed on the commission for tendering the oaths of supremacy and allegiance (Carte's *Ormond*, iv. 1). It was now that Annesley and men of his moderate and practical views played a useful part. To them it was chiefly due that the lords were checked in their desires for revenge, and that the restoration was wellnigh bloodless. In the trials of the regicides and in the debates on the Act of Indemnity, Annesley was throughout on the side of lenity; and he advised the carrying out of the king's declaration in its integrity. It was largely owing to him that Hazelrig's life was spared. At the same time he made himself useful to the court by securing on 10 Aug. the passing of a money bill before the act of grace, and again on 12 Sept. by helping successfully to oppose the motion that the king should be requested to marry, and to marry a protestant. In November, probably in the court interest, he moved that the question of passing the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs into a law should be referred to a committee of the whole house. At the abolition of the court of wards he strenuously but vainly resisted, on the ground of its injustice, the proposal made in the interests of the landed gentry to lay the burden on the excise. In the settlement of Ireland his services were often called for and liberally rewarded. In August 1660 he received his father's office of vice-treasurer and receiver-general for Ireland, which he held until July 1667, when he exchanged it with Sir G. Carteret for the treasurership of the navy (Carte's *Ormond*, iv. 340; Pepys, 26 June 1667), and on 6 Feb. 1660-1 he received a captaincy of horse. On 9 March 1660-1 he was placed on the commission for executing the king's declaration for the settlement of Ireland, and in June on the permanent committee of council for Irish affairs. By the death of his father in November 1660, he became Viscount Valentia, and on 20 April 1661 he was made an English peer by the title of Lord Annesley of Newport-Pagnell in Bucks, and Earl of Anglesey. On 21 July 1663, Anglesey appeared as the sole signer of a protest against the bill for the encouragement of trade on grounds which show how little such questions were then understood, while in 1666, on the other hand, he strongly opposed the bill for prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle (*Parl. Hist.* iv. 284; and Carte's *Ormond*, iv. 234). In 1667 he was threatened with an examination of his accounts if he refused to assist in Buckingham's attack on Ormond; and such an examination actually took place in 1668, but no charge could be sustained. He was, however, temporarily suspended from his office of treasurer to the navy (Carte, iv. 330, 340;

Pepys, 8 Dec. 1667, and 29 and 31 Oct., and 5, 11, and 14 Nov. 1668). During 1671 and 1672 Anglesey was employed continuously upon commissions appointed to inquire into the working of the acts of settlement; and in 1671 he also took the leading part in the conference between the houses regarding the lords' right to alter money bills, and wrote an acute and learned comment thereupon. On 22 April 1672 his services were rewarded with the office of lord privy seal, and in 1679 he was placed on the newly modelled privy council, which was framed at Temple's instance. When the popish terror began, Anglesey showed independence of character; he is recorded as the only peer who dissented from the vote declaring the existence of an Irish plot; and, according to his own testimony, he interceded for Langhorne, Plunket, and Strafford, though convinced of the guilt of the last (*Happy Future State*, p. 205; Sir W. Pett, *Memoirs of Anglesea*, pp. 8, 9). This line of action brought upon him, on 20 Oct. 1680, an accusation by Dangerfield, and he was attacked by Sir William Jones, attorney-general, in the House of Commons (*Happy Future State*, p. 267; Dangerfield, *Narration*). In 1681 Anglesea published 'A Letter from a Person of Honour in the Country,' containing his 'Animadversions' upon some memoirs regarding Irish affairs written by the Earl of Castlehaven. There were in this letter passages which seemed to reflect on Charles I; Ormond was called upon to answer it, and on 9 Aug. 1682 Anglesey was dismissed from his lucrative post of privy seal. His loss of office was doubtless hastened by another paper addressed to the king, entitled 'The Account of Arthur, Earl of Anglesea, to your most excellent Majesty, of the true State of your Majesty's Government and Kingdom.' This was dated 27 April 1682, immediately after the dissolution of Charles's last parliament. The boldness of the tone of remonstrance, and the vehemence with which the attack on James was supported at such a time, are remarkable. Upon his dismissal he retired to his seat of Blechingdon in Oxfordshire, and took no further part in public affairs, except by voting in a minority of two, in 1685, against the reversal of Lord Strafford's attainder, for whose condemnation he had voted, though pleading afterwards for his pardon (Sir W. Pett, *Memoirs*, p. 10). He died of quinsy on 26 April 1686.

Anglesey was undoubtedly a most useful official during his unbroken service of twenty years (Pepys, *passim*), laborious, skilful, cautious, moderate, and apparently, on the whole, honest and independent in action, a sound lawyer, with a high reputation for scholarship, research, and the use of a 'smooth, sharp, and keen pen' (*Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 784). But there is no reason whatever for regarding him as a great man. His care for his own interests was constant and successful. Besides the profits of his various offices he secured large sums and grants from Ireland. Thus, in 1661, he had a grant of the forfeited estates of the regicides Ludlow and Jones, as well as other spoil; on 10 March 1665–6 he received a pension of 600*l.* a year; on 24 March in the following year 500*l.*; on 10 Oct. 5,000*l.* out of forfeited lands, as well as many grants, both of lands and money, under the acts of settlement, at various times.

Anglesey is noted as perhaps the first peer who devoted time and money to the formation of a great library. The sale of this library at his death is remembered because among the books was a copy of the 'Eikon Basilike,' which contained a memorandum, presumably by himself, though this is warmly disputed (*Biog. Britan.*), to the effect that the writer had been told both by Charles II and James II that the 'Eikon Basilike' had been composed not by Charles I but by Bishop Gauden.

In addition to the works mentioned, Anglesey wrote: 1. 'The History of the late Commotions and Troubles in Ireland,' from the Rebellion of 1641 to the Restoration, the manuscript of which was unfortunately lost. 2. 'True Account of the whole Proceedings betwixt his Grace the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Anglesea.' 3. 'The King's Right of Indulgence in Spiritual Matters asserted.' 4. 'Truth Unveiled.' 5. 'Reflections on a Discourse concerning Transubstantiation.'

[Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), iv. 18; Biographia Britannica; and other authorities quoted above.]

O. A.

ANNESLEY, FRANCIS, Baron Mountnorris and Viscount Valentia (1585–1660), descended from the ancient family of Annesley of Annesley, Nottinghamshire, was the son of Thomas Annesley, high constable of Newport, Buckinghamshire, and was baptised 2 Jan. 1585–6. As early as 1606 he had left England to reside at Dublin, and he took advantage of the frequent distributions of Irish land made to English colonists in the early part of the seventeenth century to acquire estates in various parts of Ireland. With Sir Arthur Chichester, who became lord deputy in 1604, he lived on terms of intimacy, and several small offices of state, with a pension granted 5 Nov. 1607, were

bestowed on him in his youthful days. In the colonisation of Ulster, which began in 1608, Annesley played a leading part, and secured some of the spoils. In October 1609 he was charged with the conveyance of Sir Neil O'Donnell and other Ulster rebels to England for trial. On 13 March 1611–12 James I wrote to the lord deputy confirming his grant of the fort and land of Mountnorris to Annesley 'in consideration of the good opinion he has conceived of the said Francis from Sir Arthur's report of him.' On 26 May 1612 Annesley was granted a reversion to the clerkship of the 'Checque of the Armies and Garrisons,' to which he succeeded 9 Dec. 1625. In 1613 county Armagh returned Annesley to the Irish parliament, and he supported the protestants there in their quarrels with the catholics. On 16 July 1616 the king knighted him at Theobalds; in 1618 he became principal secretary of state for Ireland; on 5 Aug. 1620 received from the king an Irish baronetcy; and on 11 March 1620–1 received a reversionary grant to the viscounty of Valentia, which had recently been conferred on Sir Henry Power, a kinsman of Annesley, without direct heir. In 1622 Lord Falkland became lord deputy of Ireland, and Sir Francis sympathised very little with his efforts to make the authority of his office effective throughout Ireland. Dissensions between him and Falkland in the council chamber were constant, and in March 1625 the lord deputy wrote to Conway, the English secretary of state, that a minority of the councillors, 'amongst whom Sir Francis Annesley is not least violent nor the least impertinent,' was thwarting him in every direction. But Annesley's friends at the English court contrived his promotion two months later to the important post of vice-treasurer and receiver-general of Ireland, which gave him full control of Irish finance (Rymer's *Fœdera* (2nd edition), xviii. 148), and in 1628 Charles I raised him to the Irish peerage as Baron Mountnorris of Mountnorris. In October of the same year an opportunity was given Annesley, of which he readily took advantage, to make Falkland's continuance in Ireland impossible. He was nominated on a committee of the Irish privy council appointed to investigate charges of injustice preferred against Falkland by an Irish sept named Byrne, holding land in Wicklow. The committee, relying on the testimony of corrupt witnesses, condemned Falkland's treatment of the Byrnes, and Falkland was necessarily recalled on 10 Aug. 1629. On 13 June 1632 the additional office of 'treasurer at wars' was conferred on Mountnorris.

In 1633 Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, became lord deputy, and Lord Mountnorris soon discovered that he was determined to insist on the rights of his office more emphatically than Falkland. Wentworth disliked Mountnorris from the first as a gay liver, and as having been long guilty, according to popular report, of corruption in the conduct of official duties. In May 1634 Wentworth obtained an order from the English privy council forbidding his practice of taking percentages on the revenue to which he was not lawfully entitled; this order Mountnorris refused to obey. Fresh charges of malversation were brought against him in 1635, and, after threatening to resign office, he announced that all intercourse between the lord deputy and himself was at an end, and that he should leave his case with the king. Mountnorris's relatives took up the quarrel. A younger brother insulted Wentworth at a review, and another kinsman dropped a stool in Dublin castle on Wentworth's gouty foot. At a dinner (8 April 1635) at the house of the lord chancellor, one of his supporters, Mountnorris boasted of this last act as probably done in revenge of the lord deputy's conduct towards himself; he referred to his brother as being unwilling to take 'such a revenge,' and was understood to imply that some further insult to Wentworth was contemplated. Wentworth was now resolved to crush Mountnorris, and on 31 July following obtained the consent of Charles I to inquire formally into the vice-treasurer's alleged malversation and to bring him before a court-martial for the words spoken at the dinner in April. At the end of November a committee of the Irish privy council undertook the first duty, and on 12 Dec. Mountnorris was brought before a council of war at Dublin castle and charged, as an officer in the army, with having spoken words disrespectful to his commander and likely to breed mutiny, an offence legally punishable by death. Wentworth appeared as suitor for justice; after he had stated his case, and counsel had been refused Mountnorris, the court briefly deliberated in Wentworth's presence, and pronounced sentence of death. The lord deputy informed Mountnorris that he would appeal to the king against the sentence, and added: 'I would rather lose my head than you should lose your head.' In England the sentence was condemned on all hands; in letters to friends, Wentworth attempted to justify it in the cause of discipline, and even at his trial he spoke of it as in no way reflecting upon himself. The only real justification for Wentworth's conduct, however, lies in the fact that he had obviously no desire to see the sentence exe-

cuted; he felt it necessary, as he confessed two years later, to remove Mountnorris from office, and this was the most effective means he could take. Hume attempts to extenuate Strafford's conduct, but Hallam condemns the vindictive bitterness he here exhibited in strong terms; and although Mr. S. R. Gardiner has shown that law was technically on Wentworth's side, and his intention was merely to terrify Mountnorris, Hallam's verdict seems substantially just. In the result Mountnorris, after three days' imprisonment, was promised his freedom if he would admit the justice of the sentence, but this he refused to do. On the report of the privy council's committee of inquiry he was stripped of all his offices, but on 13 Feb. 1635–6 a petition to Strafford from Lady Mountnorris, which was never answered, proves that he was still in prison. Later in the year Lady Mountnorris petitioned the king to permit her husband to return to England, and the request was granted.

The rest of Mountnorris's life was passed in attempts to regain his lost offices. On 11 May 1641 he wrote to Strafford enumerating the wrongs he had done him, and desiring, in behalf of wife and children, a reconciliation with himself, and his aid in regaining the king's favour. But other agencies had already been set at work in his behalf. A committee of the Long parliament had begun at the close of 1640 to examine his relations with Strafford, and on 9 Sept. 1641 a vote of the commons declared his sentence, imprisonment, and deprivations unjust and illegal. The declaration was sent up to the lords, who made several orders between October and December 1641 for the attendance before them of witnesses to enable them to judge the questions at issue; but their final decision is not recorded in their journals. In 1642 Mountnorris succeeded to the viscounty of Valentia on Sir Henry Power's death. In 1643 the House of Commons granted him permission, after much delay, to go to Duncannon in Ireland. In 1646 he was for some time in London, but he lived, when not in Ireland, on an estate near his birth-place, at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, which had been sold to him by Charles I in 1627. In 1648 parliament restored him to the office of clerk of the signet in Ireland, and made him a grant of 500*l.* Later he appears to have lived on friendly terms with Henry Cromwell, the lord deputy of Ireland during the protectorate, and to have secured the office of secretary of state at Dublin. In November 1656 he proposed to the English government that he should resign these posts to his son Arthur (*Rawl. MSS.*, A. 44, f. 120; A. 57, f. 263). Henry Cromwell, writing to General Fleetwood (4 Feb. 1657–8), urges him to aid in carrying out this arrangement, and speaks in high terms of father and son (THURLOE'S *State Papers*, vi. 777). Lord Mountnorris died in 1660.

Lord Mountnorris married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Phillipps, Bart., of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, who died 3 May 1624. By her he had three sons, of whom Arthur, the eldest, became later Lord Annesley and Earl of Anglesey [see ANNESLEY, ARTHUR].

[Lipscomb's Buckinghamshire, i. 279–80; Gardiner's History of England, ed. 1884, viii. 20–3, 182–198; Nichols's Progresses of James I, vols. iii. and iv.; Hallam's History, ii. 445; Calendars of Irish State Papers, 1606–25; Clarendon State Papers, vol. i. passim; Strafford's Letters, i. 508, et seq.; Lords' Journals, vols. iv. ix.; Commons' Journals, vols. ii. iii. v. vi.; Liber Hiberniæ, 44, 45, 99.] S. L. L.

ANNESLEY, JAMES (1715–1760), claimant, was born in 1715, and was the son of Lord Altham, according to one account, by his wife Mary Sheffield, natural daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, or, according to another, by a woman called Juggy Landy. Lord Altham, grandson of Arthur, the first Earl of Anglesey, was a dissolute spendthrift. He was married in 1706, quarrelled with his wife, was reconciled to her in 1713, and lived with her for some time at his house at Dunmaine, co. Wexford. During their cohabitation the child was born. In 1716 they were again separated; the child remained with the father, and was said to have been treated for a time like a legitimate heir. About 1722 Lord Altham fell under the influence of a mistress, named Gregory. Lady Altham returned to England in 1723, having for some time suffered from paralysis, and lingered in London till her death in October 1729. Meanwhile the mistress (it is suggested) alienated the father's affections by persuading him that the boy was not his own son. The lad was left to himself, rambled to different places during two years previously to his father's death (16 Nov. 1727), and was at one time protected by a butcher named Purcell. Lord Altham was succeeded by his brother Richard, afterwards Earl of Anglesey, in spite of the reports as to the existence of a legitimate son. In order to make things pleasant, the uncle attempted to kidnap the nephew, and succeeded, about four months after the father's death, in having him sent to America and sold for a common slave. The boy remained there till the term of his slavery was out; at the end of 1740

he entered one of the ships of Admiral Vernon's fleet as a sailor, told his story to the officers, and was brought back by Vernon to England, where he took measures to support his claim. He was actively supported by a Mr. Mackercher, who appears as M—— in a chapter of 'Peregrine Pickle,' where Smollett introduces a long narrative (of questionable authenticity) of the Annesley case and Mackercher's previous history. An action of ejectment was brought against the uncle, now Lord Anglesey, in possession of the Irish estates. On 1 May 1742 James Annesley went out shooting at Staines, with a gamekeeper; they met a poacher netting the river, and a dispute followed, in which Annesley shot the man dead. He was tried for murder (15 July 1742), and Lord Anglesey, who had previously been thinking of a compromise, now thought that he could get rid of his nephew, instructed an attorney to prosecute, and said that he did not care if it cost him 10,000*l.* to have his nephew hanged. It was, however, clearly proved that the shot was fired by accident, and James Annesley was acquitted. He went to Ireland in 1743 with Mackercher to carry on his action, in spite, as is said, of various attempts upon his life by the uncle. On 16 Sept. 1743 they went to some horse races at the Curragh, where they encountered Lord Anglesey and his party. A riot took place; the party were violently assaulted by the earl's servants and friends; Annesley escaped by the speed of his horse, though injured by a bad fall, and three of his friends were knocked down, beaten, and stunned. The trial for ejectment came on upon 11 Nov. 1743, and lasted for the then unprecedented space of fifteen days. The question was simply whether Lady Altham or Juggy Landy was the claimant's mother. The most contradictory evidence was given. Several witnesses swore that they had been in the house at the time of the birth, and said that Landy was the foster-mother; that a road was specially made to her cottage after the event; that the christening was celebrated by bonfires; and that Lord Altham repeatedly acknowledged James as his legitimate son and treated him accordingly. On the other hand it was sworn, especially by Mary Heath, who attended Lady Altham until her death, that the lady had never been pregnant at all. The weight of evidence seems to be against the legitimacy, as the parents had strong reasons for establishing the birth of a legitimate heir; though Lord Anglesey's unscrupulous behaviour implies doubt as to the sufficiency of his cause. The verdict, however, was given for the claimant. Mary Heath was prosecuted for perjury on 3 Feb. 1744, but, after a repetition of much of the former evidence, was acquitted. On 3 Aug. 1744 Lord Anglesey, with Francis Annesley and John Jans, was tried for the assault at the Curragh, and they were all convicted and fined.

It seems that Annesley was unable to raise the funds necessary to prosecute his case further. An 'Abstract of the Case of James Annesley,' published in 1751, is an appeal to the public to help him. He died 5 Jan. 1760, having been twice married, to a daughter of Mr. Chester of Staines (*d.* 1749), by whom he left a son (*d.* 1763) and two daughters, and, secondly, to a daughter of Sir Thomas l'Anson, by whom he had a son (*d.* 1764) and a daughter (*d.* 1765). A doubtful narrative of his life in America is given in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xiii. The very curious trials are fully reported in the 'State Trials,' vols. xvi. and xvii. The story was turned to account by Scott in 'Guy Mannering' (see *Gent. Mag.* for July 1840), and it has been more directly used by Charles Reade in the 'Wandering Heir.'

[Howell's State Trials, vols. xvi. and xvii.; Abstract of Case of James Annesley, 1751; Gent. Mag. vols. xiii. and xiv.] L. S.

ANNESLEY, RICHARD, Earl of Anglesey (1694–1761), was seventh Viscount Valentia, seventh Baron Mountnorris, and fifth Baron Altham in the peerage of Ireland, and sixth Earl of Anglesey and Baron of Newport-Pagnell in the peerage of England, and held for some time the post of governor of Wexford, but was chiefly distinguished for the doubts which hung about his title to the barony of Altham and the legitimacy of his children. He took his seat in the Irish House of Lords as Baron Altham in 1727, on the death of his brother, the fourth baron, second son of Richard, the third baron, sometime prebendary of Westminster, and dean of Exeter in 1680, and succeeded his cousin Arthur, the fifth Earl of Anglesey, as remainderman in default of lawful issue in 1737, when he took his seat in the Irish House of Lords as Lord Viscount Valentia and Baron Mountnorris, and in the English House of Lords as Earl of Anglesey and Baron of Newport-Pagnell. He was for a short time an ensign in the army, but quitted the service in 1715. In this year he married a lady named Ann Prust or Prest, daughter of Captain John Prust or Prest, of Monckton, near Bideford, Devonshire, but he appears to have deserted her almost immediately. She died in 1741 without issue. Between 1737 and 1740 he lived with a lady

named Ann Simpson, whom he forced to quit his house in 1740 or 1741. From that time until his death he lived with one Juliana Donnovan, whom he married in 1752. In 1741, Ann Simpson having taken proceedings against him in the ecclesiastical court on the grounds of cruelty and adultery, with a view to obtaining permanent alimony, he set up by way of defence that he was lawfully married to Ann Prest at the time when he was alleged to have gone through the ceremony of marriage with Ann Simpson, and the lady appears to have gained nothing by her suit. She survived the earl, dying in 1765, leaving three daughters, Dorothea, Caroline, and Elizabeth, but no son. Juliana Donnovan is variously reported as the daughter of a merchant in Wexford, and of an alehouse-keeper in Cammolin. By this woman the earl had four children, Arthur, Richarda, Juliana, and Catherine. In or about 1742 there appeared in England one James Annesley, who represented himself to be the legitimate son of Arthur, the late Baron Altham, an account of whose claim is given under Annesley, James. James Annesley failed to establish his claim, and the earl continued in the enjoyment of his estates and his titles until his death in 1761. Upon that event two memorials were presented to the Earl of Halifax, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland: one by Sir John Annesley and the other by the Countess Juliana, on behalf of her infant son Arthur, both claiming the Irish honours of Viscount Valentia and Baron Mountnorris. Both memorials were referred to the attorney-general and solicitor-general for consideration, who in 1765 reported to the lords-justices in favour of the claim of Arthur, who accordingly, on coming of age, took his seat in the Irish House of Lords. He was not, however, so successful in the proceedings which he took to make good his claim to the English earldom. In 1766, being then of age, he presented a petition to the king, praying to be summoned to parliament as Earl of Anglesey and Baron of Newport-Pagnell. The petition was considered by the committee of privileges in 1770–1. It was opposed by Constantine Phipps, Lord Mulgrave, who claimed to be interested in the result by virtue of the will of James, Earl of Anglesey, the grandfather of the claimant. Mr. Wedderburn (afterwards Lord Loughborough, Earl of Rosslyn), who became solicitor-general during the progress of the inquiry, and Mr. Dunning, appeared for the claimant; Mr. Serjeant Leigh and Mr. Mansfield for Lord Mulgrave. The issue came to depend entirely on whether a certain marriage certificate, bearing date 1741, was genuine or not. The countess swore that she had been secretly married to the late earl in 1741, and produced the certificate in evidence. On the other hand Lord Mulgrave's witnesses swore that the certificate had been made out at the date of the marriage in 1752, and purposely antedated. The witnesses to the alleged marriage being all dead, the case for the claimant broke down, and the committee reported that he had no right to the titles, honours, and dignities claimed by him. The English peerage accordingly became extinct. The earl by his will had entailed his estates upon the issue of his son Arthur, whose right to the Irish titles was reinvestigated on the petition of John Annesley of Ballysax, Esq., but was confirmed, and who in 1793 was created Earl of Mountnorris. This title has, however, since become extinct, the present Viscount Valentia and Baron Mountnorris being the lineal descendant of the sixth son of the first viscount. The family derives its name from Annesley, in Nottingshire, where it is supposed to have been settled before the conquest. The Irish titles were derived from Sir Francis Annesley, who in 1619 was created baronet of Ireland, and subsequently (1621) Viscount Valentia by James I, and (1628) Baron Mountnorris by Charles I. The arbitrary imprisonment of the first viscount by Strafford in 1635 for a mere personal affront was made part of the fifth article of his impeachment. The second viscount was created Baron Annesley of Newport-Pagnell in Bucks and Earl of Anglesey in 1661. As to the title of Baron Altham, see Altham *ad fin.* The present Marquis of Anglesey [see Paget] belongs to a different family.

[Peerage Claims, i.; Rep. from the Committee for Privileges on the Anglesey Peerage, ordered to be printed 11 May 1819; Howell's State Trials, xvii. 1094, 1124–5, 1139, 1148–9, 1245, 1443, 1454; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland and Burke's Extinct Peerage, sub tit. 'Annesley;' Gent. Mag. xiii. 93, 204, 306, 332; Journals of the House of Lords, (Ireland) iii. 1, 363, (England) xxv. 113; Calendar of Home Office Papers, 1760–65, 2019, 2037, 2130; 1766–69, 173; 1770–1772, 869, 933, 1098, 1119, 1136, 1246.]

J. M. R.

ANNESLEY, SAMUEL (1620?–1696), one of the most eminent of the later puritan nonconformists, was the son of John Aneley (*sic*) of Hareley, in Warwickshire; this spelling of his father's name was accentuated by Anthony à Wood in order to support his baseless representation that Samuel Annesley, by slightly altering his name, falsely sought relationship with the first Earl of Anglesey. As a matter of fact, he was ac-

knowledged as the earl's full nephew, and when the Countess of Anglesey was dying she asked to be buried in his grave. Annesley was born 'about the year 1620' at Kellingworth, near Warwick. Deprived of his father in his fourth year, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who was 'a very prudent and religious woman.' In Michaelmas term, 1635, he was admitted a student in Queen's College, Oxford, and there he proceeded successively B.A. and M.A. He seems to have been naturally slow and sluggish while at the university, but to have 'supplied this defect in nature by prodigious application.' He was from his youth 'inclined to the ministry.' Like others he must have had a twofold ordination. First Anthony à Wood informs us 'he took holy orders from a bishop.' Secondly, Calamy adduces a certificate of presbyterian ordination, dated 18 Dec. 1644, and subscribed by seven presbyterian ministers. The latter stated that he was appointed chaplain on 'a man of war called the Globe.' It is possible, however, that Anthony à Wood was misinformed, seeing that in 1644 he was just of age to receive orders. In the Globe he was chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, then admiral of the parliament's fleet.

'In process of time his own behaviour and the great interest he had with such as were then in power' procured him one of the prizes of the church, viz. Cliffe in Kent. Here he succeeded Dr. Griffith Higges, who was ejected for his loyalty to the king and treason to the Commonwealth. Cliffe was an important post; for besides its income of nearly 400*l.* per annum 'a great jurisdiction belonged to the incumbent, who held a court wherein all matters relating to wills, marriage contracts, &c., were decided.' The parishioners were devoted to their ejected clergyman, and were disposed to show their esteem by rude and rough misconduct towards his successor. Annesley told them 'that if they conceived him to be biassed by the value of so considerable a living, they were exceedingly mistaken; that he came among them with an intent to do good to their souls, and that he was resolved to stay, how ill soever they used him, till he had fitted them for the reception of a better minister; which whenever it happened, he would leave them, notwithstanding the great value of the living.'

On 26 July 1648 he preached the fast sermon before the House of Commons, which Anthony à Wood vehemently attacks and supporters of the parliament highly praise.

'About this time' he was 'honoured with the title of doctor of laws by the university of Oxford.' Nearly contemporaneously he was again at sea with the Earl of Warwick, 'who was employed in giving chase to that part of the English navy which went over to the then prince, afterwards King Charles II.'

The parishioners of Cliffe being not only reconciled but greatly attached to Annesley, he resigned the living that he might keep the promise he had made to them 'when they were in another disposition.' In 1657 he was nominated directly by Cromwell 'lecturer of St. Paul's,' and in 1658 was presented by Richard Cromwell to the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London. This presentation becoming 'useless,' he, in 1660, procured another 'from the trustees for the maintenance of ministers,' being also a commissioner for 'the approbation and admission of ministers of the Gospel after the presbyterian manner.' This second presentation growing equally out of date with the first, he, on 28 Aug. 1660, procured a third presentation from Charles II. But even this did not hold him long at St. Giles, for in 1662 he chose to be one of the illustrious band of the ejected two thousand. His undoubted relative, the Earl of Anglesey, did all he could to induce him to conform, but in vain. He preached semi-privately wherever opportunity was given him. His nonconformity 'created him,' says Neal, 'troubles, but no inward uneasiness.' His goods were distrained for, as the phrase ran, 'keeping a conventicle.' That 'conventicle' was the meeting-house in Little St. Helen's. He was spared to 'a good old age.' He died on 31 Dec. 1696, and his funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Daniel Williams, while Daniel Defoe (who was a member of his congregation) wrote a pathetic and melodious elegy on his death. 'He had the reputation,' concludes the 'Biographia Britannica,' 'of being a warm, pathetic preacher, as well as a pious, prudent, and very charitable divine, laying by the tenth part of his income, whatever it was, for the use of the poor.' The 'notorious' John Dunton was his son-in-law (see his *Life and Errors*). More memorable still, his daughter Ann, as wife of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, became the mother of the Wesleys. His writings consisted of sermons separately published, and in the various 'Morning Exercises' and certain minor biographical things.

[Kippis's Biogr. Brit., where his will is printed; Calamy and Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. i. 124; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), iv. 509, and Fasti, ii. 114, Oxon.; Walker's Sufferings, pt. ii. p. 39; Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter, iii. 67; Turner's Remarkable Providences, ch. 143; Wilson's History and Antiquities of Dissenting

Churches, i. 365–70; Adam Clarke's Wesley Family; Nichols's Lit. Anec. v. 232.] A. B. G.

ANNET, PETER (1693–1769), deistical writer, is said to have been born at Liverpool in 1693. He was at one time a schoolmaster, but about the years 1743 and 1744 he published some bitter attacks upon the apologetic writings of Bishop Sherlock and others, and in consequence lost his employment. He was one of the most conspicuous members of the Robin Hood Society, which took its name from the public house—the Robin Hood and Little John in Butcher Row—where its debates were held. Its theological discussions are ridiculed by Fielding in the 'Covent Garden Journal' (1752). In 1756, as appears by a letter of Annet's (*Gent. Mag.* liv. 250), he held a small post in some public office, and he says that some one of his way of thinking had offered to make him steward to an estate in the country. He is supposed to have been the author of 'A History of the Man after God's own Heart' (1761); the preface says that George II had been compared to David by his panegyrists, and the book is intended to show 'how the memory of the British monarch is insulted by the comparison.' This book seems to have suggested Voltaire's 'Saul,' which is described by its author, with obvious mystification, as translated from the English of 'M. Huet,' member of the English parliament and nephew of the famous bishop of Avranches, 'qui, en 1728, composa le petit livre très curieux, "The Man after the Heart of God." Indigné d'avoir entendu un prédicateur comparer à David le roi Georges II, qui n'avait ni assassiné personne, ni fait brûler ses prisonniers français dans des fours à briques, il fit une justice éclatante de ce roitelet juif.' The book has also been attributed to a John Noorthook (*Notes and Queries*, 1st series, xi. 204). In 1761 Annet published nine numbers of a paper called the 'Free Enquirer,' attacking the Old Testament history. He was tried for blasphemous libel in the Michaelmas term of 1763, the information stating that he had ridiculed the Holy Scriptures (in the 'Free Enquirer') and tried to show 'that the prophet Moses was an impostor, and that the sacred truths and miracles recorded and set forth in the Pentateuch were impositions and false inventions, and thereby to infuse and propagate irreligious and diabolical opinions in the minds of his majesty's subjects and to shake the foundations of the christian religion and of the civil and ecclesiastical government established in this kingdom' (Starkie's *Law of Libel*, 1876, p. 596). He was convicted and sentenced to a month's imprisonment in Newgate, to stand twice in the pillory, then to have a year's hard labour in Bridewell, and to find sureties for good behaviour during the rest of his life. He is described as 'withered with age' and making no defence. Some 'liberal minds,' we are told, subscribed to relieve him in Newgate. Archbishop Secker, it is added, 'afterwards repented so far'—or, according to his friends, showed so much christian charity—as to relieve Annet's wants till the day of his death. Goldsmith procured for him an offer of ten guineas for a child's grammar; but the offer was withdrawn upon Annet's passionately refusing to be anonymous. He kept a small school at Lambeth after his release, where one of his pupils was James Stephen (1758–1832), afterwards master in Chancery (unpublished papers). Annet died on 18 Jan. 1769.

Annet's writings are of some interest as forming a connecting link between the deism of the early part of the eighteenth century and the more aggressive and outspoken deism of Paine and the revolutionary period. He is a coarse but forcible writer. 'A Collection of the Tracts of a certain Free Enquirer noted by his sufferings for his opinions' (n. d.) includes 'Judging for Ourselves, or Freethinking the great Duty of Religion, displayed in two lectures delivered at Plaisterers' Hall, by P. A., minister of the gospel,' 1739; 'The History and Character of St. Paul examined' (in answer to Lyttelton); 'Supernaturals examined' (in answer to Gilbert West and Jackson); 'Social Bliss considered' (an argument in favour of liberty of divorce), 1749; 'The Resurrection of Jesus considered, in answer to [Sherlock's] the Tryal of the Witnesses, the third edition with great amendments, by a Moral Philosopher' (1744); 'The Resurrection reconsidered' (1744); 'The Sequel of the Resurrection of Jesus considered;' 'The Resurrection Defenders stripped of all Defence,' 1745. A volume of lectures of similar character, 'by the late Mr. Peter Annet, corrected and revised by him just before his death, with the head of the author curiously engraved by his own direction,' has a portrait of 'Peter Annet, ætat. 75, anno 1768.'

Besides these works, Annet was author of a system of shorthand. Priestley learned it at school and entered into correspondence with the author. A copy of verses by Priestley is prefixed to a second edition of the system.

[Notes and Queries (1st series), x. 405, xi. 214; ib. (5th series), viii. 98, 350; European Mag. xxiv. 92; Gent. Mag. xxxii. 560, xxxiii. 26, 28, 60, 86, 105, liv. 250; Robin Hood Society by

Peter Pounce (Richard Lewis), 1756; Bentham's Works, x. 65; Hawkins's Johnson, 566; Rutt's Life of Priestley, i. 19; Priestley's Essay on Government, sect. x.] L. S.

ANSELL, CHARLES, F.R.S., F.S.A. (1794–1881), known for some years before his death as the father of the profession of actuaries, was born (probably in Essex) in 1794, entered the Atlas Fire and Life Assurance Company in 1808, and took a prominent position on the staff in 1810. In 1823 he was appointed actuary of the life branch of the company, and held the office down to 1864—a period of forty-one years—when he retired from active official life, but still remained the consulting actuary of the company. He also filled a similar post in the National Provident, the Friends' Provident, and the Clergy Mutual Life Offices, and was, likewise, the actuary of the Customs' Annuity and Benevolent Fund.

He was on several occasions called upon to advise on various schemes of national finance, notably on the government superannuation scheme, which ultimately fell through. He gave evidence before the select parliamentary committee (1841–43) to consider the law of joint-stock companies, and the select committee on assurance associations (1853).

His chief practice for many years was in connection with the actuarial problems involved in the working of friendly societies. He published a work upon that subject in 1835, which attracted much attention at the time, and remained a useful handbook for many years afterwards. It was, indeed, almost a first effort to treat friendly societies from a scientific standpoint. The work was published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. He gave evidence before the select parliamentary committee on friendly societies in 1849, and before some of the later committees. Many years since he was instructed by the then Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield) to make some calculations of this class, and he named as his fee 100 guineas. 'A hundred guineas, Mr. Ansell! Why, there are many curates in my diocese who don't get more than that for a year's services.' 'That may be,' was the quiet rejoinder; 'but actuaries are bishops.' The fee was paid.

Mr. Ansell resided during the later years of his life at Brighton, but he was only a few years before his death high sheriff of Merionethshire, where he had considerable landed property. He superintended the bonus investigation of the National Provident Association when close upon eighty years of age, and died at the close of 1881, at the age of 87. His personal estate was proved for 21,000*l*.

[For further and more technical details see Insurance Cyclopædia, vol. i.] C. W.

ANSELL, GEORGE FREDERICK (1826–1880), scientific inventor, was born at Carshalton on 4 March 1826. He was apprenticed for four years to a surgeon, and studied medicine with the intention of adopting a medical life as his profession, but abandoned it for chemistry. After undergoing a course of instruction at the Royal College of Chemistry, he became an assistant to Dr. A. W. Hofmann at the Royal School of Mines. In 1854 he gave lectures in chemistry at the Panopticon in Leicester Square, London, but that institution did not last long, and Mr. Ansell accepted from Mr. Thomas Graham, in November 1856, a situation in the Royal Mint. He remained in this office for more than ten years, when differences of opinion between him and its chiefs led to the loss of his position. After his retirement and until his death, which took place on 21 Dec. 1880, he practised as an analyst. Mr. Ansell devoted much attention to the dangers arising from firedamp in collieries, and made a valuable series of experiments on the subject in the Ince Hall colliery near Wigan. The 'firedamp indicator,' which he subsequently patented, has been adopted with considerable success in many of the collieries on the continent. For the cyclopædia of Mr. Charles Tomlinson he wrote a treatise on coining—one hundred copies of which were struck off for private circulation—and his work on the 'Royal Mint' was an amplification of this article. This volume first appeared in 1870, and was reissued in the next year; its popularity was somewhat marred by the introduction of the narrative of his quarrels with his colleagues in the office, but it contained much information not to be found elsewhere. Several articles on the subjects in which he took most interest were contributed by him to the seventh edition of Ure's 'Dictionary of Arts,' &c.

[Times, 25 Dec. 1880, p. 10; Athenæum, 1 Jan. 1881, p. 24.] W. P. C.

ANSELM, Saint (1033–1109), archbishop of Canterbury, was born at or near Aosta about the year 1033, or two years before the death of Cnut, king of England, and two years before William the Conqueror became duke of Normandy. At the date of Anselm's birth Aosta was on the borders of Lombardy and Burgundy, but was reckoned as belonging to the latter, which

had ceased to be an independent kingdom by the death of Rudolph III in 1032, and had become part of the empire. There is some probability that Ermenberga, the mother of Anselm, was a niece of Rudolph III. She was also related to Odo, count of Maurienne, who, by his marriage with Adelaide, marchioness of Susa, added the valley of Aosta to his domains, and became progenitor of the royal house of Savoy. Anselm's father also, Gundulf, who was a Lombard by birth, but thoroughly naturalised at Aosta, seems to have been a kinsman to the Marchioness Adelaide. A comparison of passages in several chroniclers respecting the parentage of Anselm suggests the conclusion that he had royal blood in his veins on his mother's side, but not on his father's. At any rate both parents were well born, and held considerable property under the counts of Maurienne. It probably included the village of Gressan, about three miles south-west of Aosta. Whether a tower at Gressan, called St. Anselm's tower, can have been a part of his parents' dwelling-place, is more than doubtful, but it is likely enough that they had a house here, and the solitary anecdote of Anselm's early childhood bears the impress of the scenery amidst which he must have lived. He imagined that heaven rested upon the mountains; he dreamed that one day he climbed the mountain-side until he reached the palace of the great King, and there having reported to Him the idleness of His handmaidens, whom he had passed, lazily reaping the corn in the valley, he was refreshed with bread of heavenly purity and whiteness by the steward of the divine household (Eadmer, *Vita Ans.* i. 2).

It was from his mother that he first learned, as was natural, his religious ideas and love of holy things. She was a good and prudent housewife, as well as a devout woman. His father Gundulf was an impetuous man, liberal and generous to a fault. Anselm seems to have been their only son, and he had an only sister younger than himself, Richera, or Richeza, who married a man named Burgundius, by whom she became the mother of a son who bore his uncle's name. Anselm took great interest in the education of this nephew, and several letters are addressed to him (see esp. *Epist.* iv. 31, 52). From an early age Anselm was studious, as well as clever and amiable. He made rapid progress in learning, and grew up loving and beloved. He probably received his earliest teaching in the school of the abbey of St. Leger, near Aosta; but after a time he was entrusted to the care of a kinsman as his private tutor, who kept him so closely confined to his studies that his health gave way. He became shy and melancholy. His mother's good sense saved his reason, if not his life; she brought him home and bade her servants let him do exactly what he liked, until he gradually recovered his health and spirits (Cod. 499, Queen of Sweden's collection in Vatican library, copied by Mr. Rule, *Life*, vol. i. appendix).

Before he was fifteen he began to consider how he might best shape his life according to God, and he became persuaded that there was nothing in the ways of men better than the life of monks. So he went to a certain abbot whom he knew, and begged that he might be made a monk; but the abbot refused on finding that the request was made without his father's knowledge. The boy then prayed for an illness, hoping that it might induce his father to yield to his inclination. The sickness came; he sent for the abbot and implored him, as one who was about to die, to make him a monk without delay. The abbot, however, dreading the displeasure of Anselm's father, still refused; and the lad recovered. A period of reaction followed; his longing for the religious life, and even his ardour for study, cooled; he began to devote himself more to youthful sports, and after the death of his mother, being like a ship parted from its anchor, he drifted yet more completely into a worldly course of life (Eadmer, *Vita*, i. 3, 4). Some passages in one of his 'Meditations' (xvi.) would, if literally interpreted, imply that he fell into very serious sin; but there is some doubt whether he is speaking in his own person, and, even if he is, the language may be no more than the self-reproaches, rhetorically expressed, of a highly sensitive conscience. For some reason not explained, his father, Gundulf, conceived a great dislike to him, which Anselm's meekness and submission seemed rather to inflame than soften. At last in despair, when he was about twenty-three years of age, he resolved to quit his home and seek his fortune in some other land. He set out northwards, accompanied by a single clerk. In crossing Mont Cenis, Anselm was much exhausted, their provisions were spent, and but for his companion moistening his lips with snow, and the timely discovery of a morsel of bread in the wallet, he must have perished on the road. Having spent three years partly in Burgundy, partly in France, he made his way to Normandy, and took up his abode at Avranches about the year 1059. Here Lanfranc had kept a school; but he had now become prior of the abbey of Le Bec. His fame as a scholar had made that house one of the most renowned seats of learning in western Christendom, and to Bec, after a brief sojourn at Avranches, Anselm also repaired. When Anselm came to Bec, Lanfranc

had been prior for several years, and the house was at the height of its reputation. Students flocked to it from all quarters, and the great men of Normandy lavished gifts upon it. Anselm threw himself heartily into the work of the place. The severity of his studies and the austerities of the monastic rule were almost more than the delicate frame could bear; but he was persuaded that the moral discipline was good for his soul, and his desire to become a monk increased in strength. But if he became a monk, whither was he to go? If to Clugny, he thought his learning would be thrown away, owing to the excessive strictness of the rule. If he remained at Bec, he thought it would be so completely overshadowed by that of Lanfranc as to be of little use. Meanwhile, by the death of his father, he became the heir of the family property. Three courses then presented themselves for selection. Should he settle at Bec, or become a hermit, or return to his native valley and administer his patrimony for the benefit of the poor? He took counsel with Lanfranc. Lanfranc advised him to consult Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, and accompanied him on a visit to that prelate. Maurilius decided in favour of the monastic life, and so in 1060 Anselm took the cowl and remained at Bec. Three years afterwards Lanfranc was made abbot of the new house of St. Stephen at Caen, founded by Duke William. Anselm succeeded him at Bec in the office of prior. He held this post for fifteen years, 1063–78. Then Herlwin, founder and abbot, died, and for fifteen years more Anselm governed the house as abbot, 1078–93.

It was during this period of thirty years that his powers developed themselves to the full. If Lanfranc was a man of great talent, Anselm was a man of lofty genius. Both morally and intellectually his character was of a finer type. He had not only more tenderness, more breadth of sympathy, and more transparent simplicity of purpose, but far profounder and more original powers of thought. Having an absolute and unshakeable faith in Holy Scripture, he did not shrink from applying to it the full force of his reason, and therefore he was enabled, in the words of his biographer Eadmer (*Vita*, i. 9), to penetrate and unravel some of the most intricate and, before his time, unsolved questions touching the nature of God and of our faith. The whole day between the hours of prayer was often consumed in giving advice orally or by letter to persons, many of them of high rank, who consulted him on questions of faith or conduct; and the greater part of the night was spent either in correcting the books of the monastery (which up to that time Eadmer says were the most ill-written in the world), or in meditation and devotional exercises. He did not shrink even from the drudgery of instructing boys in the rudiments of grammar, although he owned (*Epist.* i. 55) that he found this an irksome task. But the work in which he most delighted and excelled was that of moulding the minds and characters of young men. For this he was eminently fitted by his affectionate sweetness and sympathy which won their hearts, by his deep piety and powerful intellect, by his acuteness in discerning character, and his practical wisdom in suggesting rules for moral conduct. He compared the age of youth to wax fitly tempered for the seal. If the wax be too hard or too soft, it will not take a clear impression. Youth, being between the two, was an apt compound of softness and hardness, which could receive lasting impressions and be turned to any shape. Similar good sense in the education of the young is manifested in his advice to an abbot who complained of the difficulty of teaching the boys brought up in his monastery. They were incorrigibly perverse, the abbot said, and although beaten continually day and night they only grew worse. 'Beat them, do you?' said Anselm; 'and pray what kind of creatures are they when they are grown up?' 'Dull and brutal,' was the reply. 'You are verily unfortunate,' said Anselm, 'if you only succeed in turning men into beasts.' 'But what can we do then?' rejoined the abbot; 'we constrain them in every possible way, but all to no purpose.' 'Constrain them, my lord abbot! If you planted a young shoot in your garden, and then confined it on all sides, so that it could not put forth its branches, would it not turn out a strange misshapen thing when at last you set it free, and all from your own fault? So these children have been planted in the garden of the church to grow and bear fruit for God. But you cramp them so excessively with threats and punishments that they contract all manner of evil tempers, and doggedly resent all correction.' After more plain speaking of this kind the abbot, with a sigh, confessed that his method of education had been all wrong, and promised to try and amend it (Eadmer, *Vita*, i. 29–31).

Anselm's own tact in dealing with the young was illustrated by his management of a youthful monk named Osbern. Osbern was clever, but headstrong, and set himself up as the leader of a small faction which resented the appointment of Anselm as prior. Anselm first softened him by forbearance and small indulgences. Having thus gained his affection, he gradually withdrew the in-

dulgences, and subjected him at last to the full rigour of monastic discipline, even to the extent of punishing him with stripes. Osbern stood all these tests even in the face of taunts from his companions, and became exceedingly dear to the prior, who rejoiced over his steady growth in goodness. After a while, however, he was stricken with a mortal illness. Anselm watched him by day and night. As the end drew near, Anselm charged him, if it were possible, to reveal himself to him after death. Osbern promised and passed away. When the body was placed in the church and the brethren were chanting the psalms, Anselm retired to a corner of the building to weep and pray in secret, and at length, overpowered by weariness and sorrow, he fell asleep. In his sleep he saw certain forms of most reverend aspect, clad in the whitest of garments, enter the room where Osbern had died, and sit in a circle as if to give judgment. Presently there entered Osbern himself, pale and haggard. Anselm asked him how he fared. 'Thrice,' said he, 'did the old serpent rise up against me, thrice did I fall backwards, and thrice did the bearward of the Lord deliver me.' Then Anselm awoke and was comforted (Eadmer, *Vita*, i. 13–16). The memory of Osbern never faded from his mind. During a whole year he offered a daily mass for Osbern's soul, and in one of his letters to his friend Gundulf, bishop of Rochester (*Ep.* i. 4), he writes: 'Wherever Osbern is, his soul is my soul; farewell! farewell! I pray, I pray, I pray, remember me, and forget not the soul of Osbern my beloved, and if that seem too much for you, then forget me and remember him.'

Notwithstanding his powerful influence, Anselm shrank with extreme reluctance from the responsibility of ruling others. When he was unanimously elected abbot of Bec on the death of Herlwin, he besought the brethren with the most passionate entreaties to spare him; and it was only in deference to their persistence and the authority of the archbishop of Rouen that he yielded at last. As abbot he gave up most of the secular business of the house to such of the brethren as he could trust, and devoted himself to study, meditation, and the instruction of others. If the monastery, however, was involved in any lawsuit of importance, he took care to be present in court, in order to prevent any chicanery being practised by his own party; but if the other side used craft and sophistry, he heeded not, and occupied his time in discussing some passage in the Scriptures or some question of ethics, or calmly went to sleep. Yet if the cunning arguments of his opponents were submitted to his judgment he speedily detected the flaws in them, and tore them to pieces as if he had been wide awake and listening all the time (Eadmer, *Vita*, i. 37). He was also obliged occasionally to visit the property of the house in various parts of Normandy and Flanders. These journeys brought him into contact with persons of all ranks and conditions, and many gave themselves and their property to the monastery. For himself he never would accept anything as his private possession (Eadmer, *Vita*, i. 33).

He visited England soon after he became abbot, not only to look after the English possessions of his house, but also to see Lanfranc, now primate. He was received with great respect at Canterbury, and, after making an address to the monks of Christ Church, was admitted as a member of the house. Here began his acquaintance with Eadmer, one of the brotherhood, who became his most devoted friend and biographer. He has recorded the great impression which Anselm made at Canterbury by the wonderful way he discoursed and by his private conversation. His large-heartedness also was displayed on this occasion in his decision of a case which the archbishop submitted to him. Lanfranc told Anselm that he doubted the claim of one of his predecessors, Archbishop Ælfeah, to martyrdom, because, although he had been murdered by the Danes, he did not die in defence of any religious truth. Anselm, however, maintained that since Ælfeah died rather than wring a ransom from his tenants, he had died for righteousness' sake, and that he who died for righteousness would certainly have died for Christ himself who taught it, and therefore he was fully entitled to the honours of martyrdom (Eadmer, *Vita*, i. 41–44).

The almost feminine tenderness of Anselm's nature appeared in his treatment of the lower animals, which he regarded with respect as the product of God's hand. And, as in the love of animals for their offspring he saw an emblem of the love of God for man, so in any cruelty to animals on the part of man he saw a figure of the devil's malice and his hatred to all God's creatures. Thus, one day seeing a bird teased by a boy who had fastened a string to its leg and let it fly a little way in order to pull it back again, he made him release it, saying that was just the way in which the devil served his victims. So also when a hare ran for shelter under the legs of his horse, and the hunters crowded round with noisy delight at its capture, he burst into tears and forbade them to touch it, saying that it was an apt image of the

departing soul of man, which on going forth from the body was beset by the evil spirits who had pursued it all through life. So he suffered not the dogs or hunters to touch the hare (EADMER, *Lib. de Similitudinibus S. Ans.* 189, 190).

William the Conqueror received his death-wound in 1087. In the presence of Anselm we are told that he who to most men seemed harsh and terrible became so mild that by-standers looked on with amazement (EADMER, *Vit. Ans.* i. 47). And when he lay dying in the abbey of St. Gervase at Rouen he sent for Anselm to hear the confession of his burdened conscience. Anselm came from Bec. William, however, put off seeing him for a few days, deeming that he should get better. Meanwhile Anselm himself fell ill, and before he had recovered the king died (EADMER, *Hist. Nov.* 1, 17 c). Anselm, however, was present at the strange and terrible scenes amidst which the body of the Conqueror was laid in the minster of St. Stephen at Caen.

Lanfranc crowned William the Red king of England, and in the following year, 1089, he died. William the Red was, unlike his father, profligate and profane, without reverence for goodness, or respect for law and justice. He found a minister worthy of himself in Ralph Flambard, a lowborn Norman clerk, a coarse and unscrupulous man. One simple expedient for replenishing the royal treasury was to keep the great offices of the church vacant and confiscate their revenues.

After the death of Lanfranc the see of Canterbury was kept vacant for more than three years, and its lands were farmed to the highest bidders. The whole nation was shocked by this shameless spoliation of the metropolitan see, and longed to see the man appointed to it who, on his visits to England, had won the hearts of all men, and who was admitted to have no superior in Christendom in piety and learning. But the king cared not. Meanwhile, in 1092 Hugh of Avranches, earl of Chester, invited Anselm to England, to assist him in the work of substituting monks for canons in the minster of St. Werburgh at Chester. Anselm, however, having heard the rumour which marked him out for the primacy, and fearing that the motives of his visit might be misconstrued, declined to come; but at last he was compelled to yield to the urgent entreaties of the earl, who said that he was mortally ill, and that if Anselm did not come his soul's peace in the future world might be for ever disturbed. The chapter of Bec also wished him to go, in order to get the royal exactions on their English property lightened. So he set sail from Boulogne, where he had been staying with the Countess Ida, and reached Canterbury on 8 Sept., the eve of the Nativity of the Virgin; but being hailed by monks and people as their future archbishop, he hurried away early the next morning. On his road to Chester he visited the court, where he was received with great honour, even by the king himself. Anselm asked for a private interview, in which he rebuked the king for the evil things which men said were done by him. William seems to have turned the subject off with a laugh, saying he could not prevent idle rumours, and that the holy man ought not to believe them. So they parted, and Anselm went on to Chester. Here he found Earl Hugh restored to health, and after spending some months in settling the new constitution of St. Werburgh he desired to return to Normandy; but the king would not give him leave to go. In the baseness of his soul he may have thought that Anselm secretly desired the primacy, and that even he might be induced to pay some price for it. Meanwhile the midwinter gemot, held at Gloucester, had passed a resolution that the king should be asked to allow prayers to be offered in all churches that God would put it into his heart to appoint some worthy man to the long vacant see. The king assented, but contemptuously remarked, 'Pray what ye will; no man's prayer shall shake my purpose.' Anselm was compelled to frame the prayer. After the gemot the king went to a royal seat at Alvestone, near Gloucester. Here one of his nobles spoke one day of the virtues of Anselm, how he was a man who loved God only, and desired nothing belonging to this fleeting world. 'Not even the archbishopric?' said William, with a sneer. 'No, not even that,' replied the other, 'and many think with me.' The king, however, maintained that had Anselm the least chance of it he would rush to embrace it, but 'by the holy face of Lucca,' he added, 'neither he nor any one else shall be archbishop at present except myself.' Soon after this the king was taken very ill. He was moved to Gloucester; the lay nobles, bishops, and other great men visited the sick and, as it was thought, dying man, and urged him to redress the wrongs which he had inflicted on the nation, and especially on the church. But the king's advisers felt the need of some one at this critical moment who had peculiar skill in awakening the conscience and ministering to the diseases of the soul. There was no one comparable to Anselm, and he, unconscious of the king's illness, was sojourning not far from Gloucester. He was fetched

with all speed. He heard and approved of the advice already given to the king; the holy man was brought to the bedside of the royal sinner; he bade him make a clean confession of his misdeeds, solemnly promise amendment if he should recover, and promptly perform it. The king confessed, and pledged his faith that if he recovered he would rule with justice and mercy. He took the bishops to be witnesses of his promise, and to record it before the altar. Further, a proclamation was issued under the royal seal, promising all manner of reforms, ecclesiastical and civil. But the great men of the realm urged on him the duty of proving his repentance by doing immediate justice to the long vacant see of Canterbury. The sick man signified his willingness. He was asked to name the man whom he deemed worthy of such an office. He raised himself with an effort on his arm in the bed, and, pointing to Anselm, said, 'I choose yonder holy man' (Will. Malm. *Gest. Pont.* i. 48). A shout of joy rang through the chamber. When Anselm heard it he trembled and turned pale, and when the bishops tried to drag him to the king to receive the pastoral staff at his hands he resisted with all his force. The bishops took him aside and remonstrated with him. Anselm pleaded that he was an old man, unused to worldly affairs, and unfitted for the duties of so burdensome an office. Moreover, he was the subject of another realm, and he owed allegiance not only to the Duke of Normandy but to the archbishop of Rouen, and to the chapter of his own abbey. These pleas, however, were all made light of, and he was again taken to the bedside of William, who besought him by his friendship for his father and mother to yield to the general wish. Anselm was inflexible. At the king's bidding they fell down at his feet, but Anselm prostrated himself also, and could not be persuaded. Then they lost patience; they partly pushed and partly pulled him to the king's bedside. The king presented the pastoral staff; they held out Anselm's hand to take it, but he kept his hand tightly clenched; they tried to force it open till he cried aloud with pain. At length they succeeded in unclosing his forefinger, and thrust the staff in between that and the other clenched fingers. Anselm was borne rather than led into the neighbouring church, still protesting and exclaiming, 'It is nought that ye do.' 'It would have been difficult,' he says, in a letter to the monks at Bec, 'for a looker-on to say whether a sane man was being dragged by a crowd of madmen, or whether sane men were dragging a madman along' (*Ep.* iii. 1). After some ceremony in the church, Anselm went back to the king and renewed his protest in the shape of a prophecy. 'I tell thee, my lord king, that thou wilt not die of this sickness; therefore thou mayest undo what thou hast done in my case, for I have not consented, nor do I now consent, to its being ratified.' Then, turning to the bishops, he told them they did not know what they were doing: they were yoking an untamed bull with a weak old sheep to the plough of the church, which ought to be drawn by two strong oxen. He then burst into tears, and, faint with fatigue and distress, retired to his lodging. (Eadmer, *Vit. Ans.* ii. 1, 2; *Hist. Nov.* i. 18, 19). All this took place on the first day of Lent, 6 March 1093. The king gave orders that Anselm should be inducted without delay into the temporal possessions of the see, and that meanwhile he should reside on some of the archiepiscopal manors under the care of his friend Gundulf, bishop of Rochester. The consent of Robert, duke of Normandy, and of the archbishop of Rouen to the appointment of Anselm was easily obtained, but the monks of Bec were very reluctant to part with their beloved abbot, and it was after a long debate and by a very narrow majority that they acquiesced in the appointment (*Epist.* iii. 3, 6).

Meanwhile the Red King recovered, and repented of his repentance. His last state was worse than the first, and the ill which he had done before seemed good in comparison with the evil which he did now. And when Bishop Gundulf remonstrated with him he swore by his favourite oath, the holy face of Lucca, that he would never requite good for the ill which God had done to him (Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* i. 19 B). He did not, however, revoke the appointment of Anselm.

In the course of the summer of 1093 William, returning from a conference at Dover with the count of Flanders, met Anselm at Rochester. Anselm then told him that he was still hesitating whether he would accept the archbishopric, but if he did it must be on three conditions: (1) that all the lands belonging to the see in the time of Lanfranc should be restored without any lawsuit or dispute, (2) that the king should see justice done in respect of lands upon which the see had a long-standing claim, (3) that in matters pertaining to God the king should take him for his counsellor and spiritual father, as he on his part would acknowledge the king as his earthly lord. Lastly he warned the king that of the two rival claimants to the papacy, Clement and Urban, he himself, in common with the

whole Norman church, had acknowledged Urban, and to this choice he must adhere. The king took counsel with Count Robert of Meulan and William of St. Calais, bishop of Durham, a prelate who had a few years before been banished for appealing to the pope against a judgment of the king and witan on a purely temporal charge, but who appears throughout the transaction with Anselm one of the most zealous supporters of the royal supremacy (Freeman, *Will. Rufus*, i. ch. 2). The king asked Anselm to repeat his statement in the hearing of these counsellors, and after conferring with them he replied that he would restore all the lands which had belonged to the see in the time of Lanfranc, but upon the other points he should reserve his judgment.

A few days afterwards he summoned Anselm to Windsor, and begged him to accept the primacy to which he was called by the choice of the whole realm (Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* i. 371). It is remarkable that neither at this point of the story nor any other is there a distinct record of any formal election, either by the monks at Canterbury or by the witan. Expressions to that effect seem to be used in a vague and rhetorical sense, and to signify no more than the general desire that the archbishopric might be conferred on Anselm, and the unanimous approval of the appointment. We must either suppose that, the general wish in favour of Anselm being notorious, a formal election was deemed unnecessary, or that, if it did take place, it was for the same reason deemed needless by the chroniclers to make any formal record of it. With the request that Anselm would accept the primacy, the king coupled a request which started a fresh difficulty. Certain lands held of the archiepiscopal see by Englishmen on tenure of knight's service before the Norman conquest had lapsed to the lord for lack of heirs during the incumbency of Lanfranc. They had, in fact, become demesne lands of the see, but during the vacancy the king had turned them into military fiefs, and he now arbitrarily summoned Anselm into the king's court in order that this arrangement might be made permanent. But Anselm refused; it would involve, he thought, a wrong to the church which the king, as advocate, had no right to inflict, and which he himself, as trustee, had no right to permit. To accept the archbishopric on such terms would be very like a simoniacal transaction. The king was so much irritated by his refusal that Anselm began to hope he might, after all, escape the burden of the office he so much dreaded (*Ep.* iii. 24).

This, however, was not to be. The whole nation was enraged by the king's relapse into evil courses, and was determined to force him, if possible, to a renewal of the promises which he had made during his sickness at Gloucester. A special gemot was held for this purpose at Winchester, in which the king solemnly renewed his pledges. Anselm was now persuaded to accept the archbishopric, and did homage according to custom. The royal writ was issued, announcing that the king had bestowed the archbishopric on Anselm with all the rights, powers, and possessions which belonged to the see, and with all liberties over all his men, and over as many thegns as King Edward had granted to the church (Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* i. 372; *Fœdera*, i. 5). These last words seem to imply that the point disputed at Windsor was conceded in Anselm's favour. On 5 Sept. 1093, Anselm was enthroned at Canterbury amidst a rejoicing multitude. But the solemnity and festivity of the event was disturbed by one whose appearance was a sinister omen of troubles to come. To the indignation of all, the insolent Ralph Flambard took this strange opportunity of serving a writ in the king's name for a suit against the primate. The object of the writ is not stated; we are only told that it concerned a matter with which the king's court had properly nothing to do (Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* i. 372).

On 4 Dec. Anselm was consecrated by Thomas of Bayeux archbishop of York, assisted by all the bishops of the southern province except Wulfstan of Worcester, Herbert of Thetford, and Osbern of Exeter. According to the old ritual, the book of the Gospels, opened at random, was laid on the shoulders of the newly consecrated prelate, and the passage at which it opened was taken as a sort of omen of his episcopate. The passage which now presented itself was, 'He bade many, and sent his servant at supper-time to say to them that were bidden, Come, for all things are now ready. And they all with one consent began to make excuse.'

The Christmas gemot of 1093 was held at Gloucester. Anselm attended, and was warmly welcomed, not only by the nobility of the realm, but by the king himself. At this gemot a hostile message from Robert, duke of Normandy, was considered, and war was decreed. As usual the great need was money. The chief men offered their contributions, and Anselm offered 500 pounds of silver. The king accepted the gift graciously, but some malignant persons represented that he ought to have received a

much larger sum, 2,000*l.* or 1,000*l.* at least. So a message was sent later to Anselm that his offer was rejected. Anselm sought an audience with the king, and entreated him to take the contribution, which, although his first, would not be his last. A free gift, however small, was far more valuable than a much larger one forcibly exacted. The king felt that this remark was intended as a reproof of his extortionate methods of raising money, and he angrily replied, 'Keep your scolding and your money to yourself. I have enough of my own. Begone.' Anselm departed, thankful, after all, that the gift had been refused, for no man could now insinuate that his gift was a preconcerted price for the archbishopric. He was urged to offer double the sum, but steadfastly refused, and bestowed his despised present on the poor. So the midwinter gemot broke up; Anselm went to his manor at Harrow, where he consecrated a church built by Lanfranc. His right was disputed by Maurice, bishop of London, in whose diocese the manor lay. The question was referred to the aged Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (*Epist.* iii. 19), who decided in favour of Anselm, declaring that the primates had always exercised free spiritual rights in all their manors wherever they might be (Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* 372–5). On 2 Feb. 1094, the forces destined for the invasion of Normandy were collected at Hastings. Anselm and other bishops were summoned thither to invoke a blessing on the expedition. The passage of the army was delayed for more than a month by contrary winds. During this interval, on 11 Feb., Anselm, assisted by seven bishops, consecrated the church of the great abbey which the late king, in fulfilment of his vow, had reared upon the ground where his victory over Harold had been won. In one religious act, at least, the two unequal yokefellows, the fierce bull and the gentle sheep, William, the sinner, and Anselm, the saint, took part together as they stood before the altar of 'St. Martin of the place of battle.'

On 12 Feb. Anselm consecrated Robert Bloet bishop of Lincoln in the chapel of the castle at Hastings, and on the first day of Lent he presided at the ceremony of sprinkling ashes, and preached a sermon, in which he took the opportunity of rebuking the young courtiers for their mincing gait, their effeminate dress and habits, and especially that of wearing their hair long. He refused to give the ashes of penitence or administer absolution to those who would not abandon these customs. He had good reason for attacking them, since they were the outward signs of gross and detestable vice, vice which Anselm says in one of his letters (iii. 62) had grown so common that many practised it without any consciousness of sin. The king himself was addicted to it; nevertheless Anselm tried to get his help in repressing it. In one of the daily interviews which he seems to have had with William at Hastings, he frankly told him that if he would hope for a blessing upon his expedition to Normandy or any other enterprise, he must aid in re-establishing Christianity, which had well-nigh perished out of the land. He therefore asked leave to hold a national synod of bishops, which was a time-honoured remedy in England and Normandy for ecclesiastical and moral evils. William replied that he would call a council at his own pleasure, not Anselm's; 'and pray,' said he, with a sneer, 'what will you talk about in your council?' 'The sin of Sodom,' answered Anselm, 'to say nothing of other detestable vices which have become rampant. Only let the king and the primate unite their authority, and this new and monstrous growth of evil may be rooted out.' But the heart of the Red King was hardened, and he only asked, 'And what good will come of this matter for you?' 'For me, perhaps, nothing,' replied Anselm, 'but something, I hope, for God and for thyself.' 'Enough!' rejoined the king; 'speak no more on this subject.' Anselm obeyed, but turned to another evil, the injury done to religion by the prolonged vacancies in the abbeys. This touched the king in two of his tenderest points, his greed of money and his royal rights. 'What,' he burst forth, 'are the abbeys to you? Are they not mine? Shall you do as you like with your manors, and shall I not deal as I choose with my abbeys?' 'The abbeys,' returned Anselm, 'are yours to protect as their advocate, not to waste and destroy. They belong to God, and their revenues are intended for the support of His ministers, not of your wars.' 'Your words are highly offensive to me,' said the king; 'your predecessor would never have dared to speak thus to my father. I will do nothing for you.' So Anselm, seeing that his words were cast to the winds, rose up and went his way. But he was deeply vexed at this loss of the royal favour, because he felt that without it he could not accomplish the reforms on which his heart was set. He sent the bishops to the king to beg that he would take him into his friendship, or, at least, say why he refused it. The bishops returned, saying that the king did not accuse Anselm of anything,

but would not show him any favour, because he 'heard not wherefore he should.' Anselm inquired what the latter words meant. 'The mystery,' replied the bishops, 'is plain. If you want peace with him, you must give plenty of money. Offer him again the 500*l.* which he refused, and promise him as much more, to be raised from your tenants.' Anselm indignantly rejected such a method. It would set a disastrous precedent for buying off the king's wrath. The bishops urged him at least to repeat the offer of the 500*l.*, but Anselm refused to give again what had been once rejected; moreover, he said he had promised it to the poor, and the greater part had already been given away. His words were reported to the king, who sent back his answer. 'Yesterday I hated him much, to-day I hate him more, and to-morrow and henceforth I shall hate him with even bitterer hatred. I will no longer hold him as father and archbishop, and his blessing and prayers I utterly abhor and despise. Let him go where he will, and not tarry any longer to bless my voyage.' 'We therefore speedily left the court,' says Eadmer, who became from this time his constant companion, 'and abandoned the king to his will' (*Hist. Nov.* i. 379 B). William crossed at length to Normandy about the middle of March. He spent much and gained little in his campaign, and returned to England on 28 Dec. 1094.

Anselm had not yet received his pallium from the pope, which, although not considered essential to the validity of archiepiscopal functions, was looked upon as an indispensable badge of metropolitan authority; and Anselm had now been a full year in office without receiving it. Some time, therefore, in February 1095, he went to Gillingham, near Shaftesbury, where the king was keeping court, and asked leave to go to Rome for his pallium. The papacy was now claimed by two rivals, Urban and Clement. Normandy had acknowledged Urban. England had not as yet acknowledged either. William asked Anselm from which of the two he intended to get his pallium. 'From Urban,' was the reply; and he reminded the king of the warning he had given him at Rochester, that he had, when abbot of Bec, promised allegiance to Urban, and could not recede from it. William, however, maintained that Anselm could not obey the pope against the king's will consistently with the allegiance due to himself. He had not yet acknowledged Urban, and it was neither his custom nor his father's to let any one in England acknowledge any pope without his leave. Anselm felt that the king had no right to force any one into renouncing a choice made before he became a subject. The conflict, however, between the claims of the king and of the pope on his obedience was one which he rightly thought could be settled only by the great council of the nation. He asked for such a council, and the request was granted. A great assembly of the chief men in church and state was convened for Sunday, 11 March 1095, at the royal castle of Rockingham, on the borders of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. A crowd of bishops, abbots, nobles, monks, clerks, and laymen were gathered at an early hour in the castle and the precincts. The king and a party of privy councillors sat in a separate chamber; a messenger passed to and fro between them and the general assembly, which seems to have been either in the chapel of the castle or the great hall which may have opened out of it.

Anselm himself opened the proceedings with an address; the bishops came from the royal presence chamber to hear it. He explained the object of the assembly, which was to decide whether there was any real incompatibility between his allegiance to the king and his obedience to Urban. The bishops, who, throughout these transactions, appear as timid and obsequious courtiers, replied that the archbishop was too wise and good a man to need advice from them; but, at any rate, no advice could they give him unless he first submitted absolutely to the king's will. They reported his speech, however, to the king, who adjourned the proceedings to the morrow.

On Monday, therefore, Anselm, sitting in the midst of the assembly, asked the bishops if they were now ready with their advice. But they had only the same answer to make. Then Anselm spoke in solemn tones, with uplifted eyes and kindling countenance, 'Since you, the shepherds of the people, who are called the leaders of the nation, will give no counsel to me, your head, save according to the will of one man, I will betake me to the chief Shepherd and Head of all, to the Angel of great counsel, and will follow the counsel which I shall receive from Him in my cause, yea, rather in His cause and that of His church. He who declared that obedience was due to St. Peter and the other apostles, and through them to the bishops, saying, "He that despiseth you despiseth me," also taught that the things of Cæsar were to be rendered to Cæsar. By those words I will abide. In the things which are God's I will give obedience to the vicar of the blessed Peter;

in things touching the earthly dignity of my lord the king, I will, to the best of my ability, give him faithful counsel and help.' The cowardly bishops could not gainsay the words of Anselm, but neither did they dare carry them to the king. So Anselm went himself to the presence chamber, and repeated them in the audience of William. The king was exceedingly wroth, and consulted with the bishops and nobles concerning the answer to be given. Their perplexity was extreme. They broke up into small groups, each discussing how some answer might be framed. Anselm meanwhile, having retired to the place of assembly, rested his head against the wall, and went quietly to sleep. At last he was roused by a party of bishops and lay lords bearing a message from the king. He demanded an immediate answer from Anselm. As for the matter at issue between him and the primate, it needed no explanation. For themselves the bishops counselled Anselm to cast away his obedience to Urban, and freely submit, as became an archbishop of Canterbury, to the king's will in everything. Anselm replied that he certainly would not renounce his obedience to the pope, but as the day was far spent he asked leave to reserve his answer for the morrow. The bishops suspected this meant that he was wavering, or that he did not know what to say. The crafty and unscrupulous William of St. Calais, bishop of Durham, who was the leader of the bishops on the king's side, now thought he would be able to drive Anselm into a corner. He boasted to the king that he would force the primate either to renounce obedience to the pope, or to resign the archiepiscopal staff and ring. This fell in with the king's wishes. So the bishop of Durham and his party hastened back to Anselm, and informed him that no delay would be granted him unless he immediately reinvested the king with the imperial dignity of which he had robbed him by having made the bishop of Ostia pope without his authority. Anselm, having patiently listened to this peremptory address, calmly replied: 'Whoever wishes to prove that I violate my allegiance to my earthly sovereign, because I will not renounce my obedience to the sovereign pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, let him come forward, and he will find me ready to answer him *as I ought and where I ought*.' These last words disconcerted the bishop and his friend, for they understood him to mean that, as archbishop of Canterbury, he could not be judged by any one save the pope—a doctrine which it seems no one was prepared to deny. Meanwhile a murmur of sympathy with Anselm ran through the mixed throng. A soldier stepped forward, and, kneeling before the archbishop, said, 'My lord father, thy children beseech thee, through me, not to be disquieted, but to be mindful how the blessed Job, on his dunghill, overcame the devil, and avenged Adam, who had been vanquished in Paradise.' Anselm graciously received this odd address from the honest man, for it assured him that he had the good will of the people. The discomfited bishops returned to the king, and were loaded with reproaches. On the morrow, Tuesday, Anselm once more took his seat, awaiting the king's message. The councillors were perplexed. Even William of St. Calais had no course to recommend but force. The staff and ring might be wrested from the primate, and he himself expelled from the kingdom. But this suggestion did not please the lay nobles. It would be an awkward precedent if the first vassal in the kingdom were deprived of his fief at the king's pleasure. William, in a rage, told them that he would brook no equal in his kingdom; if the proposal of the bishop of Durham did not please them, let them consult and say what would; for, by the face of God, if they did not condemn Anselm, he would condemn them. Count Robert of Meulan then spoke: 'As for our counsel I own I know not what to say; for when we have been devising plans all day, and considering how we can make them hang together, the archbishop innocently goes to sleep, and then when they are submitted to him, with one puff of his lips he blows them to pieces as if they were cobwebs.' The king then turned to the bishops, but they had no suggestion to offer. Anselm was their primate, and they had no power to judge or condemn him, even had any crime been proved against him. The king then proposed that they might at least withdraw their obedience and brotherly intercourse from the archbishop. And to this strange suggestion they had the baseness to accede. Accompanied by some abbots, they announced their intention to Anselm, and informed him that the king also withdrew his trust and protection, and would no longer hold him for archbishop or spiritual father. Anselm mildly replied that they did ill to withdraw their allegiance from him because he refused to withdraw his own from the successor of the chief of the apostles. Although the king withdrew all protection from him, he would not cease to care for the king's soul; retaining the title, power, and office of archbishop,

whatever oppression it might be his lot to suffer. William now tried to make the lay lords abandon the archbishop, saying, 'No one shall be my man who chooses to be his,' to which the nobles replied that as they never were the archbishop's men, they had no fealty to withdraw; 'notwithstanding,' they said, 'he is our archbishop; to him pertains the rule of Christianity in this land, and in this respect we cannot, whilst we live here as christians, refuse his guidance.' William dissembled his wrath, for he was afraid of offending the nobles, whose manly utterance put the craven conduct of the bishops in a more odious light. The king tightened his grip upon these wretched timeservers, required an unconditional renunciation of their obedience to Anselm, and squeezed more money out of them to buy back his favour. Anselm meanwhile requested a safe-conduct to one of the havens and leave to quit the kingdom. William heartily wished to be rid of him, but did not wish him to go while seised of the archbishopric, yet saw no way to disseise him of it. In this dilemma the nobles proposed a truce, and an adjournment of the whole question to Whitsuntide. This proposal was made on the fourth day of the meeting, Wednesday, 14 March, and Anselm assented to it (Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* i. 379–87). And so ended the famous meeting at Rockingham. It seemed to come to nothing; nevertheless a great moral victory had been gained.

William kept the letter of the truce with Anselm, but vented his spite by attacking his friends. He expelled Baldwin of Tournay, a monk of Bec, one of Anselm's most confidential friends, from the kingdom, he arrested his chamberlain, and worried his tenants by unjust lawsuits and imposts. His next device was to gain the pope to his side. He secretly despatched two clerks of the Chapel Royal, Gerard, afterwards archbishop of York, and William of Warelwast, afterwards bishop of Exeter, to Rome, first to ascertain which was the real pope, secondly to persuade him to send the pallium to the king, so that he might be able to bestow it on any one he pleased should he succeed in getting rid of Anselm. The envoys had no difficulty in discovering that Urban was the pope in possession. They acknowledged him in the name of the king, and obtained their request. Cardinal Walter, bishop of Albano, returned to England with them, bringing the pallium. The journey was made with all speed, in order to reach England before Whitsuntide. Great secrecy also was observed. The legate was not allowed to converse with any one, except in the presence of the envoys, and on reaching England he was hurried to the court without being allowed to tarry in Canterbury or to see Anselm. Shortly before Whitsuntide he had an interview with the king. What passed is not recorded, but it was understood that William was encouraged to hope that his wishes would be granted, and that the legate had not spoken a word on Anselm's behalf. The king now ordered a formal recognition of Urban as pope to be published throughout his dominions, and he then asked the legate that Anselm might be deposed by papal authority, promising a large annual payment to the Roman see if his request was granted. But he had overshot his mark. The cardinal flatly declared such a compact to be out of the question. Thus William had gained nothing and lost much by his dealing with Rome. He had acknowledged Urban, whom Anselm had acknowledged long ago, and, instead of getting rid of the primate, it seemed now impossible to avoid going through the form at least of reconciliation with him. This took place at Windsor, where Anselm was summoned to meet the king at Whitsuntide. He was again urged to propitiate the king by money and to receive the pallium from his hands; but he was inflexible, and the king had to give way. On the third Sunday after Trinity (10 June 1095) the legate brought the pallium with great pomp in a silver casket to Canterbury. He was met by the monks of the two monasteries of Christchurch and St. Augustine, and a vast concourse of clergy and laity. Near the cathedral the procession was met by Anselm, barefoot, but in full pontificals and attended by his suffragans. The sacred gift was laid upon the altar, thence it was taken by Anselm and presented to be kissed by those who were round about him, after which he put it on and celebrated mass (Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* ii. 390–2). A short interval of peace now followed. The king went northwards to put down a revolt of Robert of Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland. The archbishop stayed at Canterbury, the care of the city, and apparently of Kent, being committed to him under the king's writ and seal, against an expected attack from Normandy. So faithful was he to this trust that he refused to leave Canterbury even for a day to confer with the papal legate upon the reforms in the church which he had so much at heart (*Epist.* iii. 35, 36). He attended the Christmas gemot at Windsor, where his bitter adversary, William of St. Calais, died. Anselm received his confession and tended him in his dying hours with affectionate care. He had already absolved two bishops who had expressed penitence for their conduct at

Rockingham, Osmund of Salisbury, the compiler of the celebrated Use of Sarum, and Robert of Hereford. Most of the other bishops now followed their example; yet there were some who still remained hostile, and when the papal legate remonstrated, they had the incredible baseness to say that Anselm was not a lawful archbishop because he had received investiture from a king who at the time was in schism with Rome, the very king to whom they themselves had paid the most obsequious homage (*Epist.* iii. 36).

On 18 Nov. 1095 the first crusade was preached by Urban at Clermont in Auvergne. Robert, duke of Normandy, was seized with the impulse which stirred the heart of Christendom, but his treasury was empty and his hold on his duchy was weak. He therefore mortgaged it for three years to his brother William for the sum of 10,000 marks, which the Red King undertook to raise. The sum was levied with great difficulty. The clergy were already so impoverished that to furnish contributions they were forced to part with many of their most sacred treasures. Anselm was willing to contribute, but he had not enough ready money. By the advice of Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, and Gundulf of Rochester, he borrowed 100 pounds from the monks of Christ Church on the security of his manor of Peckham, which he mortgaged to them for seven years. It turned out a very good bargain for the monks, who enlarged the east end of the cathedral out of the Peckham rents. Altogether Anselm scraped together 200 pounds, and the king seems to have been satisfied. The bargain between the king and his brother was settled in September 1096. Robert started for Palestine. William took possession of Normandy, and remained in the duchy till the following Easter, when the disturbed state of Wales brought him back to England. After holding a gemot at Windsor in April he made a great expedition into Wales, which seemed to be successful. The submission of the country turned out to be only nominal, but at the moment the Red King, by the acquisition of Normandy and reduction of Wales, appeared to have reached the height of his prosperity. A favourable opportunity seemed to have come for again pressing reforms on the king. It may have been, as Anselm believed, only another device to put off the discharge of this duty, that the king, on his return from Wales, wrote an angry letter complaining of the contingent of knights whom Anselm had furnished for the Welsh campaign. They were so ill equipped, he said, and ill trained as to have been quite useless, and Anselm must expect a summons in the King's court to 'do him right.' The archbishop did not think it necessary to take any notice of this petulant message. He attended the Whitsuntide gemot, and was graciously received. He again exhorted the king to set about the work of reform, but his appeals were utterly vain, and he now resolved to take the step to which his mind had been gravitating for some time. He sent a formal message to the king by some of the nobles, saying that he was driven by urgent need to ask his leave to go to Rome. The king refused the license. But Anselm had quite made up his mind that the only hope of redress for his own wrongs or the wrongs of the church lay in an appeal to the pope. He renewed his request at another gemot held in August, and again at Winchester in October. The king was now thoroughly enraged. He not only refused the license, but declared that Anselm must pay a fine for asking it. Anselm offered to give good reasons for his request, which the king declined to hear, and told him that if he did go he should seize the archbishopric and never receive him as archbishop again. An adjournment was granted for one day, and on the morrow Anselm said he still asked for the license. For the sake of his own soul, for the sake of religion, and for the king's own honour and profit, it was needful he should go, and if the king would not grant leave he must go without it, obeying God rather than man. The bishops again urged submission. 'You have spoken well,' said Anselm; 'do you go to your lord, and I will cleave to my God.' The lay barons also were now against him. He had sworn to observe the customs of the realm, and it was contrary to those customs for any man in his position to go to Rome without the king's license. Anselm replied that he had indeed promised to observe the customs, but only so far as they were in accordance with right and agreeable to the will of God. He went into the royal presence chamber, and, seating himself at the king's right hand, maintained this doctrine at some length, until the king and Count Robert of Meulan exclaimed that he was preaching a sermon, and a general uproar followed. Anselm quietly waited till it had subsided, and then summed up his argument. He then rose and departed, accompanied by the faithful Eadmer. They were followed by a messenger from William, who told Anselm that he might leave the kingdom, but must not take anything belonging to the king. 'I have horses, clothes, and furniture,' replied Anselm; 'perhaps some one will say they belong to the king; if so, I will go naked and

barefoot rather than abandon my purpose.' The king sent word back that he did not wish him to go naked and barefoot, but he must be at the haven ready to cross within eleven days, and there a messenger would meet him, and let him know what he might take with him. Anselm returned to the presence chamber, and, addressing the king with a cheerful countenance, 'My lord,' he said, 'I am going. . . . Now, therefore, not knowing when I shall see you again, I commend you to God, and as a spiritual father to a beloved son, as archbishop of Canterbury to the king of England, I would fain, before I go, give you God's blessing and my own, if you refuse it not.' For a moment the heart of the Red King was touched; 'his good angel perhaps spoke to him then for the last time. "I refuse not your blessing," was his answer. The man of God arose, the king bowed his head, and Anselm made the sign of the cross over it' (Freeman, *Will. Rufus*, i. 594). Then he departed, and the saint and the sinner never met again (Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* ii. 395–402).

This happened on 15 Oct. 1097, and Anselm immediately left Winchester for Canterbury. On the day after his arrival he took an affecting farewell of the monks. Then, in the presence of a great congregation, he took the pilgrim's staff and scrip from off the altar, and, having commended the weeping multitude to Christ, he set forth for Dover, accompanied by Eadmer and Baldwin. At Dover they found the king's chaplain, William of Warelwast, awaiting them. For fourteen days they were detained by stress of weather, during which William of Warelwast was Anselm's guest. At last the wind was favourable, and Anselm and his party hastened to the shore. But William of Warelwast forbade their embarking until their baggage had been searched. This was done upon the beach amidst the astonishment and execration of the bystanders; but nothing was found which could be seized for the king, and after this vexatious delay Anselm and his friends set sail and landed safely at Whitsand. As soon as they were out of the country, the king not only seized the estates of the see, but cancelled all acts and decrees relating to them made by the archbishop. Meanwhile Anselm, after halting a while at the monastery of St. Omer, journeyed through France and the duchy of Burgundy to Cluny, where he had a hearty welcome and spent Christmas. A curious story is told by Eadmer (*Hist. Nov.* ii. 404) how Odo, duke of Burgundy, tempted by the report of the archbishop's riches, set out, intending to plunder him on the way, but was so completely captivated by Anselm's manner and appearance that he accepted his kiss and his blessing, and gave him a safe conduct. The roads were deemed dangerous for travelling in the winter; so the rest of the season was spent at Lyons with the Archbishop Hugh, who was an old friend of Anselm. From Lyons he wrote a letter to Pope Urban, explaining the purpose of his coming; how he had spent four fruitless miserable years in the high office which had been forced upon him, how he had seen the church plundered and oppressed, how he had no hope of getting these evils redressed in England. He therefore sought the protection and counsel of the apostolic see. The bearers of the letter returned with a pressing invitation from the pope, and in the spring Anselm and his friends set forth. They preserved a strict incognito, for fear of robbers in the pay of the antipope Clement, and reached Rome in safety. Here they were warmly welcomed by the pope, and lodged in the Lateran. The day after they arrived there was a grand gathering of the Roman nobility at the papal palace, which Anselm attended. When he prostrated himself at the feet of the pontiff, Urban raised him up and embraced him, and made him sit by his side. He then introduced him to the assembly as the patriarch or pope of another world, a miracle of virtue and learning, the champion of the Roman see, yet so humble as to seek from the unworthy occupant the counsel which he himself was more fitted to give. In fact, Eadmer says Anselm was quite disconcerted by the pope's flattery. After the public reception Urban heard the narrative of his wrongs, and promised him his assistance (Eadm. *Vit. Ans.* ii. 42; *Hist. Nov.* ii. 405–8).

Meanwhile the season was approaching when Rome was unhealthy for strangers, and Anselm was urged by the abbot of Telese in Apulia, formerly one of his scholars at Bec, to take up his abode with him. This he did with the consent of the pope, and as the heat increased the abbot transferred him to the mountain village of Schiavi. The weary old man was enchanted with the pure cool air, the seclusion and repose of this sweet retreat. He resumed the simple studious habits which he had loved so well in his happy days at Bec, and he completed his treatise on the incarnation, the 'Cur Deus Homo?' which he had begun amidst all the turmoil of his life in England. He was obliged, however, to leave his retreat, in order to meet the pope in the camp of Duke Roger of Apulia, who was besieging Capua. Their quarters were close together, a little outside the actual camp. Eadmer tells us how all folk, including even the Saracens in the army of Count Roger of

Sicily, were charmed by Anselm. William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* 98) says that the Red King wrote to Duke Roger to try and prejudice him against Anselm. The duke, however, was so captivated by Anselm, that he besought him to take up his abode in Apulia, offering to bestow some of his best lands upon him if he did. To this Anselm would not consent, but he entreated the pope to relieve him of the archbishopric, in which he was convinced that he could do no good whilst William was on the throne, of whose outrages on religion and morals travellers continually brought fresh tidings. Urban, however, would not release him, and for the present he returned to Schiavi, where he remained until summoned to attend the council of Bari in October 1098. At the council of Bari the question of the 'procession of the Holy Ghost' was discussed with the Greek delegates. A hot debate arose. The pope referred to Anselm's work on the Incarnation, and presently called on Anselm himself to step forward and vindicate the true doctrine of the Holy Ghost before the assembly. An eager crowd thronged round the papal throne, immediately below which Anselm was placed. Urban then formally introduced him, and expatiated on the wrongs which had driven him from England. His speech on the doctrinal question was delivered the next day, and is described as a masterpiece of learning and power, for which he was publicly thanked by the pope; but we have no detailed report of it. The sympathy of the council with his troubles was so strong that they unanimously urged the excommunication of the Red King, which, according to Eadmer, the pope was only hindered from promulgating by the intercession of Anselm himself. Urban, however, was a wary man, and it may be doubted whether he intended more than a demonstration (Eadm. *Vit. Ans.* ii. 45–9; *Hist. Nov.* ii. 408, 409, 413–16). Anselm and his friends accompanied the pope from Bari to Rome, and soon after their arrival shortly before Christmas, 1098, William of Warelwast appeared as advocate for the Red King. In a public audience Urban adopted a severe and threatening tone, telling him that if the king did not reinstate Anselm before the council to be held the next Easter he must expect to be excommunicated. William's agent, however, knew how to deal with the papal court. He tarried several days in Rome, and made good use of his time by a judicious distribution of gifts amongst the councillors of the pope. The result of his dealings was that the pope granted William a respite to the following Michaelmas. Anselm and his companions now began to see that they were leaning upon a broken reed, and they asked leave to return to Lyons. But the pope insisted on their remaining for the great council to be held at Easter, and meanwhile paid Anselm all possible honour. When the council assembled in St. Peter's in April 1099, there was some curiosity to see where he would be seated, as no one present had ever seen an archbishop of Canterbury attend a general council at Rome. The pope ordered him to be placed in the seat of honour in the centre of the half-circle of prelates who sat on either side of the papal chair, and therefore immediately opposite himself. Decrees were passed or renewed against simony and clerical marriages, and anathema was pronounced against the layman who should bestow investiture of an ecclesiastical benefice, or the clerk who should receive it at his hands and become his man. This decree was flatly opposed to the 'customs' of England and Normandy, and became the occasion of the dispute which afterwards arose between Anselm and Henry I. When the canons were to be read in St. Peter's, the pope ordered Reinger, bishop of Lucca, a man of great stature and powerful voice, to read, so that all might hear. Reinger read a little way, then suddenly stopped, and burst forth into an indignant declamation upon the uselessness of passing laws when they did nothing to right a man who was the meek victim of tyrannical oppression. 'If you do not all know whom I mean,' he said, 'it is Anselm, archbishop of England;' and he ended by smiting the floor thrice with his staff, and uttering a groan through his teeth tightly clenched. 'Enough, enough! brother Reinger,' said the pope; 'good order shall be taken concerning this.' The whole scene reads like a piece of acting. Anselm clearly suspected it to be so. At any rate nothing came of the demonstration, and the next day Anselm left Rome, 'having obtained,' says his biographer, with subdued irony, 'nought of counsel or assistance save what I have related' (*Hist. Nov.* ii. 418–21). They reached Lyons in safety, travelling by a circuitous route to avoid the agents of the antipope, and were heartily welcomed by Archbishop Hugh. Anselm resided with him, and assisted him in his episcopal duties.

In the following July, 1099, Pope Urban died; and on 2 Aug. 1100 William fell in the New Forest, pierced by an arrow from an unknown hand. Anselm was sojourning at the monastery of God's House (Casa Dei), not far from Brioude in Auvergne, when the tidings of William's death reached him. It was brought by two monks, one from Canterbury, the other from Bec. At first he was stupefied by the shock, and then he broke into a flood of

tears. His friends were astonished at this burst of grief over such a man as William; but Anselm, in a voice broken by sobs, declared that he would rather have died himself than that the king should have perished by such a death. He then returned to Lyons, where another monk from Canterbury presently arrived, bearing a letter from the mother-church, imploring him to return and comfort his children now the tyrant was no more. Archbishop Hugh was most unwilling to part with him, but owned that it was his duty to go. Before he reached Cluny another messenger came, bringing a letter from the new king Henry and the lay lords, begging Anselm to return with all speed, and even chiding him for not coming sooner. Normandy was in a disturbed state, as Robert had just returned, and the Norman nobles were intriguing with him, or through him, against his brother. So Anselm, by Henry's advice, avoided Normandy on his journey to Whitsand, from which port he crossed to Dover. He landed on 23 Sept., and his return, after nearly three years' absence, was welcomed with transports of joy by the whole country. The hopes of the nation revived. But as regarded the relations between the king and the primate they speedily received a check. Anselm had returned, pledged, as he conceived, to obey the canons of the councils of Clermont, Bari, and Rome, which forbade clerics to receive investiture at the hands of laymen, or do homage to them for their benefices. A difficulty arose at once between him and Henry on this point. They met at Salisbury a few days after he had landed, and the king was cordial in his greeting; but the temporalities of the see of Canterbury being in his hands, he required Anselm to do homage for their restitution, according to the ancient custom of the country. Anselm replied that he could not do this in the face of the canons lately passed by the council of Rome. The king was grievously perplexed. He was most unwilling to give up the ancient rights of investiture and homage, but he was also most unwilling to quarrel with Anselm, and especially before he was firmly established on the throne. He therefore proposed a truce until the following Easter, during which envoys should be sent to Rome to induce the pope to relax the decrees in favour of the ancient custom of the realm, and meanwhile Anselm was to be reinstated in all the possessions of his see (Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* iii. 424–5). Anselm consented, although with little hope of the pope's yielding. Personally he does not seem to have entertained any objection to the customs in question, to which he had himself formerly conformed. His opposition to the king was simply a matter of obedience to the Roman see. While matters were thus in a state of suspense, Anselm did the king a piece of good service. Henry was anxious to marry Matilda, whose English name was Eadgyth, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Margaret, his wife. Margaret was a granddaughter of Eadmund Ironside, and consequently an alliance with her daughter would connect Henry with the old royal line of England. But it was said by many that Matilda or Eadgyth was a nun, and therefore could not legally be married. Matilda, however, denied that she had taken any monastic vows. Her aunt Christina, a nun in the abbey of Romsey, to whose care she had been entrusted as a child, had made her wear the veil, and wished her to become a nun, but she had always refused. Anselm laid the case before a large assembly of clerics and laymen at Lambeth. Having heard the evidence of the maiden herself and of others, they decided that she was free. Anselm heard their reasons and approved their judgment. In the presence of a vast concourse which came to witness the royal marriage, he challenged any one who disputed its legality to come forward and prove his objection. A unanimous shout of approval was the response. Anselm then celebrated and blessed the marriage on 11 Nov. 1100. Matilda was his firm friend through all his difficulties, and constantly corresponded with him when he was absent from England (see esp. *Epist.* iii. 55).

Easter came (1100), but the envoys had not returned from Rome. The truce therefore between Henry and Anselm was extended, and meanwhile he rendered another good service to the king. Ralph Flambard, the infamous bishop of Durham, had escaped from the Tower, in which he was imprisoned soon after Henry's accession. He made for Normandy and stirred up Robert to attempt an invasion of England. It was a critical time for Henry. The chief men of Norman birth in England wavered in their allegiance. At the Whitsuntide gemot king and nobles met with mutual suspicion. Both sides looked to Anselm as a mediator, and the king holding his hand renewed the promise of good laws which he had made at his coronation. Robert landed at Portchester in July, and the armies met near Alton. Several of the Norman barons went over to Robert's side, but, mainly owing to the indefatigable exhortations, public and private, of the archbishop, the mass of the English army and the bishops remained loyal to Henry. The brothers held a parley and came to terms without fighting. Robert gave up England. Henry gave up Normandy

except Domfront, but it was only for a little time (Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* ii. 426–31). At last the envoys returned from Rome. They brought a letter from Pope Paschal distinctly refusing to recognise Henry's claim to invest prelates by the delivery of the pastoral staff and ring. The will of the pope and the will of the king were thus placed in direct conflict. Henry was not a violent man like Rufus, and he did not wish to quarrel with Anselm, but he was cold-blooded and resolute. Anselm was summoned to court and again asked if he would do homage and consecrate the prelates whom the king invested. Anselm replied that he must abide by the decrees of the council at which he had been present. The king proposed that a second and more distinguished embassy should be sent to Rome representing both sides. On Anselm's side were his old friend and companion Baldwin of Bec, and Alexander, a monk of Canterbury; on the side of the king were Gerard, archbishop of York, who also went to get his pallium, Herbert, bishop of Thetford, and Robert, bishop of Chester. The envoys found Paschal as inflexible as before. A letter in the same determined strain was sent to the king, and another to Anselm bidding him to persevere in his present attitude. On the return of the envoys an assembly of the great men of the realm was convened in London. An unconditional surrender was again demanded from Anselm. This he declared to be impossible in the face of the letter which he had received from the pope. Every one was allowed to read this letter. The letter to the king, on the contrary, was not made public. And now, to the bewilderment of all, the king's agents stepped forward and declared on their faith as bishops that the pope in a secret interview had bidden them tell the king that so long as he appointed good and pious prelates, and otherwise conducted himself as a good prince, the pope would not interfere with his claim to investiture, but the pope, they said, would not commit this to writing, lest other princes should quote it as a precedent. Anselm's agents expressed the greatest amazement at this announcement. The assembly was divided. Some maintained that the greatest credence must be given to letters bearing the pope's own seal and signature, others that the word of bishops must outweigh the authority of mere documents supported only by the testimony of paltry monks (*monachellorum*) unversed in secular affairs. In such a conflict of evidence and opinion there was clearly no alternative but to send yet another deputation to Rome to learn what the pope really had said. All that Anselm wanted to know was the truth. He wrote to the pope (*Epist.* iii. 73), saying that he did not wish to doubt either the letter or the bishops. Let the pope either exempt England from the decrees of the council, or let him say that they were to be obeyed, and Anselm would let them drop or he would enforce them, even at the peril of his life. Meanwhile he consented that the king should act on the assumption that the story of the bishops was true, and invest prelates with the ring and staff, and further he consented to hold intercourse with such prelates, provided he was not required to consecrate them. The king lost no time in acting on this understanding. He gave the see of Sarum to his clerk Roger, who became one of the ablest chancellors of the realm, and Hereford to another Roger who had been the steward of his larder. During this period of compromise, about Michaelmas 1102, a large mixed council was held at Westminster for the reform of abuses ecclesiastical and moral. It was the sort of national synod for which Anselm had repeatedly asked in vain during the reign of Rufus. Several abbots were deposed for simony, canons were passed against the secular habits of the clergy, and especially against their marriage and concubinage. One decree was passed against the slave traffic in England, whereby it is said men were sold like brute beasts; others were directed against those gross forms of vice which had become common during the reign of the late king (*Hist. Nov.* ii. 438–9; Will. Malm. *Gest. Pont.* i. 64). Henry seems to have violated the terms of the compromise with Anselm in asking him to consecrate the bishops whom he appointed and invested. Anselm of course refused, and Gerard of York, a timeserving courtier who was ready to consecrate anybody, was called upon to discharge the duty. But, to the general astonishment, some of the king's nominees now began to turn scrupulous. Reinhelm, bishop-elect of Hereford, sent back his ring and staff, and William Giffard, when on the point of being consecrated bishop of Winchester, declared that he would rather be spoiled of all his goods than wrongfully receive the rite at the hands of Gerard. The multitude which had come to witness the consecration applauded the resolution of William, but the king was highly displeased, and in spite of Anselm's intercession (*Ep.* iv. 126) William Giffard was banished.

About the middle of the following Lent, 1103, the king and Anselm met at Canterbury. The messengers had returned from Rome bringing an indignant repudiation by the pope of the story told by Gerard and the other prelates, and confirming the contents

of his letters in every particular. The king, however, still demanded submission from Anselm; his patience, he said, was worn out, he would brook no more delays, the pope had nothing to do with the rights which all his predecessors had enjoyed. Anselm was, as ever, respectful, but firm; he did not wish to deprive the king of his rights, but he could not, even to save his life, disobey the canons which he had with his own ears heard promulgated in the Roman council. For the moment the aspect of things seemed blacker than ever; men even began to fear for the personal safety of the primate, when suddenly, and with a mildness which makes one think that Henry had all along been assuming more sternness than he really felt, he suggested, almost besought, Anselm to go himself to Rome and try whether he could not induce the pope to give way. Anselm asked that the proposal might be reserved for the decision of the Easter gemot, which was then about to be held at Winchester. The assembly considered it and urged him to go. He replied that since it was their will he would go, weak and aged though he was. Anselm hastened back to Canterbury, and, setting out four days afterwards, embarked at Dover and crossed once more to Whitsand. He had not to suffer any indignities this time, but travelled in the king's peace, and throughout his absence friendly letters passed between him and the king. He was warmly welcomed everywhere, more especially, of course, at Bec, where he spent the summer on account of the risk to health of visiting Rome in the hot season. By the end of August he set out. At Rome he found his old opponent William of Warelwast come to act as the king's advocate. William pleaded so skilfully that he made a great impression on some of the pope's councillors, and boldly wound up an harangue by saying, 'Know all men present that not to save his kingdom will King Henry lose the investiture of the churches.' 'And before God, not to save his head will Pope Paschal let him have them,' was the answer. Nevertheless a moderately worded letter was despatched to Henry, informing him that though the rights of investiture could not be granted, and those who received it at his hands must be excommunicated, yet he himself should be exempted from excommunication and enjoy the exercise of all other ancestral customs. In fact it was intended to be a soothing letter, and the points at issue were somewhat veiled by compliments and congratulations to the king on the birth of his son. Meanwhile Anselm and his friends set out on their homeward journey. They were conducted through the Apennines by the renowned Countess Matilda. At Placentia they were joined by William of Warelwast, who travelled with them over the Alps and then hastened to England, while Anselm went to Lyons to spend Christmas with his old friend the archbishop. Before they parted William told him that he had been bidden by the king to say that he felt the warmest regard for Anselm, and if Anselm would only be to the king all that his predecessor had been to Henry's predecessors he would be right gladly welcomed. 'Have you no more to say?' asked Anselm. 'I speak to a man of understanding,' was the reply. 'I know what you mean,' said Anselm, and so they parted. At Lyons Anselm sojourned for a year and a half. The king confiscated the revenues of the see of Canterbury, but two of Anselm's own men were appointed receivers, that the tenants might not be oppressed. Anselm was to be allowed whatever was convenient for his own needs, and the king continued to keep up an amicable correspondence with him. At the same time he sent another embassy to Rome. His aim seems to have been twofold. He wanted to persuade the pope to dispense with the canon against lay investiture in his favour, and meanwhile he hoped to persuade Anselm to act on the assumption that the pope would yield. He was not successful in either aim. The pope did not dare, even for the sake of securing Henry's support, openly to set aside the canons of a Roman council, although he was dilatory in action and hesitating in speech. Anselm, on the contrary, was as firm, clear, and straightforward as ever. In spite of reproachful or suppliant letters from England urging him to return to his bereaved church, he steadfastly refused until the point in dispute was settled one way or the other. He would be to Henry all that Lanfranc had been to Henry's father, if he could be put in Lanfranc's position, if the decrees which had been passed since Lanfranc's time were rescinded by the same authority which had issued them, not otherwise (*Epist.* iii. 93, 94, 95, 97, iv. 43, 44). The perfect straightforwardness of Anselm was in fact embarrassing both to Henry and the pope; neither of them wished to act with complete decision and honesty of purpose, nothing short of which would satisfy Anselm. He continually sent letters or messengers to the pope, but received nothing but consolatory promises which came to nothing, while from Henry he got nothing but polite excuses. At last he resolved upon an act which should force the question to a crisis. In the summer of 1105 he set out for Normandy, where the

king then was. On the way he heard that Adela, countess of Blois, sister of the king, was very ill. He turned his steps to Blois, and tarried there some days till she was convalescent. Then he told her that for the wrong which her brother had done to God and to him for two years and more he was going to excommunicate him. Adela was greatly distressed, and Henry himself was alarmed when he heard of Anselm's intention. It would tarnish his reputation to undergo such a sentence from a man of Anselm's character, and might strengthen the hands of his adversaries in the critical struggle in which he was then engaged for the possession of Normandy. Through the mediation of Adela an interview was arranged between him and Anselm at Laigle on 22 July 1105. Nothing could exceed the courtesy of Henry; he restored the revenues of the see, he implored the primate to return if only he would recognise those who had been invested by the king. But Anselm insisted that permission to do this must be given from Rome. This involved yet another embassy, and there was considerable delay in sending it. Henry meanwhile added to the list of his wrongs done to the church by levying heavy taxes upon it for his expenses in the war with Normandy. He began by exacting fines from the clergy who had disobeyed the canons against marriage, but, finding the sums so raised inadequate, he imposed the tax on the whole body. The clergy were in great distress, and besought the queen, 'good Queen Mold,' to plead for them with the king; but though moved to tears by their sad plight she dared not interfere. In this strait even the court bishops began to turn to Anselm for help. They wrote a piteous letter, saying that if only he would return they would stand by him and fight for the honour of Christ (*Ep.* iii. 121). Anselm wrote a letter of sympathy (iii. 122), mixed with some gently ironical congratulations on their having perceived at last the consequences of their subservience, and expressing his regret that he could not return, anxious as he was to do so, until the pope had decided the point in dispute between him and the king. Meanwhile he wrote a severe letter of reproof to Henry (*Ep.* iii. 109) for taking upon himself to punish priests, a duty which pertained to bishops only, and he warned him that the money so raised would not turn to his profit. At the same time he wrote to his archdeacon and to the prior and chapter of Canterbury, ordering the penalties of deprivation or excommunication to be enforced upon those clergy who infringed the canons concerning marriage (*Ep.* iii. 110–12). Henry replied to Anselm in polite but evasive terms, expressing himself ready to make amends if he had offended, and promising that the archiepiscopal property should not be molested (*Hist. Nov.* iv. 460).

At length, in April 1106, William of Warelwast and Baldwin of Bec returned with the latest instructions of the pope. Anselm was now authorised to release from excommunication those who had broken the canons about investiture and homage. The judgment laid down no rule for the future, but it set Anselm free to return and renew intercourse with the offending bishops, and the king sent messengers to Anselm at Bec urging him to come without delay. He was detained, however, for some time, partly at Bec, partly at Jumièges, by alarming illness. Henry expressed the greatest anxiety; all his wants were to be supplied, and the king would shortly cross to Normandy and pay him a visit. His life was despaired of, but just as he seemed on the brink of death he began to recover, and on the feast of the Assumption he was well enough to see the king at Bec. At this interview the king pledged himself to release the churches henceforth from the vexatious burdens laid on them by his brother, to exact no more fines from the clergy, to compensate in the course of three years those who had already paid them, and to restore everything which he had kept in his hands belonging to the see of Canterbury. Anselm now started for England, and landing at Dover was greeted with enthusiastic joy, in which the queen took a prominent part, going to meet him, and then travelling in advance in order to arrange for his comfort at the places where he halted. Henry remained in Normandy, and before long wrote to Anselm announcing his decisive victory at Tenchebrai over his brother Robert, and the complete subjugation of Normandy, 28 Sept. 1106 (*Hist. Nov.* iv. 464).

The final and formal settlement of the long dispute concerning investiture was made at a large gemot held in London on 1 Aug. 1107. It was debated for three days by the king and the bishops, Anselm being absent. Some were for still insisting on the old custom, but Pope Paschal had conceded the question of homage, and so the king on his part was the more willing to concede the right of investiture. In the presence, therefore, of Anselm and a great multitude of witnesses, the king granted and decreed that thenceforth no man in England should be invested with bishopric or abbey by staff and ring either by the hand of the king or any other layman, and Anselm on his side promised that no one elected to a prelacy

should be debarred from consecration on account of having done homage to the king. In accordance with this compromise appointments were immediately made to several churches which had long been destitute of incumbents without any investiture by staff and ring from lay hands. On Sunday, the 11th, Anselm consecrated several men with whom he had not been able to hold communion to bishoprics, including William Giffard to Winchester, and Reinhelm to Hereford, who had refused to be consecrated by Gerard of York, Roger to Sarum, and William of Warelwast, so long his opponent but now his friend, to Exeter (*Hist. Nov.* iv. 466). Anselm did not long survive the termination of his protracted struggle for the rights and liberties of the church; and during this brief remainder of his life he was repeatedly attacked by severe illness. But in the intervals he was actively engaged, and we see the same indomitable spirit at work. He not only laboured to enforce the canons of London against simony and the marriage of the clergy, but largely through his efforts the king was moved to put down false coining with a strong hand, and a stricter discipline was maintained amongst his followers, whose acts of violence, when he made his progresses, had long been a cause of misery to the people. Anselm also promoted the erection of Ely into an episcopal see to relieve the great diocese of Lincoln, and he upheld the paramount dignity of the see of Canterbury against the pretensions of Thomas, archbishop elect of York, who tried to evade making his profession of obedience, but was compelled to do so by a decree passed in a gemot at London. Nor were his literary labours diminished; he carried on a wide correspondence with distinguished persons, clerical and lay, who sought his counsel in all parts of Christendom, including Alexander, king of the Scots, Murdach, king of the Irish, and Baldwin, king of Jerusalem; and he wrote a treatise 'concerning the agreement of foreknowledge, predestination, and the grace of God with free will.' The composition of this treatise was delayed by frequent interruptions of illness and increasing weakness. At last he became so feeble that he had to be carried in a litter from place to place instead of riding on horseback. Till within four days of his death he was carried daily into his chapel to attend mass. Then he took to his bed. On Palm Sunday, being told by one of those who stood around him that they thought he was about to leave the world to keep his Master's Easter court, he replied, 'If His will be so, I shall gladly obey it; but if He pleased rather that I should yet remain amongst you till I have solved a question which I am turning in my mind about the origin of the soul, I should receive it thankfully; for I know not any one who will finish it after I am gone.' This wish, however, was not to be fulfilled. On Thursday he could no longer speak intelligibly, and on Wednesday, 21 April, at dawn he passed away, in the year 1109, the sixteenth of his pontificate and the seventy-sixth of his life. He was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury, next his friend Lanfranc, in the body of the church in front of the great rood: but his remains were afterwards removed to the chapel, beneath the south-east tower, which bears his name, and there they now rest (Eadmer, *Vit. Ans.* ii. c. 7; *Hist. Nov.* iv. 467, *ad finem*). If guileless simplicity, spotless integrity, faithful zeal, and patient suffering for righteousness sake give any one a claim to be called 'saint,' Anselm certainly deserved the title. And it was by virtue of these qualities, combined with inflexible firmness, courage, and straightforward honesty of purpose, more than by his intellectual gifts, great as they were, that he won the day in his struggle first with lawless insolence, and then with diplomatic craft. After his death he became the object of increasing veneration to men of his own time, and to later generations. Dante, in his vision of Paradise, saw him 'among the spirits of light and power in the sphere of the sun.' A halo of miraculous legend gathered round the story of his life. Yet, strange to say, the first demand for his canonisation made by Thomas Becket was not successful, and he was not formally placed on the roll of saints till 1494, when he suffered what has been well called the 'indignity of canonisation' at the hands of Roderic Borgia, Pope Alexander VI (Church's *Anselm*, p. 301).

A catalogue of Anselm's writings is given below. His fame as a philosopher and theologian rests mainly upon three treatises —the 'Monologion,' the 'Proslogion,' and the 'Cur Deus Homo?'

The 'Monologion,' which, as the name implies, is in the form of a continuous discourse as distinguished from a dialogue, is an attempt to prove the existence and nature of God by pure reason without the aid of Scripture or of any appeal to authority. It is an application of the Platonic theory of 'ideas' to the demonstration of christian doctrine. Some efforts in this direction had been made by the (so-called) Dionysius the Areopagite, whose writings had become well known in western Christendom through a

translation made by John Scotus Erigena. St. Augustine worked out the method more systematically in his treatise on the Trinity (lib. viii. c. 3), but not with such completeness and precision as Anselm, whose treatise is one close and compact chain of reasoning, every link being, so to speak, tightly fastened to that which precedes and follows it. Starting from the contemplation of sensible objects, he propounds the question whether the goodness in all good things, although known by different names, such as justice in a man, strength or swiftness in a horse, and so on, comes from one source or divers. All varieties of excellence, by whatever name they may be called, are resolvable at last into a few simple elements—the good, the beautiful, the great, the useful. Hence he arrives at the conclusion that all things to which any of these qualities in various degrees and forms are attributed must derive them from something which is in itself always the same, which is in itself absolutely and unchangeably good and great. As also there is a difference in natures, some being better than others, as a horse is superior to a dog, and a man to a horse, there must be one nature so superior to all others that it cannot be exceeded by any; otherwise there would be no end to the series, which is absurd. This supreme nature must be the author of its own existence: it must be 'per se' and 'ex se,' 'by means of itself' and 'from itself;' it must be 'per se,' for if it was by means of another that other would be the greater, which is contrary to the supposition; if it were out of nothing, then it must be brought out of nothing either by itself or by another; not by itself, for then itself would be prior to itself, which is absurd, nor by another, for then it would not be the highest nature of all. In this way he proves the eternal self-existence of the divine nature. And by similar rigorously logical methods he goes on to prove the existence and nature of the Word, and the Holy Spirit.

In the 'Proslogion,' so called because it is in the form of an address to God, he endeavours to prove the existence of the Deity by a shorter method—by a single deductive argument instead of a lengthened inductive chain. He had long been anxious, he says, to discover such an argument, and vexed that it continually eluded him, until at last, to his great joy, it was suddenly revealed to him. The point of departure in this case was not the contemplation of the outer but of the inner world, not of sensible objects but of the mind of man. He could prove, he thought, the being of a God out of the very saying of the fool that there was no God. That very denial involved the idea of a Being than whom no greater can be conceived; but if no greater can be conceived, then He must exist, since existence is a necessary point of perfection. This is substantially the argument which was employed by Descartes six hundred years afterwards, although there is no evidence that Descartes had any knowledge of Anselm's writings. Leibnitz, however, is inclined to suspect that he had, because he thinks that both in the style and matter of Descartes' writings he detects a larger obligation to other authors than Descartes chose to acknowledge (*Epist. ad Bierlingium*, 1710, v. 361, 393). It is to be noted that neither Anselm nor Descartes seeks to prove the existence of God in order to *produce* belief, but, starting from belief as a fact, their aim is to show that reason independently followed necessarily confirms the convictions of faith. It is remarkable that in the period between Anselm and Descartes no one seems to have adopted the same method. Anselm cannot properly be considered as the first or forerunner of the schoolmen; their method was not Platonic, but Aristotelian, a method far better adapted than Anselm's to the ordinary mind of the middle ages. In boldness, indeed, and originality of thought, Anselm was too far ahead of the intellectual standard of his day to be thoroughly understood or appreciated. The aim of the 'Cur Deus Homo?' is to prove the necessity of the incarnation as the only means whereby the debt of obedience due from man to God could be discharged, an adequate reparation made for his offences, and the immortality of body and soul recovered for which he was originally destined. Unlike the other two treatises, it is in the form of a dialogue, which renders it easier reading, although the reasoning is not less close and cogent. There is no apparent lack of finish in the work, although Anselm in his preface says that he should have made several additions if he could have secured some quiet leisure, but that it was begun in England amidst great distress of heart—'in magna cordis tribulatione'—and finished during his sojourn in the province of Capua.

If his philosophical treatises exhibit the profundity, the daring originality, and masterly grasp of his intellect, his meditations and prayers reveal the spiritual side of his nature, the deep humility of his faith, and the fervour of his love towards God, while his letters show him in his more human aspect—his tender sympathy and affection, his courtesy and respectfulness, combined

with firmness in maintaining what he believed to be right, and in reproving what he believed to be wrong. Thus his writings completely verify the statement of William of Malmesbury (i. § 47) that he was thoroughly spiritual and industriously learned—'penitus sanctus, anxie doctus.'

The first complete and satisfactory edition of Anselm's works was that of Gabriel Gerberon (Paris, 1721), a monk of the congregation of St. Maur. He says in his preface that hitherto most of the copies of his works were so mutilated or disfigured by corrections that they were scarcely intelligible. He framed a new text by a careful collation of as many manuscripts as he could collect, and an examination of existing printed editions. These were—two bearing no mark of date or place of issue; one printed at Nuremberg, 1491; two at Paris, 1544 and 1549; one at Venice, 1549; two at Cologne, 1573 and 1612; and one at Lyons, 1630. Gerberon arranged the works in his edition in three divisions:—

1. The theological and philosophical, including the Monologion, the Proslogion, the attack of Gaunilo, a monk of Marmoutiers, on the same, and Anselm's reply; the 'De Fide Trinitatis,' the 'De Processione Spiritus Sancti contra Græcos,' 'Dialogus de Casu Diaboli,' 'Cur Deus Homo,' 'De Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato,' 'Dialogus de Veritate,' 'Liber de Voluntate,' 'Dialogus de Libero Arbitrio,' 'De Concordiâ Præscientiæ et Prædestinationis,' 'De Azymo et Fermentato,' 'De Sacramentorum Diversitate (Waleranni epistola),' 'Responsio ad Waleranni Querelas,' 'Offendiculum Sacerdôtum,' 'De Nuptiis Consanguineorum,' 'Dialogus de Grammatico,' 'De Voluntate Dei.'

2. Devotional and hortatory: 'Homilies and Exhortations,' 'Sermo de Passione Domini,' 'Exhortatio ad Contemptum Temporalium et Desiderium Æternorum,' 'Admonitio Morienti,' 'Duo Carmina de Contemptu Mundi,' 'Liber Meditationum et Orationum xxi.,' 'Meditatio super Miserere,' 'De Pace et Concordiâ,' 'Tractatus Asceticus,' 'Oratio dicenda ante Perceptionem Corporis et Sanguinis Domini,' 'Salutatio ad Jesum Christum ex anecdotis sacris de Levis,' 'Hymni et Psalterium de S. Mariâ,' 'Versus de Lanfranco,' 'De Verbis Anselmi,' 'Quædam Dicta utilia ex dictis S. Anselmi.'

3. Four books of letters.

The Abbé Migne's edition, in two volumes, imperial octavo, is a reproduction of Gerberon's edition, revised, including the footnotes of 'Henschenius,' and the 'Vita' and 'Historia Novorum' of Eadmer. The 'various readings' are in this edition placed at the bottom of each page instead of being put at the end of the works, as in Gerberon's edition. The references in this article are to Migne's edition.

[The primary authorities for the life of Anselm are the two works by Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, afterwards bishop-elect of St. Andrews, which were edited by Mr. Rule in the Rolls Series in 1884. After Anselm became primate, Eadmer was his domestic chaplain and most intimate friend, and was an eye-witness of most of the events which he relates. He first wrote the 'Historia Novorum,' which might be called a 'Life and Times of Anselm,' and the 'Vita Anselmi,' which deals more with the inner personal life and character of his subject. William of Malmesbury (Gesta Pontificum, lib. i.) and John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres (Life of Anselm in 'Anglia Sacra,' vol. ii.), although they supply a few details of their own, avowedly draw their accounts mainly from Eadmer, and Ordericus Vitalis, in his scanty notices (Hist. Eccles. lib. x. and xi.), refers his readers to the same source for further information. Next to the memoirs of Eadmer in value are Anselm's own letters, upwards of four hundred in number, which throw much light not only on his life but on the history of the times. The principal modern biographies are by: 1. Möhler, formerly Roman catholic professor at Munich, a fragment only, but good as far as it goes, translated into English in 1842. 2. Hasse, protestant professor at Bonn, 1843, 1852. 3. Franck, Tübingen, 1842. 4. Charles de Rémusat, Paris, 1853, and second edition 1868, an excellent biography with an able and lucid criticism of Anselm's philosophy. In connection with the latter may be mentioned a critique on the philosophy by M. Emile Saisset, in a volume of miscellanies, 'Mélange d'Histoire, de Morale, et de Critique,' which was originally written as a review of M. Rémusat's work for the 'Revue des Deux-Mondes;' also a translation of the Monologion and Proslogion, with an introductory essay by H. Bouchitté, in 'Le Rationalisme Chrétien.' 5. M Charma, Paris, 1853, a short but interesting study with a companion one on Lanfranc. 6. Montalembert, a short fragment of much beauty, 1844. 7. Crozet Mouchet (Paris and Tournai), 1859, valuable for what relates to the early life at Aosta. 8. R. W. Church, dean of St. Paul's, London, a masterly sketch, accurate, vigorous, and graceful, and as full as was possible within the prescribed limits of the series for which it was written, Macmillan's Sunday Library. 9. Mr. E. A. Freeman has dealt twice over most carefully with the history of Anselm, first in his 'History of the Norman Conquest,' vols. iii., iv. and v. (also notices in i. 355, 564, and ii. 25, 215, 217), and again more fully in his 'History of the Reign of William Rufus,' vol. i. ch. iv., and vol. ii. ch. vii. (see also an interesting note on Anselm's letters, Y in appendix). His narratives are especially valuable for the minute and exact references

which they contain to original authorities, and for bringing out some points hardly noticed elsewhere, especially the bearing on Anselm's appeal to Rome of the former appeal made by Bishop William of St. Calais. 10. Mr. Martin Rule's 'Life and Times of St. Anselm' (2 vols. demy octavo, 1883) contains a good deal of useful matter, the fruit of long and careful labour, but is marred by irrelevant digressions and a cumbrous style. His prejudices, also, as a warm partisan of the papacy, sometimes distort his view of simple facts.] W. R. W. S.

ANSLAY, BRIAN (*fl.* 1521), yeoman of the wine cellar to Henry VIII, translated the 'Tresor de la Cité des Dames' of Christine de Pise, under the title of the 'Boke of the Cyte of Ladies,' 1521. In a preliminary copy of verses the printer, Henry Pepwell, states that the translation was published at the instance of the Earl of Kent. The book consists of a number of short stories about famous women, much of the material being drawn from Boccaccio. There are some notices of Anslay in 'Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII' (art. 4231, 23, et seq.). A 'Bryan Anslye, Esquier, late of Lee, in the county of Kent . . . . served Qveene Elizabeth as one of ye band of Gentlemen Pencioners to her Ma^tie^ the space of XXX^tye^ yeares;' and, dying 10 July 1604, was buried in the church of Lee, Kent, where a memorial slab, still legible, gives an account of him and his family. He was probably the son of Anslay the translator.

[Ellis's Historical Sketches, ii. 20; Athenæum for 2 Sept. 1876, where the inscription on the younger Anslay is printed in full, by Mr. J. W. Hales, who has reprinted it in his Essays and Notes on Shakespeare, p. 271.] A. H. B.

ANSON, GEORGE, Lord Anson (1697–1762), admiral of the fleet, was the second son of William Anson, of Shugborough, in the parish of Colwich, in Staffordshire, and was born there on 23 April 1697; his mother Isabella, daughter of Charles Carrier, of Wirksworth, in Derbyshire, was sister of Janet, the wife of Thomas Parker, afterwards Lord Parker and Earl of Macclesfield, and in 1718 created lord chancellor. On 2 Feb. 1711–12, Anson entered on board the Ruby, commanded by Captain Peter Chamberlen, as a volunteer, and on 27 March followed Captain Chamberlen to the Monmouth, where he remained till 27 June 1713, when he was discharged, as the ship was about to pay off. All attempts to trace his service during the next three years have been unsuccessful; but in May 1716 he was serving as midshipman or supernumerary in the fleet bound for the Baltic under Sir John Norris, who wrote from the Nore on 17 May that a lieutenant of the Hampshire had requested to be put on half-pay, and that he intended 'to commission Mr. George Anson, who is cousin to my Lord Parker.' In 1716 the most brilliant merit conceivable was all the more brilliant in the nephew of the lord chief justice.

He continued in the Hampshire till she paid off in December 1717, and in March 1718 was appointed second lieutenant of the Montagu, and was in her in the action off Cape Passaro on 31 July 1718. On 2 Oct. 1719, he was transferred to the Barfleur, Sir George Byng's flagship; and in June 1722 was made a commander, and appointed to the Weasel sloop, which was employed in the North Sea against the Dutch smugglers. In February 1723–4, he was advanced to the rank of captain, appointed to the Scarborough frigate, and sent out to South Carolina, with instructions to protect the coast and the commerce against pirates and Spanish cruisers, which were already practising the system of annoyance which ultimately led to the war of 1739. They did not at that time, however, menace the Carolina coast; and the general nature of Anson's service was to cruise to and from the Bahamas. On one occasion he had intelligence of a Spanish boat which had been molesting some of the English traders, but proceeding to look for her, he touched at Providence, where he learned that she had been already taken 'by a sloop bound for Jamaica, who carried her there, where the people were condemned for pirating and hanged' (Anson to Burchett, 16 Jan. 1724–5). A few months later he received orders to act against the Spaniards wherever he met them, but the little war of 1726 passed over without any incident in Anson's career. In July 1728, on the death of Captain Morris of the Garland, he moved into that ship, and sent home the Scarborough, which was badly in want of refitting; but he himself was kept out two years longer, and did not return to England till July 1730. His long service on the coast of Carolina, however useful, was in no way brilliant; but he would seem to have been popular with the colonists, who still preserve his memory embalmed in the name of Anson county; and a Carolina lady, writing to her sister in London, could say nothing worse of him than that it was 'averred' he loved his bottle, and was far from being a woman-hater; whilst, on the other hand, he was handsome, good-natured, polite, well bred, generous, and humane; passionately fond of music, and 'so old-fashioned as to make some profession of religion' (Barrow's *Life*, 14).

In 1731 he commanded the Diamond frigate

in the Channel; and in February 1731–2, being appointed to the Squirrel, was sent out to his old station on the coast of Carolina, whence he returned in June 1735; the Squirrel was paid off, and Anson, for the first time, was on shore for two years and a half.

In December 1737 he was appointed to the Centurion, of 60 guns, and sent to the west coast of Africa for the protection of the English trade against the encroachments of the French, after which he crossed over to the West Indies, and was recalled thence in the autumn of 1739. It had been determined to give him the command of one of two squadrons that were to be sent to the Pacific; and when it was found necessary to curtail the plan and send only one, that one was put under the orders of Anson with the nominal rank of commodore. The establishment of the navy, after many years of peace and decay, was at a very low ebb, and the expense of fitting out the fleet for the West Indies and the coast of Spain swallowed up all the resources of the admiralty. There was thus great difficulty in equipping and manning the ships intended for the Pacific; whilst instead of the regiment of soldiers which had been told off for this service, a number of pensioners, old, worn-out, and crippled, were put on board, together with a number of newly enlisted and wholly undrilled marines. All this caused great delay, and it was not till 18 Sept. 1740, after eight months' preparation, that the little squadron of six ships put to sea from St. Helens. Arriving in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn in the stormy season, the ships were severely buffeted; two were driven back, and never got round at all; one, the Wager, was driven ashore and totally lost [see Byron, John]; the Centurion narrowly escaped a similar fate; and it was not till 11 June 1741 that she arrived at Juan Fernandez, with not more than thirty men, officers included, fit for duty. The Gloucester, of 50 guns, arrived some time after in still worse plight, as also the Trial brig; and after refitting and resting till September, it was found that out of the 961 men who had left England in these three ships, 626 had died, leaving 335 men and boys, a number quite insufficient for even the Centurion alone. Anson, however, determined to do what he could to effect the purpose of his voyage, and, with a hollow pretence of strength, he managed to destroy the Spanish commerce, blockade the ports, and sack and burn the town of Paita. He then hoped to intercept the yearly ship from Manila for Acapulco; but finding that he had missed her, and that there was no chance of her sailing on the return voyage while he was on the coast, he made sail for China. The Trial had long since been condemned; the Gloucester now proved to be unseaworthy, and was cleared out and set on fire; the Centurion alone remained, and again, as off Cape Horn, was visited by scurvy in its worst forms. It was only after refreshing and resting for two months at Tinian, that her men, sorely diminished in numbers, were able to take the ship on to Macao; and, after refitting there, they sailed to cruise off Manila in quest of the Acapulco ship. The Centurion had now less than 200 men left of the original 961; but some Spanish negroes and Indians, as well as some Dutchmen and Lascars, had been picked up at Macao, and she had actually on board, of all creeds and colours, 227. With this reduced crew, however, she met the great galeon on 20 June 1743, and captured her. In size and number of men the Spaniard was vastly superior to the Centurion; but she was lumbered with merchandise, and of her 600 men few were trained to arms or to act together, whilst during the last cruise Anson had taken very great pains in exercising his men. The amount of treasure was enormous; and Anson, deciding that nothing more was to be done, resolved to return to England round the Cape of Good Hope. Good fortune favoured him at the last, and as he came into the Channel a thick fog hid him from the French fleet which was cruising in the Soundings; he passed safely through it, and anchored at Spithead on 15 June 1744. The treasure which he had brought home amounted to about 500,000*l*. This was landed at Portsmouth, sent up to London, and paraded in triumph through the city in a procession of thirty-two wagons, the ship's company marching with colours flying and band playing.

In ready acknowledgment of Anson's good service and good fortune, the admiralty at once promoted him to the rank of rear-admiral, but they refused to confirm an acting commission as captain of the Centurion, which Anson, claiming to act as commodore, had given to his first lieutenant, Mr. Peircy Brett, whilst in China. They did indeed specially promote Mr. Brett, but Anson rejected the compromise, returned his own commission—which was accordingly cancelled—and went on half pay as a captain. As his share of the prize money had rendered him a wealthy man, quite independent of the service, he would certainly not have accepted any further appointment from the Earl of Winchilsea, but the change of ministry a few months later brought in a new admiralty, with the Duke of Bedford at its

head, and Anson as one of its members. Its very first act was to reverse the decision of the former board, and to confirm the commission which Anson had given to Captain Brett (the patent of the board is dated 28 Dec. 1744; the minute confirming Brett's commission is dated 29 Dec.), and on 20 April 1745, Anson was re-promoted to flag rank, this time as rear-admiral of the white.

For a year and a half Anson continued in London, taking a leading share in the work of the admiralty, and, though a very junior member of the board, acting directly as the Duke of Bedford's representative in all matters of executive administration. Beyond the old friendship existing between Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and the Macclesfield family (Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, v. 15) it is now impossible to trace the particular interest which Anson could have had; that he had some may be considered certain.

In July 1746 Vice-Admiral Martin resigned the command of the Channel fleet; and Anson, now vice-admiral of the blue, undertook the duty and hoisted his flag on board the Yarmouth on 9 Aug. The fleet was very short-handed, for in Martin's last cruise bad provisions and bad beer, scurvy, fever, and small-pox, had caused the death or sickness of an enormous number of men (Martin to Corbett, 3 July 1746; Joannis Huxhami *Observationes de Aere et Morbis epidemicis* (1773), p. 341); and now Admiral Lestock, fitting out for the expedition to Lorient, had carried off every seaman that he could find (Anson to Bedford, 11 Aug. 1746, in *Bedford Correspondence*, i. 137). It was thus the end of the month before Anson could get the fleet to sea; and he then cruised to the westward, off Ushant, hoping to intercept on its return the French fleet, which had gone to Chebucto (the present Halifax) under the Duke d'Enville. The terrible fate of that expedition was not yet fully known; and, though Anson put into Plymouth at the end of October, it was only for a supply of water. 'My men,' he wrote to the Duke of Bedford (28 Oct.), 'begin to be very sickly, and most of the ships very foul, but the hope of destroying some of the enemy's fleet will make me risk health and everything else.' On 4 Nov. he wrote that he hoped to be complete and at sea in two or three days, and to have better fortune in his next cruise. 'I am surprised,' he added, 'that Mr. Lestock, who had such certain intelligence, from the French ships burnt in the bay, of the shattered condition of D'Enville's ships, should not cruise off Ushant for them, as his squadron was not in want of anything' (*Bedford Corr.* i. 174).

Notwithstanding Anson's haste to get to sea, the French hospital ship and a sloop were all that he fell in with. It was by this time certainly known that the French squadron was in an almost helpless condition, and that if it could be met with, it must be captured. It received, however, warning from a Dutch merchant ship of the neighbourhood of the English fleet, and by keeping to the southward got in-shore of it, and so safely to Brest. The next spring Anson was more fortunate. The French were preparing to send out another expedition to America, and at the same time a squadron to the East Indies. On 29 April the two sailed together from the roadstead of Aix, under the command of M. de la Jonquière, whose energetic behaviour and clever escape in bringing home the shattered remains of the fleet the year before had pointed him out as a capable and a lucky officer. But Anson had early and fairly exact knowledge of the projected expedition, and, in his double capacity of lord of the admiralty and commander-in-chief of the fleet, took care to have with him an overpowering force and such a number of cruisers that it was wellnigh impossible for the enemy to escape him. With his own flag on board the Prince George, of 90 guns, and having with him Rear-Admiral Warren in the Devonshire, Captain Boscawen in the Namur, and others, numbering altogether fourteen ships of the line, he stationed himself off Cape Finisterre, and continued there during the greater part of April, exercising his fleet in forming line and in manœuvres of battle till then absolutely unknown. On the morning of 3 May the French fleet was sighted, and was successfully pursued. Anson at first made the signal for line of battle, but presently, perceiving that the French were of very inferior force, he made the signal for a general chase and fell on them pell-mell. La Jonquière placed his convoy to leeward, in charge of two frigates, and drew up his squadron in line to meet the enemy; but including two 40-gun ships, a 50-gun ship with only half her guns on board, and four Indiamen, he numbered only ten ships in all. The ships of war fought well, but were speedily overpowered; the Indiamen, with valuable cargoes on board, endeavoured to make off, but were captured afterwards. The defence, however, was sufficient to permit the greater part of the convoy to escape during the night. Amongst the captured ships were the Gloire, of 40 guns, and the Invincible, of 74. When M. de Saint-George, the captain of the latter, went on board the Prince George to surrender his sword to Anson, he addressed him with, 'Monsieur, vous avez vaincu l'Invin-

cible, et la Gloire vous suit.' Saint-George returned to England with Anson, and between the two there sprang up a friendship and correspondence which continued till death ended it.

Anson's great superiority of force was mainly due to his own care and forethought; and he made such good use of it as utterly to overwhelm the enemy. A French fleet had been utterly defeated, and some 300,000*l.* in specie had been captured and carried through London in triumph. 'I ought to be satisfied,' wrote Anson to the Duke of Bedford, 'but wish he (La Jonquière) had had a little more strength, though this is the best stroke that has been made upon the French since La Hogue.' It was not only a national but a political success, and the ministry, accepting it as such, heaped rewards on the victors. Anson was raised to the peerage as Baron Anson of Soberton, in Hampshire; Warren, the second in command, was made a knight of the Bath; and Boscawen, the senior captain, though of only ten years' standing, was specially included in the next promotion of admirals.

In February 1747–8 the Duke of Bedford was appointed secretary of state, and Lord Sandwich became first lord of the admiralty. The duke had virtually assigned the executive administration of the navy to Anson, but now, in the absence of Sandwich in Germany, Lord Vere Beauclerk took the direction of affairs. As captain, as admiral, and in the admiralty patent, Beauclerk was the senior of the two, and may naturally have felt some annoyance at the preference previously given to his junior. It was now Anson's turn to feel aggrieved; he wrote to Lord Sandwich on 15 Feb.: 'In your absence Lord Vere may make as much a cipher of me as he pleases, which you will easily imagine must be very disagreeable to me after the share the Duke of Bedford has allowed me in the direction of affairs afloat and the success which has attended his grace's administration of naval affairs in every branch of the department. Besides, I think the world will see me in a very disadvantageous light. . . . He has been in my way ever since I came into the world. Two years ago I endeavoured to shove him before me, but there was no moving him from the earth to his proper element, and to continue now in his rear, both at land and sea, I own I cannot well endure' (Barrow, p. 201). To this, on 19 March, Lord Sandwich replied: 'I think that so far from Lord Vere being able to make a cipher of you, that you must put him absolutely in that situation himself. I always told you that whenever I got to the head of the admiralty it should, except in the name and show of it, be the same thing as if you were there yourself. . . . If Lord Vere's purposes are disagreeable to you, it is very easy to prevent them, by desiring first to know my opinion. . . . You may be assured I will do no act whatever but directly through your hands, which will plainly show people where the power centres, and I think indisputably fix you in the entire management of affairs' (*ibid.* p. 204).

It was shortly afterwards, 25 April 1748, that Anson was married to Lady Elizabeth Yorke, daughter of the lord chancellor. The marriage brought wealth as well as influence. 'The whole portion,' wrote Lord Hardwicke to his intended son-in-law, a few days before the marriage, 'shall be paid either in banknotes, or in my draft upon the bank, as you like best.' Notwithstanding the frequent indelicate jokes of Horace Walpole, there is no reason to suppose that the marriage was other than a happy one. No children followed, although a letter from Lord Hardwicke, dated 30 Aug. 1748 (Barrow, p. 208), seems to imply that some such result was expected. If so, however, it ended in disappointment.

Anson's public life was meantime devoted to reorganising certain weak points in the navy which the war had brought to light. The marine regiments were to be broken, a new corps of marines under the jurisdiction of the admiralty was to be formed, the administration of the dockyards was to be improved, and, most important of all, a new code of articles of war was to be drawn up and passed through parliament. Within the next few years all these things were done, and done effectually. Dockyard administration no doubt remained for very many years exceedingly corrupt, though not, we may believe, so atrociously bad as in former years. The building of ships, too, was improved, and the establishment of guns and all stores put on a more satisfactory footing. The articles of war, as passed in 1749, remained the law of the service till 1865; and the corps of marines, as then planned, and definitely formed in 1755, is the same as at the present day. Of these several measures the chief part of the credit must attach to Anson, who, as we have seen, was placed by Lord Sandwich at the head of the executive, and who in June 1751 became actually, as well as virtually, first lord of the admiralty. This post he filled until the change of ministry in November 1756, and it was thus during his administration that the fleet under Admiral John Byng sailed for the Mediterranean in March, and was defeated off Cape Mola on

20 May 1756. Anson's whole life and career are utterly opposed to the idea of his having, in this matter, erred through carelessness. We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that in not ordering a larger fleet to the Mediterranean, he was honestly mistaken, and that in appointing Admiral Byng to the command he was under some undiscoverable influence. We know now that the French, in the spring of 1756, had no idea of invading England or Ireland; but the ministry certainly thought it necessary to keep an overwhelming force at home or in the Bay of Biscay. But the main cause of the failure was the misconduct of Byng, and Anson is directly concerned in the appointment, as commander-in-chief, of a man whom events proved to be utterly unfit for the office. It can only be said now, that this had not been proved in March 1756, that Byng was a man of high-service rank who might almost claim the highest command, and that there was nothing whatever known against him. That afterwards, on Byng's failure, Anson should not be inclined to show him any undue consideration, or to err on the side of lenity, was natural enough. He very probably regarded Byng with feelings akin to personal hatred, as the incarnation of the one great mistake he had made in a prosperous career, and was quite willing that the offender should feel the full weight of the law; but, as a matter of fact, Anson had nothing whatever to do with Byng's trial and execution, which took place under a ministry with which he had no connection.

Having gone out of office in November 1756, he did not re-enter till the end of June 1757, when he was again appointed first lord of the admiralty in the Newcastle-Pitt administration. He was thus the chief of the navy when the bootless expedition against Rochefort was sent out in the autumn of that year; and in 1758, when the petty incursions on the coast of France, as at St. Malo or Cherbourg, ended disastrously at St. Cas. In these matters Anson took no part, except in providing the covering force of men-of-war, and in taking command personally of the main fleet, which meantime blockaded Brest, in order to allay some irritation felt by Sir Edward Hawke. It was his last service at sea. During the next year, 1759, this fleet was commanded by Hawke, and put an end to the necessity of blockading Brest by demolishing the French fleet in Quiberon Bay. Anson's share in this brilliant victory was merely that of the home administrator by whose care the fleet was fitted out and supported; he had also the same share in the conquest of Canada and in many other of the events which rendered the year 1759 'wonderful,' not only in Garrick's celebrated song but in the current language of the day (Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 269, ed. Cunningham, 1861), and the years immediately succeeding memorable in English annals.

In June 1761 Anson was advanced to the high rank of admiral of the fleet; but, except to bring over the new queen, Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, he never hoisted the distinguishing flag of union at the main. He died quite suddenly on 6 June 1762 at his country seat of Moor Park in Hertfordshire, and was buried in the family vault at Colwich. The title died with him. His wife had died two years before, on 1 June 1760, and his very large property went to his sister Janetta, wife of Mr. Sambrooke Adams, whose son George afterwards inherited also the family estate of Shugborough, and took the name of Anson. The son of George Adams was in 1806 created Viscount Anson and Baron Soberton, and his grandson in 1831 was made Earl of Lichfield.

Anson is undoubtedly best known to posterity by his voyage round the world, the history of which, as written, or rather edited, by his chaplain, Mr. Walters, or in different abridgments, has always been a popular book even among schoolboys. It is to that voyage, and the temper, the tact, and the judgment which he displayed under very trying circumstances, that his further advancement was mainly due. Anson may have been cold in his affections, studious of his own interest, and even selfish; calm, placid, possibly—as his enemies might say—fish-like in his temperament; but he was a careful, painstaking, thoughtful man, of singularly accurate judgment; and much of the more important work which fell to him was work in which a warmer-hearted, warmer-tempered, more loveable man might well have broken down. And one point which tells enormously in Anson's favour is the fact that so many young officers, trained under him in the Centurion, were afterwards honourably known. In the whole history of our navy there is not another instance of so many juniors from one ship rising to distinction, men like Saunders, Saumarez, Peircy Brett, Denis, Keppel, Hyde Parker, John Campbell.

Sir John Barrow has expressed surprise 'that neither private affection nor public gratitude has ever raised a monument to one who shed such lustre on the name.' This is not strictly correct, for there is in Shugborough Park a sort of triumphal arch which was erected to his memory by his elder brother Thomas. The colossal lion, once the

figure-head of the Centurion, after standing for many years in the Anson ward of Greenwich Hospital (Barrow, p. 419), was in 1870 transferred to the playground of the hospital school, and fell to pieces from decay in 1873. Copies of a portrait of Anson, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, are in the National Portrait Gallery, and in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. The original, belonging to Lord Lichfield, was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, 1884.

[The Life of Anson by Sir John Barrow is by no means free from serious faults both of omission and commission, and is absolutely crowded with mistakes of sheer carelessness, e.g. the misspellings of names. The well-known 'Voyage round the World' bears on the title-page of the 1st edition (1748) 'compiled from papers and other materials of the Right Honourable George Anson, and published under his direction by Richard Walter, M.A., chaplain of his Majesty's ship Centurion in that expedition.' Many years afterwards a claim was made that the work was written, not by Mr. Walter, but by Mr. Benjamin Robins (Robins's Mathematical Tracts (1761), i., xxxvi, xli); this has never been substantiated except by mere assertion; and though Robins was certainly employed as sub-editor and assistant (Peircy Brett to Cleveland, 3 Jan. 1747–8), there is no reason to doubt the plain statement on the title-page, which was always believed by Walter's children and grandchildren (Notes and Queries, 5th series, iv. 78, 100) and was directly sanctioned by Anson. But in any case, whether edited by Walter or Robins, the book was virtually written by Anson himself, as stated on the title-page, and as affirmed by Anson's friends (Barrow, p. 408). The Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, by Pascoe Thomas, teacher of the mathematicks on board the Centurion (1745), is an independent account, not always so favourable to Anson. Correspondence of the fourth Duke of Bedford, edited by Lord John Russell (1842), vol. i.; Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 15955-6-7; and Official Letters and Documents in the Public Record Office.] J. K. L.

ANSON, GEORGE (1797–1857), general, was the second son of the first Viscount Anson, and brother of the first Earl of Lichfield. He entered the army at an early age, in the 3rd (or Scots Fusilier) Guards, with which regiment he served at Waterloo. In 1818, while still an officer in the guards, he was elected a member of parliament, and sat in the House of Commons for many years, holding in succession the political offices of principal storekeeper of the ordnance and clerk of the ordnance. In 1853, having meanwhile attained the rank of major-general in the army, he was appointed to command a division in Bengal, and in the following year succeeded to the command of the Madras army, from which post he was advanced to that of commander-in-chief in India early in 1856. General Anson was holding this important command when the mutiny of the Bengal army took place. Hastening down from Simla, whither he had gone only a few weeks previously to recruit his health, he collected a force at Amballa, and marched with it against Delhi, but being attacked by cholera at Karnál died at that place on 27 May 1857. General Anson was a man of unquestionable talent, and although he had never seen war except at Waterloo, where he served as a mere youth, those who knew him best had very high expectations that he would distinguish himself in his profession if an opportunity offered. It has been alleged that he showed vacillation and want of promptitude when preparing for the march upon Delhi; but the allegation has been amply refuted by a distinguished officer (Sir Henry Norman) who held an important position on the staff of the army at the time, and had the best means of forming a judgment. Sir Henry says that, 'suddenly placed in a more difficult position than has probably ever fallen to the lot of a British commander,' General Anson 'met the crisis with fortitude and with a calm endeavour to restore our rule where it had disappeared, and to maintain it where it still existed.' General Anson married in 1830 Isabella, daughter of the first Lord Forester, who survived him less than two years.

[Hart's Army List; Burke's Peerage; Annual Register for 1857; J. W. Kaye's History of the Sepoy War; Fortnightly Review, April 1883.] A. J. A.

ANSPACH, ELIZABETH, Margravine of (1750–1828), dramatist, was the youngest daughter of Augustus, fourth Earl of Berkeley, by his countess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Drax, of Charborough, in the county of Dorset. In 1767, she married Mr. William Craven, afterwards the sixth Earl of Craven, and of this union six children were born. Lord and Lady Craven separated in 1780, and her ladyship left England for France, and travelled in Italy, Austria, Poland, Russia, Turkey, and Greece. In 1789 she published in quarto her 'Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople,' related in a series of letters. Subsequently she visited Anspach, and took up her abode with Christian Frederick Charles Alexander, Margrave of Brandenburg, Anspach, and Bareith, Duke of Prussia, and Count of Sayn. She wrote to her husband that she was to be treated as the Margrave's sister. She wrote little plays in French for the Court theatre—'La

Folle du Jour' and 'Abdoul et Nourjad'—and, further to entertain the Margrave, translated into French the English comedy of 'She would and she would not.' Lord Craven dying in September 1791, she was married to the margrave in the following month. In 1792 the margrave sold his principality to the King of Prussia, and settled in England, having purchased Brandenburg House, Hammersmith, and the house and estate of Benham, in Berkshire, which had long been possessed by the Craven family. The margrave died and was buried at Benham in 1806. Walpole, who always expressed his admiration of Lady Craven, and even addressed impromptu stanzas to her, furnished the Rev. William Mason with a lively account of the production of her comedy, the 'Miniature Picture,' at Drury Lane, in May 1780: 'She went to it herself the second night in form, sat in the middle of the front row of the stage-box, much dressed with a profusion of white bugles and plumes, to receive the public homage due to her sex and loveliness. . . . It was amazing to see so young a woman entirely possess herself; but there is such an integrity and frankness in her consciousness of her own beauty and talents, that she speaks of them with a *naïveté* as if she had no property in them, but only wore them as gifts of the gods. Lord Craven, on the contrary, was quite agitated by his fondness for her and with impatience at the bad performance.' Nevertheless it was the year of their separation. In 1785 Walpole wrote of Lady Craven to Sir Horace Mann: 'She has, I fear, been *infinitamente* indiscreet, but what is that to you or me? She is very pretty, has parts, and is good-natured to the greatest degree; has not a grain of malice or mischief, almost always the associates, in women, of tender hearts, and never has been an enemy but to herself.' Her first comedy, the 'Somnambule,' an adaptation from the French, was printed at Walpole's private press at Strawberry Hill in 1778, and acted for a charitable purpose at Newmarket. In 1779 she published 'Modern Anecdotes of the Family of Kinvervankotsprakengatchdern, a Tale for Christmas,' a caricature of German pomposity, dramatised by W. P. Andrews. Others of Lady Craven's plays are the 'Silver Tankard,' a musical farce, produced at the Haymarket in 1781; and the 'Princess of Georgia,' presented on the occasion of Fawcett's benefit at Covent Garden in 1799. At the private theatre attached to Brandenburg House the margravine produced in 1794 a comedy called the 'Yorkshire Ghost;' in 1799 a pantomime called 'Puss in Boots;' in 1805 a comedy called 'Love in a Convent,' and other works. For these plays the margravine composed the music. As she writes in her Memoirs, published in 1826: 'My taste for music and poetry and my style of imagination in writing, chastened by experience, were great sources of delight to me. . . . Our expenses were enormous.' The margravine often took part in the performances at Brandenburg House. In 1796 the comedy of the 'Provoked Wife' was presented there, Mrs. Abington lending her services as Lady Fanciful, while the margravine appeared as Lady Brute. The comedy was reduced to three acts, and great importance was assigned to the character assumed by the margravine. Mrs. Abington, however, insisted that certain of the excisions should be restored, so that her part of Lady Fanciful should not suffer. The margravine died at Naples in 1828.

[Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach, 1826; Walpole's Letters, 1859; Biographia Dramatica, 1812; Genest's History of the Stage, 1832.]

D. C.

ANSTED, DAVID THOMAS, F.R.S. (1814–1880), a geologist of considerable reputation in his time, was born in London in 1814, educated in a London school and at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1836, being afterwards elected a fellow of his college. The earlier part of his life was devoted to educational work. He was professor of geology at King's College, London, and lecturer at Addiscombe and at the Civil Engineering College at Putney. From 1844 to 1847 he acted as assistant-secretary of the Geological Society, and for many years he edited its quarterly journal. In later life, from about 1850, he turned to the practical applications of geology in connection with mining, engineering, water-supply, and the like, and was constantly consulted on such matters both in this country and abroad. He was a prolific author, and some of his geological writings for a time kept their place as standard authorities, while others of a popular character attained a wide circulation. Among the former may be mentioned his 'Geology' (1844), and among the latter his 'Great Stone Book of Nature' (1863). He also wrote several books of travel, besides contributing a great number of papers to the Geological Society, the British Association, the Society of Arts, and other societies. His death took place at his residence near Woodbridge, Suffolk, in May 1880.

[Engineer Newspaper, xlix. 393; Geol. Mag. 1880, p. 336, or Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc. xxxvii. 43; Journ. Soc. Arts, xxviii. 637.]

ANSTER, JOHN (1793–1867), regius professor of civil law in the university of Dublin, and translator of Goethe's 'Faust,' was son of John Anster, Esq., of Charleville, co. Cork, where he was born in 1793. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1810, and obtained a sholarship in 1814. In 1815 he printed in Dublin a collection of short poems, but thought fit to have it suppressed soon after publication. Four years later he obtained a prize offered by the authorities of Trinity College for a poem on the death of the Princess Charlotte; and in the same year, 1819, appeared his volume of 'Poems, with some Translations from the German' (Blackwood, Edinburgh, pp. 244), which included, with several pieces from the suppressed pamphlet, his prize poem, a blank verse poem entitled 'The Times' (written immediately after the battle of Waterloo), which shows the influence of Coleridge, 'Zamri,' a fragment of an Eastern tale, in Byron's manner, and various translations, the most important of these being a rendering of Goethe's 'Bride of Corinth.' In 1820 appeared in 'Blackwood's Magazine' translations by Anster of some passages from Goethe's 'Faust,' the first rendering into English of any part of that poem. In Easter term, 1824, Anster was called to the Irish bar; in the following year he took the degree of doctor of laws. He was married in 1832 to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of W. Blacker Bennett, Esq., of Castle Crea, co. Limerick. The complete translation of the first part of 'Faust,' with notes, appeared in 1835 ('Faustus, a Dramatic Mystery,' Longman, Rees, and Co., pp. 491). Its high merits were at once recognised (see *Edinburgh Review*, October 1835). Occasionally somewhat lacking in conciseness, it is throughout the translation of a poet by a poet. Two years later he published 'Xeniola: Poems, including translations from Schiller and De la Motte Fouqué' (Dublin, Milliken and Son, pp. 174). It reprints several of the poems of the 1815 volume, the principal addition being translated scenes from Fouqué's drama, the 'Pilgrimage.' In the same year, 1837, Dr. Anster was appointed registrar to the high court of admiralty in Ireland. From 1837 to 1856 he was a frequent contributor of prose and verse to the 'Dublin University Magazine.' Among these articles, mainly historical and literary, may be found a series on Italian poets. At a later date, from 1847 onward, he contributed to the 'North British Review,' first dealing with Irish affairs at a critical moment, 1847–49, then choosing literary topics ('Life and Writings of Shelley,' 'Swift and his Biographers,' 'Southey's Life and Correspondence,' 'Life and Letters of Campbell,' 'Autobiography of Leigh Hunt,' 'Dante'). In 1841 Dr. Anster was granted a pension on the civil list. In 1850 he was elected regius professor of civil law in the university of Dublin, a position which he held until his death. His introductory lecture, 'On the Study of the Roman Civil Law,' has been published (Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1851, pp. 51). Many fragments of the second part of 'Faust' having been rendered into verse by Anster, 'a member of my family,' he writes, 'became interested in the subject, and felt it desirable to arrange such passages as could be found among papers disregarded and almost forgotten by me. This accident led me to complete the poem.' 'Faustus, the Second Part, from the German of Goethe,' with copious notes, was published in 1864 (London, Longmans and Co., pp. 485). While adhering more closely to the original than did the translation of the first part, it possesses a like poetical quality (reviewed in *Saturday Review*, 1 Oct. 1864). The first part, long out of print in England, was twice reprinted in Germany during Anster's life. For some time before his death he was engaged in revising his translation for a third German edition, which appeared in the Tauchnitz series (Leipzig, 1867) after the translator's death. Dr. Anster died in Dublin, 9 June 1867, aged 73, leaving two sons and three daughters. His social charm, kindly wit, and wide literary culture rendered Anster a delightful companion. A portrait of him at the age of forty-six will be found in the 'Dublin University Magazine,' November 1839. To Wills's 'Lives of Illustrious Irishmen' Anster contributed the life of Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond.

[Gent. Mag. August 1867; Dr. Waller, in Imperial Dict. of Biog.; materials furnished by Miss Anster.] E. D.

ANSTEY, CHRISTOPHER (1724–1805), poet, was born on 31 Oct. 1724. He was the only son of the Rev. Christopher Anstey, D.D., of Brinkley in Cambridgeshire, sometime fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. He went to school at Bury St. Edmunds, and afterwards to Eton as an oppidan. In 1742 he succeeded to a scholarship at King's College, and distinguished himself by the Tripos verses he wrote for the Cambridge commencement in 1745. In the same year he was admitted fellow of King's, and in 1746 took his bachelor's degree. The leading part which he played in opposing certain alterations of the college regulations had the effect of preventing him from obtaining his master of arts degree. To this

he refers in the Epilogue to the 'New Bath Guide:'

Granta, sweet Granta, where studious of ease,
Seven years did I sleep, and then lost my degrees.

Besides the Tripos verses above referred to, he had distinguished himself at Cambridge by a Latin poem on the peace of 1748. He continued to be a fellow of King's, and occasionally resided there until 1754, when his mother died, and having succeeded to the family estates, he resigned his fellowship.

In 1756 he married Ann, third daughter of Felix Calvert, Esq., of Albury Hall in Hertfordshire, and for many years seems to have combined the cultivation of letters with the pursuits of a country gentleman. A bilious fever, partly brought on by the death of his only sister—the Miss Anstey of Mrs. Montagu's letters—led to his visiting Bath, where later he fixed his home. In 1751 Gray had published his famous 'Elegy,' and, in 1762, in conjunction with Dr. Roberts of King's, Anstey made the first translation of it into Latin—a translation which had the advantage of Gray's criticisms and the good fortune to elicit an interesting letter from the poet, part of which is given in Anstey's 'Works' (Introduction, pp. xv–xvi, ed. 1808). From 1762 to 1766 Anstey published nothing. In 1766, however, appeared the famous series of letters in rhyme entitled the 'New Bath Guide, or Memoirs of the B—r—d [Blunderhead] Family, in a series of Poetical Epistles.' It was composed at the author's country seat of Trumpington, and printed in quarto at Cambridge. Its success was instantaneous. Walpole enthusiastically describes it thus: 'It is a set of letters in verse, in all kind of verses, describing the life at Bath, and incidentally everything else; but so much wit, so much humour, fun, and poetry, so much originality, never met together before. Then the man has a better ear than Dryden or Handel. *Apropos* to Dryden, he has burlesqued his St. Cecilia, that you will never read it again without laughing. There is a description of a milliner's box in all the terms of landscape, *painted lawns and chequered shades*, a Moravian ode, and a Methodist ditty, that are incomparable, and the best names that ever were composed' (*Letter to Montagu*, 20 June 1766). Gray, too, writes to Wharton (26 Aug. 1766): 'Have you read the "New Bath Guide"? It is the only thing in fashion, and is a new and original kind of humour.' The 'new and original kind of humour' has by this time grown somewhat ancient in the metres of Barham and Moore and a hundred others, and the nineteenth century reader would scarcely endorse Walpole's view of the 'Methodist ditty,' which even in Anstey's day was sometimes pasted down by the scrupulous; but there can be no doubt of the contemporary popularity of the book, or its clever ridicule of fashion and her freaks. Dodsley, who, after the appearance of the second edition, paid the author 200*l.* for the copyright, had made so much money by it ten years later that he gave it back to him. Smollett was at Bath in 1766–7, and it is admitted, even by his biographers, that he was indebted to the 'New Bath Guide' for something of the scheme of 'Humphry Clinker.'

Anstey never repeated the success of the 'New Bath Guide.' His reputation as a rhymester and humorist attracted attention to his subsequent performances, but they have neither the freshness nor the vivacity of his first effort. In 1767 he published an elegy upon the Marquis of Tavistock, who died by a fall from his horse, and in the same year appeared 'The Patriot,' a 'Pindaric epistle' on prize-fighting, addressed to the notorious bruiser Buckhorse. In 1770, in order to educate his children, he removed to Bath permanently, and was one of the first residents in the Crescent. He continued to write verse at intervals, producing, among other pieces, 'An Election Ball,' 1776 (in the 'Bath Guide' vein); 'Envy,' 1778; 'Liberality, or the Decayed Macaroni;' and various occasional verses. The 'Election Ball' was a contribution to that egregious classic vase set up by Mrs. (afterwards Lady) Miller at Batheaston, of which, with its attendant ceremonial, so piquant an account is given by Walpole (*Letter to Conway and Lady Aylesbury*, 15 Jan. 1775). It was illustrated with six copper-plates by C. W. Bampfylde.

Anstey died in 1805, aged 81, and was buried in Walcot Church, Bath. A monument was afterwards erected to him in Poets' Corner.

[Poetical Works of the late Christopher Anstey, Esq., with some Account of the Life and Writings of the Author by his Son, John Anstey, Esq., 1808.] A. D.

ANSTEY, JOHN (*d.* 1819), poet, and second son of Christopher Anstey, was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn and a commissioner for auditing public accounts. Under the pseudonym of 'John Surrebutter,' he wrote 'a didactic poem' in 1796, entitled 'The Pleader's Guide,' further described as 'containing the conduct of a suit at law, with the arguments of Counsellor Bother'um and Counsellor Bore'um, in an action between John-a-Gull and John-a-Gudgeon for

assault and battery at a late contested election.' It has a great deal of humour, though chiefly of a legal kind. Porson is said to have known it by heart, and Lord Campbell quotes it in his 'Lives of the Justices.' John Anstey also edited his father's works in 1808 [see ANSTEY, CHRISTOPHER].

[Notes and Queries, 3rd series, ii. 475; Gent. Mag. lxxxix. part ii. 569.] A. D.

ANSTEY, THOMAS CHISHOLM (1816–1873), lawyer and politician, who took a prominent part in various political controversies, was the son of one of the earliest settlers in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), and was born at London in 1816. He was educated at Wellington College and at University College, London, and in Hilary term 1839 was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. Although he had no personal relations with Oxford, the Oxford movement greatly affected him, and he was one of the earliest converts to Roman Catholicism that it produced. With the passionate enthusiasm that characterised his public life, he became at once an uncompromising champion of the political interests of the Roman Catholics in England and Ireland. Shortly after his conversion he was appointed professor of law and jurisprudence at the Roman Catholic College of Prior Park, near Bath, and a series of six lectures delivered there on the laws and constitution of England was published by him in 1845. He issued about the same time many pamphlets on the legal and political position of the Roman Catholics, one of which was entitled 'A Guide to the Laws affecting Roman Catholics' (1842), and another 'The Queen's Supremacy considered in its relation with the Roman Catholics in England' (1850). He also contributed frequently to the 'Dublin Magazine,' then recently started under the joint superintendence of Cardinal Newman, Daniel O'Connell, and Henry Bagshawe. On resigning his professorship, he appears to have turned his attention almost exclusively to politics. Ireland mainly interested him, and he was a violent supporter of the extreme section of O'Connell's followers. In 1846 he denounced the illegality of the arrest and imprisonment of W. Smith O'Brien by order of the House of Commons, for refusing to serve on a parliamentary committee, in a short paper reviewing the legal aspect of the question; and in 1847 his advocacy of advanced views on Irish questions was rewarded by his election as member of parliament for Youghal. In the House of Commons he rapidly made himself notorious by his intemperate attacks on the government of Lord Palmerston. Every step taken by the minister in foreign policy was decried by Anstey, 'not merely as mistaken or unprincipled in itself, but as part of a deliberate scheme for selling us to the despots of the continent, and destroying the liberties of England and Europe.' In his first session he attacked Palmerston's negotiations in connection with the treaty of Adrianople in a speech of six hours' duration. Upon almost every subject that came before parliament, and especially on Irish and colonial affairs, Anstey addressed the house; but his command of language and unusual facility as a speaker did not prevent him becoming 'a malcontent of the highest borepower.' His political programme, on his entrance into parliament, included the repeal not only of the Irish, but also of the Scotch union, the abolition of excise duties, the reduction of the customs, and the repeal of the currency laws, and he never lost what he imagined to be an opportunity to ventilate his views on these topics. In the House of Commons he found few supporters; but Mr. David Urquhart and Anstey frequently acted together on questions of foreign policy. Ridiculed repeatedly in 'Punch,' Anstey continued to press his extravagant views on the parliament to which he was returned; but on its dissolution in 1852 he retired from parliamentary life.

Although his political conduct hardly seemed to give him any claim to government office, in 1854 Anstey was nominated attorney-general of Hongkong; but his distrust in the value of almost all existing political institutions was there only confirmed. According to his own account he found abuses imbedded in the whole government of the colony which he resolved to root out. The police, he declared, connived at Chinese piracy and at a large number of other irregularities practised by the Chinese of the district. In pursuit, therefore, of radical reforms in the administration of the colony, Anstey came into serious collision with Sir John Bowring, the governor, and many of his subordinates; after protracted disputes he was suspended in 1858 from his post by Sir John, and the suspension was confirmed by the home government. On his return to England in 1859 Anstey represented himself as the victim of a serious political injustice, and the matter was brought before parliament by Mr. Edwin James. Anstey himself stated his view of the case in an elaborate pamphlet containing a number of letters addressed by him to the Duke of Newcastle, the colonial secretary at the time. But his grievance excited little interest, and Anstey retired to India, to practise at the Bombay bar. There

he rapidly achieved great success, and filled a temporary vacancy on the bench in 1865. His rapidity of decision pleasurably astonished the suitors of the court; but a too vigorous denunciation of the alleged commercial immorality of the presidency of Bengal led him into controversies with all the superior officials, and he was compelled to withdraw from his judicial appointment. The year 1866 he spent in England, and threw himself with his wonted energy into the agitation then proceeding for parliamentary reform. In a tract entitled 'A Plea for the Unrepresented for the Restitution of the Franchise,' he declared himself in favour of manhood suffrage, and attempted to prove that all limitations of the franchise were due to class-legislation, and were usurpations of original popular rights. Lord Houghton, although he disagreed with its conclusions, characterised the pamphlet as 'a valuable contribution to the argumentative and historical literature of reform' (*Essays on Reform*, p. 49). In another tract, published in 1867, Anstey severely criticised Disraeli's Reform Act of 1867; and during that and the following year he contributed three important papers to the 'Transactions' of the Juridical Society —one on Blackstone's theory of the omnipotence of Parliament (iii. 305–39), another on judicial oaths as administered to heathen witnesses (iii. 371–401), in which Anstey advocated the abolition of all oaths; and a third on the competence of colonial legislatures to enact laws in derogation of common liability and common right (iii. 401–57). About the close of 1868 Anstey, who had sought in vain a practice at the English bar, returned to Bombay, and reassumed his former prominent position at the bar there. He died in India on 12 Aug. 1873, and was deeply lamented by the native population of Bombay, whether Parsees, Hindoos, or Mahomedans, to whom he had always been ready to render legal assistance. In spite of his pugnacious disposition and unseemly quarrels, and in spite of his strange addiction to multifarious crotchets, 'a real high honesty of purpose' seems to have lain at the bottom of his extravagances. His aims were invariably legitimate enough, but he rarely took rational measures to attain their fulfilment.

[Times, 15 Aug. 1873; Pall Mall Gazette, 3 Sept. 1873; Times of India, 14 Aug. 1873; Tablet, 16 Aug. 1873; Weekly Register, 16 Aug. 1873; Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 1847–1852; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

ANSTICE, JOSEPH (1808–1836), classical scholar, was born in 1808. He was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He took his B.A. on 3 Feb. 1831, and M.A. on 2 April 1835. In 1831 he was appointed professor of classical literature in King's College, London, a post which he resigned in 1835 from ill-health. He died on 29 Feb. 1836 at Torquay. He published: 1. 'Richard Cœur de Lion' (prize poem), 1828. 2. 'Introductory Lecture at King's College, London,' 1831. 3. 'Selections from the Choric Poetry of the Greek Dramatic Writers, translated into English Verse,' 1832. 4. 'The Influence of the Roman Conquests upon Literature and the Arts in Rome' (in Oxford English Prize Essays), 1836. 5. 'The Child's Christian Year,' 1841, was partly his work.

[Gent. Mag. for May 1836, N.S., v. 552; Josiah Miller's Our Hymns, 1866, p. 377.] A. G.

ANSTIE, FRANCIS EDMUND (1833–1874), physician, was born at Devizes, Wiltshire, 11 Dec. 1833, the son of Mr. Paul Anstie, a manufacturer belonging to a family long notable for their attachment to liberal principles. He was educated at a private school till the age of sixteen, when he was apprenticed to his cousin, Mr. Thomas Anstie, a medical practitioner, with whom he remained three years. In 1853 he entered the medical department of King's College, London, where his teachers were Sir William Fergusson, Mr. Bowman, and especially Dr. R. B. Todd, whose doctrines and practice produced a permanent impression upon Anstie's mind. He became M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1856, was M.B. London in 1857, M.D. 1859. He was admitted a member of the College of Physicians in 1859, fellow 1865. In 1860 he was elected assistant physician to the Westminster Hospital, but did not become full physician till 1873. He was lecturer at that school, first on forensic medicine, afterwards for many years on materia medica, and for a short time on medicine. In 1862 Anstie married a daughter of Mr. Wass of Cromford, Derbyshire, whom he left a widow with a son and two daughters.

On his first entrance into professional life Anstie was occupied in administering chloroform for the operations of Sir William Fergusson; but he soon went into practice as a physician, and became very fully occupied in hospital work and in journalism, being for some years a member of the editorial staff of the 'Lancet;' while in the last few years of his life he was beginning to get a good consulting practice. Dr. Anstie's life was cut short by an illness contracted in the course of a sanitary inspection. Some strange cases of fatal disease having occurred in the schools of the Patriotic Fund at Wandsworth, Anstie

was called in to make an inspection of the buildings and investigate the causes of the epidemic. In making a post-mortem examination he received a slight wound, from the effects of which he died on 12 Sept. 1874. The sudden death of a man so full of energy and promise by a wound received in the discharge of duty caused an acute and painful sensation throughout his own profession and the public. Shortly afterwards a large number of his personal friends and others raised a memorial fund in his honour, which was applied for the benefit of his family.

Dr. Anstie was a skilful physician, an eager investigator, and a vigorous writer. Literary work connected with medicine, in addition to regular journalism, occupied much of his energy during his whole professional life. His activity was mainly directed in three lines—in the advancement of therapeutics, in questions of public health, and in the study of nervous diseases. In therapeutics he began with investigating the action of alcohol on the body in health and disease; and in this he was a pupil of Dr. R. B. Todd, one of whose leading principles was the use of stimulants in medicine. After writing scientific and popular papers on the subject (in the 'London Medical Review,' 1862, and the 'Cornhill Magazine' respectively), Anstie brought out in 1864 his important work on 'Stimulants and Narcotics,' containing the result of experiments, observations, and literary research, and these subjects continued to occupy his attention till the last year of his life.

In 1868 he became joint-editor (and in the next year sole editor) of the 'Practitioner,' a new journal intended to advance the scientific study of therapeutics. The special character and importance of this journal, which has done much to invigorate the study of therapeutics in this country, were of Anstie's creation.

In questions of public health Anstie was warmly interested; and he took an important part in initiating two important public reforms. In 1864 certain scandals connected with the administration of the poor-law infirmaries attracted public attention, and induced the proprietors of the 'Lancet' to appoint a commission, consisting of Dr. Anstie, Mr. Ernest Hart, and Dr. Carr, to report on the subject. Anstie took the largest part in examining the London infirmaries, and wrote the report which appeared in the 'Lancet' 1 July 1865. Others followed, and one on the state of Farnham workhouse, published in 1867, led to an inquiry by the Poor Law Board, which justified the report of the 'Lancet' commissioners. These inquiries may justly be regarded as the starting-point of the movement of reform which has of late years greatly improved the system of poor-law medical relief. In 1874 Anstie brought before the College of Physicians a motion that the college should petition the prime minister to provide some remedy for the injurious overcrowding of the poor in London, which the introduction of certain railways and improvements had lately aggravated. The petition, being adopted and sent in, was largely influential in inducing the then home secretary, Mr. Cross, to bring in a bill in parliament which became law as an 'Act for facilitating the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Working Classes in large Towns.' In this momentous question, the solution of which has not yet been found, Anstie deserves honourable mention as a pioneer.

On diseases of the nervous system Anstie wrote several memoirs, and finally a book on 'Neuralgia and the Diseases which resemble it,' London, 1871, on which his friends would be inclined to rest his reputation. He also contributed an article on the same subject to Reynolds's 'System of Medicine.' The views which he expounded in both works were to a large extent original, and doubtless open to criticism; but many of his observations are of permanent value. In 1867 he gave two lectures at the College of Physicians on the sphygmograph.

There can be no doubt, however, that the completeness of his scientific work was much interfered with by his multifarious occupations and the ceaseless literary activity which circumstances imposed upon him. Though finding little time for elaborate research, he was a zealous advocate of new and more accurate methods, and did much not only to make known the results of investigation, but to stimulate and sustain the scientific movement in medicine.

At the time of his death Anstie's reputation was rapidly growing, and was as great in America as at home. It is no secret that brilliant offers were made to induce him to accept a professorship and hospital appointment in that country, which family reasons, among others, induced him to decline. In 1874 he took part in the foundation of the Medical School for Women, and acted with great energy as the first dean of the school.

Anstie was a man of singularly attractive character. He was warm-hearted and generous, a firm friend and an honourable opponent. Though as a reformer he was often engaged in controversy, he gained the regard of the best among his antagonists; one of whom wrote after his death: 'It was impossible to

mistake the ardour of the man, or to doubt the complete and very unusual disinterestedness with which he threw himself into all his work.'

Besides the works mentioned above, he wrote a very large number of papers and articles, some signed, some anonymous. Among the former were: 1. 'Lectures on Diseases of the Nervous System' (Lancet, 1872–73). 2. Articles in Reynolds's 'System of Medicine,' vol. ii. 1868: Alcoholism, Neuralgia, and Hypochondriasis—the latter jointly with Sir William Gull; *ibid.* vol. iii. 1871: 'Pleurisy, Pleurodynia, Hydrothorax, Pneumothorax, and Hepatalgia.' 4. 'On the Hereditary Connection between certain Nervous Diseases' (Journal of Mental Science, Jan. 1872). 5. 'Notes on Epidemics, for the use of the Public,' 1866. Several medical papers in the Practitioner.

[Memoir by Dr. Buzzard (his brother-in-law), Practitioner, Jan. 1876; Lancet, 19 Sept. 1874.] J. F. P.

ANSTIS, JOHN, the elder (1669–1745), heraldic writer and Garter king of arms, was born at St. Neots, Cornwall, 28 (or 29) Sept. 1669, entered Exeter College, Oxford, in 1685, and was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1688. Of a good family, and possessed of considerable fortune, Anstis was chosen one of the members for St. Germains in 1702. Although a strong tory, he voted against the bill for the prevention of occasional conformity, which caused his name to appear among the 'tackers' in the prints of the time. In 1703 Anstis was appointed deputy-general to the auditors of the imprest (an office which he never executed), and one of the principal commissioners of prizes. On 2 April 1714 he received a reversionary patent for the office of Garter. In a letter to the lord treasurer, dated 14 March 1711–12, he appears to be referring to the grant: 'I have a certain information it would be ended forthwith if the lord treasurer would honour me by speaking to her majesty at this time, which, in behalf of the Duke of Norfolk, I most earnestly desire, and humbly beg your lordship's assistance therein' (Noble's *History of the College of Arms*). From 1711 to 1713 Anstis represented St. Maw's, and in the last parliament of Queen Anne was returned for Launceston, or Dunheved, being re-elected at the accession of George I. In 1715 he was suspected of intriguing in the cause of the Pretender, and with other gentlemen was thrown into prison. A pamphleteer of the time states that the 'government had intimation of their designs to raise an insurrection in Cornwall, the rather because their interest was very great amongst the tinners there, of whom Mr. Anstis was hereditary high-steward' (*A full and authentick Narrative of the intended horrid Conspiracy*, &c., 1715). While Anstis was in prison the office of Garter became vacant by the death of Sir Henry St. George. Sir John Vanbrugh, Clarencieux king-at-arms, was appointed to the vacancy, Anstis's claims being set aside. But Anstis would not submit to this arrangement. He cleared himself of the charge of treasonable practices, and then proceeded to prosecute his claims with the utmost vigour. His opponent urged that in a contest in the time of Charles II the king had given up the right of nomination; but Anstis contended that Charles had merely waived the right. After much delay the controversy was at last terminated, on 20 April 1718, in favour of Anstis, who for some time previously had been residing in the college. In spite of the prejudice that had been raised against him, he succeeded in gaining the respect and favour of the government. On 8 June 1727, shortly before the death of George I, he received a patent under the great seal securing the office to himself and his eldest son and the survivor of them. In the following year Anstis had a dispute with the authorities of All Souls College, Oxford. His son, though of founder's kin, failed to secure a fellowship, the college alleging that he was incapacitated for election by his possession of a patent place and pension under government. The visitor, to whom Anstis appealed, ruled in favour of the college.

Anstis died at Mortlake on 4 March 1744–45, and was buried at Dulo, in Cornwall. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Cudlipp, of Tavistock, Devonshire, by whom he had three sons and three daughters.

Anstis was a man of the greatest learning and industry. His published works were considerable, but his manuscript collections were still more extensive. In 1706 he published 'A Letter concerning the Honour of Earl Marshal;' in 1720 'The Form of the Installation of the Garter;' in 1724 'The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, from its cover in black velvet usually called the Black Book; with Notes placed at the bottom of the pages, and an Introduction prefixed by the Editor,' a work in two folio volumes, published at the editor's expense; in 1725 'Observations introductory to an Historical Essay on the Knighthood of the Bath.' 'Sixty-four pages,' says Noble, 'of his Latin Answer "to the case of Founders' Kinsmen" were printed in 4to, with many coats of arms;' and Watt

mentions among Anstis's books a quarto published in 1724, 'Brook's Errors of Camden, with Camden's Answer and Brook's Reply.' In 1702 a few sheets were published of a work entitled 'Curia Militaris, or a Treatise of the Court of Chivalry, in three books.' Noble states that the whole work was printed privately in 1702, but no copy is known to exist. In Gutch's 'Collectanea Curiosa,' ii. 186, is a history of visitation books, under the title, 'Nomenclator Fecialium qui Angliæ et Walliæ comitatus visitarunt, quo anno et ubi autographa seu apographa reperiuntur, per Johannem Anstis, Garter. Principal. Regem Armorum Anglicanorum,' from a manuscript in the library of All Souls College. Leland's 'Collectanea,' v. 325, 337, contains 'An Account of the Ceremonial of the Marriage between Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of King James I, in the year 1613,' and 'Ceremonial of the Marriage between William, only son of Frederick-Henry, Prince of Orange, and Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles I, the 2nd of May 1641,' drawn up by Anstis in 1733 from original manuscripts in the possession of Joseph Edmondson, Mowbray Herald. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' lxix. 194, there appeared some extracts from a letter of Anstis, dated 13 Nov. 1731, 'in which he answers queries that had been proposed to him as to the pretensions a dean of Westminster might have to bear the insignia of the Bath; and, supposing them to be well founded, in what manner the shield was to be exhibited upon a sepulchral monument.' Anstis left in manuscript the following works: 1. 'Aspilogia, a Discourse upon Seals in England,' of which an abstract was read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1735–6. 2. Two folio volumes of drawings of sepulchral monuments, stone circles, crosses, and castles in the three kingdoms, extracts from which are printed in the 'Archæologia,' xiii. 208. 3. A collection of epitaphs and other inscriptions in England and Wales (facsimiles). 4. 'Collectanea, in sixteen folio volumes, respecting almost every subject of English History, Jurisprudence, Chronology, Ecclesiastical and Military Affairs.' 5. 'Sigilla in officio Ducatus Lancastriæ,' a catalogue of ancient seals, deeds, and charters. 6. 'Pedigree of the Anstis Family.' 7. A treatise on the name, origin, and duties of the Earl Marshall. 8. An article on the estate and degree of a serjeant-at-law. 9. A petition relative to the visitatorial power of All Souls College. These manuscripts came into the possession of Thomas Astle at the sale of Anstis's library in 1768, and are now in the Stowe collection (British Museum). Besides these were (10) five large folio volumes, on the 'Office, &c., of Garter King-at-Arms, of Heralds and Pursuivants, in this and other Kingdoms, both Royal, Princely, and such as belonged to our Nobility,' that were acquired by George Nayler, York Herald, who allowed the use of them to Noble for his 'History of the College of Arms.' 11. 'Memoirs of the Families of Talbot, Carew, Granville, and Courtney.' 12. 'The Antiquities of Cornwall.' 13. 'Collections relating to the Parish of Colliton, in Devonshire,' dealing with the question of tithes, which had been the subject of a dispute between the parishioners and his son, the Rev. George Anstis, the vicar. 14. 'Collections relating to All Souls College,' purchased for the college. 15. 'Heraldic, Genealogical, and Historical Collections,' British Museum Add. MSS. 12227, 14291, 19818; collections for a treatise 'De Baroniis,' 24964. Some letters of Anstis's are printed in Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes,' v. 271.

Pope alludes to Anstis in the 'Imitations of Horace:'—

> A man of wealth is dubbed a man of worth,
> Venus shall give him form, and Anstis birth;

and Prior mentions him in an epigram:—

> But coronets we owe to crowns,
> And favour to a court's affection.
> By nature we are Adam's sons,
> And sons of Anstis by election.

There is a portrait of Anstis at Oxford and in the hall of the College of Arms.

[Noble's History of the College of Arms, 376–79; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, ii. 706–7, v. 269–72; O'Conor's Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis; Full and authentic Narrative of the intended horrid Conspiracy, 1715; Archæologia, i. xxviii; Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica; Burrows's Worthies of All Souls, 406–8]. A. H. B.

ANSTIS, JOHN, the younger (1708–1754), son of John Anstis the elder, was born about 1708, became a gentleman-commoner of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and in 1725, at the revival of the order of the Bath, was made genealogist and registrar. By virtue of the grant passed in 1727 he was joined with his father in the office of Garter. He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 21 July 1736, and was presented with the degree of LL.D. on 22 April 1749, on the occasion of the opening of the Radcliffe library. When invested with the order of the Garter, the Margrave of Anspach presented Anstis with three hundred ducats, a gold-hilted sword, and one hundred ducats, 'in lieu of his upper robe, which Garter

claimed as belonging to him by virtue of his office.' He resided for the most part at Mortlake, where he died on 5 Dec. 1754, having shortened his days by excessive indulgence in wine. Anstis's abilities commanded respect, but his 'violent vindictiveness' made him many enemies, especially among his colleagues at the Heralds' College. He died a bachelor, and his brother George, vicar of Coliton, Devonshire, became his heir.

[Noble's History of the College of Arms, pp. 379–80; Nichols's Anecdotes, v. 272, &c.]
A. H. B.

ANSTRUTHER, Sir ALEXANDER (1769–1819), Anglo-Indian judge, was the second son of Sir Robert Anstruther, bart., of Balcaskie, Fifeshire. He was born 10 Sept. 1769; called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, and published 'Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Exchequer, from Easter Term 32 George III to Trinity Term 37 George III, both inclusive,' which were published in three volumes in 1796 and 1797, and were reprinted for a second edition in 1817. The work is a careful and accurate compilation, and was for many years a useful legal authority. Anstruther went out to India in 1798, and was appointed advocate-general at Madras in 1803; in March 1812 he succeeded Sir James Mackintosh as recorder of Bombay, and was knighted; he died at Mauritius on 16 July 1819. While on his voyage out to India he wrote a small work on 'Light, Heat, and Electricity.'

[Calcutta Monthly Journal, August 1819; Asiatic Journal, May 1820; David Jardine in Soc. D. U. K. Dict.]
J. S. C.

ANSTRUTHER, Sir JOHN (1753–1811), politician and Anglo-Indian judge, was the second son of Sir John Anstruther, bart., of Elie House, Fifeshire. He was born 27 March 1753; educated at Glasgow University under Professor Millar; called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1779; practised chiefly before the House of Lords in Scotch appeals; and was M.P. for Cockermouth, 1790–96. He was an active supporter of Fox, and one of the managers appointed to conduct the impeachment of Warren Hastings, his duty being to sum up the evidence on the charge relating to Benares, and to open the charge relating to presents. In 1797 he was appointed chief justice of Bengal, and created a baronet; in 1806 he returned to England: was immediately sworn on the privy council, and re-entered parliament as member for the Kilrenny district of burghs. In 1808 he succeeded to his father's baronetcy; and died in London 26 Jan. 1811.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxi. 683, lxxxii. 494.]
J. S. C.

ANSTRUTHER, ROBERT (1768–1809), general, was the eldest son of Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart., M.P., and Lady Janet Erskine, daughter of the Earl of Kellie, and was born in 1768. He was educated at Westminster, but early showed a taste for a military life, and in 1788 his father purchased for him an ensigncy, and in 1792 the rank of lieutenant and captain in the 3rd or Scots guards. He led the usual life of a young officer in the guards, but at the same time paid great attention to his military duties. He served with his regiment in the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 in Flanders, and in 1796 was for a short time attached to the Austrian head-quarters, but, seeing no further chance of active service in the guards, he purchased, in March 1797, a majority, and in August of the same year a lieutenant-colonelcy in the 68th regiment, with which he served in the West Indies, where he attracted the attention of Sir Ralph Abercromby. In August 1799, hearing that the guards were going on active service, he exchanged into his old regiment as captain and lieutenant-colonel, and served with it in the expedition to the Helder. In the same year he married Miss Hamilton, the daughter of Colonel Hamilton, of the guards, a nephew of the Duke of Hamilton. The next year, though only a lieutenant-colonel, he was selected by Sir Ralph Abercromby to be quartermaster-general of his army in the Mediterranean, at the same time that another young Scotchman, John Hope, who was also to gain fame in Moore's retreat, was nominated adjutant-general. Sir Ralph placed the greatest confidence in Anstruther, and it was mainly on his report, after a visit to the Turkish headquarters, that the Turks would not be ready for a long time, if they could be of any use at all, that Sir Ralph left Marmorice Bay and determined to act alone. Through the whole Egyptian campaign he served with the greatest credit, and was made one of the first knights of the Crescent when the sultan established that order. On his return he was promoted colonel, was made first deputy quartermaster-general in England, and then adjutant-general in Ireland, and spent some years of domestic happiness at home. But he failed in his attempt to obtain active employment, until, on the return of the tories to power in 1807, he was appointed brigadier-general, and ordered

to take command of a brigade consisting of the 20th and 52nd regiments, and four companies of the 95th or rifle regiment, which was about to sail to the assistance of Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal.

He embarked at Ramsgate in August 1808, and, on reaching the mouth of the Douro in company with Brigadier-general Acland, found orders from General Wellesley to proceed at once down the coast to Maceira Bay. Wellesley himself had, after his success at Roriça, marched along the coast, for he wished to receive reinforcements before he either attacked Lisbon or engaged Junot's whole army. At Paymayo and Maceira accordingly Anstruther and Acland met Wellesley and disembarked their brigades, though with much difficulty and loss from the heavy surf. When disembarked, Wellesley formed his whole army in a strong position at Vimeiro, and awaited the attack which Junot was meditating. At the battle of Vimeiro, the churchyard which formed the key of the English situation was occuped by the brigades of Fane and Anstruther, and on them fell the brunt of Junot's attack. The French were, however, repulsed with heavy loss, and Anstruther proved his ability as a brigadier. On the arrival of Moore, Burrard, and Dalrymple, the army was re-divided, and Anstruther had the other companies of the 95th given to him, and was put under the orders of Edward Paget, who was to command the reserve. On the advance into Spain, Paget led his brigades by way of Elvas and Alcantara, to join Moore at Salamanca.

It was in the retreat from Salamanca, or rather from Toro, that Anstruther's most important military duties were performed. The reserve was ordered to form the rear division, and Anstruther's brigade actually closed the retreat. The conduct of the troops was now severely tried, but the reserve stood the test well. While the leading divisions were perpetually in disorder, the reserve, of which both officers and men had been trained by Sir John Moore himself at Shorncliffe, maintained perfect discipline, and in Anstruther's brigade served two of the regiments, the 52nd and 95th, which were to form the nucleus of the famous light division under Wellington. As far as Lugo, the French were never a day's march behind, every day saw sharp skirmishes, and there were at least two smart engagements at Cacabelos on 3 June and Constantino on 5 June, in which the reserve and cavalry were alone concerned. General Anstruther proved himself a model officer, and Moore declared that to the conduct of the reserve, and of Paget and Anstruther in particular, the safe arrival of the army at Corunna was due. But the exertions of this trying time were too much for General Anstruther, and on 14 June, the day but one after he had led his brigade into Corunna, and the day but one before the battle, he died from fatigue and exhaustion. He was buried at Corunna, and when Moore was himself dying, he expressed a wish to be buried beside his gallant friend and companion, so that the column erected by Marshal Soult over Moore's remains marks also the grave of Robert Anstruther. He presents a singular instance of military devotion; with wealth, domestic happiness, and a certain seat in parliament, he preferred to risk his life and lose it in the service of his country.

[There is a short sketch of Anstruther's career in the Royal Military Panorama, vol. iv. For his more important services in the Peninsula see Napier, book ii. chap. 5, and book iv.]

H. M. S.

ANSTRUTHER, Sir WILLIAM (*d.* 1711), judge, of a very ancient Scottish family, was the son of Sir Philip Anstruther of Anstruther, a royalist who was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, had his estates sequestered by Cromwell and restored to him by Charles II, and died in 1702. Sir William represented the county of Fife in parliament in 1681, and strongly opposed the measures of James, Duke of York, then lord high commissioner in Scotland. He was again returned for that county in 1689, and continued to represent it until the union (1707). In the revolution of 1688, Sir William took the side of the Prince of Orange, and was rewarded by being appointed one of the ordinary lords of session (22 Oct. 1689), and later a member of the privy council. In 1694 he was created baronet of Nova Scotia. In 1704 he was nominated one of the lords of justiciary in the room of Lord Aberuchil. By a charter under the great seal dated 20 April 1704, and ratified by parliament 14 Sept. 1705, the baronies of Anstruther and Ardross and the office of bailliary of the lordship of Pittenweem, with certain minor estates, rights, and privileges, and the office of carver and master of the household to her majesty and her heirs, were granted to Sir William Anstruther and his heirs for ever. Sir William Anstruther was strongly in favour of the union, and his name appears frequently in the division lists during the period when the question was agitating the Scotch parliament. He was the author of a volume of essays, interspersed with verse, published in 1701 under the title of 'Essays, Moral and Divine,' of which his friends thought so

poorly that in his own interest they begged him not to publish it; and it is said that after the death of the judge, which happened in 1711, his son bought up all purchasable copies and suppressed the work. The contents of the volume were as follows: (1) Against Atheism; (2) Of Providence; (3) Of Learning and Religion; (4) Of Trifling Studies, Stage Plays, and Romances; (5) Of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ and the Redemption of Mankind. Sir William was married to Helen Hamilton, daughter of John, fourth Earl of Haddington.

[Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, 316; Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, VIII, IX, X, XI, 232, 255–6, 321–422; Melville Papers (1689–91), 307; Hume of Crossrigg's Diary (1700-1707), 33, 40; Beatson's Political Index, iii. 76, 112; Haydn's Book of Dignities, 413; Anderson's Scottish Nation.] J. M. R.

ANTHONY, FRANCIS (1550–1623), a noted empiric and chemical physician, was born in London 16 April 1550, the son of a goldsmith, who had a place in the jewel office under Queen Elizabeth. He studied at Cambridge and became M.A. 1574. He is said to have been afterwards M.D. in one of our universities, but in which does not appear. His knowledge of chemistry was presumably derived from his father. He commenced medical practice in London without a license from the College of Physicians; and after six months was called before the president and censors of the college (A.D. 1600), when, being examined in medicine and found ignorant, he was interdicted practice. For disregarding this injunction, he was fined five pounds and committed to prison, whence he was released by a warrant of the lord chief justice. The college, however, got him recommitted, and Anthony submitted. Being again prosecuted for the same offence and refusing to pay a heavy fine, he was kept in prison for eight months, till released at the petition of his wife, and on the ground of poverty, in 1602. He continued to practise in defiance of the college, and further proceedings were threatened, but not carried out, probably because Anthony had powerful friends at court. His practice consisted chiefly, if not entirely, in the prescription and sale of a secret remedy called *aurum potabile*, from which he derived a considerable fortune. He died 26 May 1623, leaving two sons: John, who became a physician in London [see ANTHONY, JOHN]; and Charles, who practised at Bedford. According to the writer in the 'Biographia Britannica' (1747, i. 169), who professes to have derived his information from family manuscripts, Anthony was a man of high character and very liberal to the poor.

The career of Anthony and his conflict with the College of Physicians illustrate the conditions of the medical profession in the seventeenth century. He was obnoxious to the college, not only because he practised without a license, or because he lauded chemical remedies and despised the traditional 'Galenical'—i.e. animal and vegetable drugs—but because he kept the composition of his remedy a secret, and put it forward as a panacea for all diseases. Anthony was a man of some learning, and defended his panacea in several pamphlets, in which he quotes many authors, chiefly chemists, as Raymond Lully and Arnold de Villa Nova, in support of his contention. He refers to Paracelsus with an apology, but disclaims any special debt to him; and among other authorities to Conrad Gesner, who had written of *aurum potabile* (*The Treasure of Euonymus*, London, 1565, p. 177). Of these tracts, the two earlier (*Fr. Antonii Londinensis Panacea Aurea*, Hamburg, 1598; and *Medicinæ Chymicæ et veri potabilis Auri assertio*, Cambridge, 1610) are probably very rare, and the present writer has not been able to find them; but the latter is known from the answer to it published by Matthew Gwinne (*Aurum non Aurum · In Assertorem Chymicæ, sed veræ Medicinæ desertorem, Fr. Anthonium*, Londini, 1611). His later book (*Apologia Veritatis illucescentis pro Auro Potabili*, London, 1616; also in English the *Apologie or Defence, &c. of Aurum Potabile*, same date) is well known. In these Anthony labours to show that metals are excellent medicines, gold most of all; that by his method it was dissolved in a potable form and furnished a universal medicine. His adversaries denied the superiority of metallic to other medicines and the special efficacy of gold, declared that Anthony's method did not dissolve gold, and there was no such thing as a universal medicine. Anthony offered to demonstrate his process to certain select witnesses; and it appears that a trial actually took place at the College of Physicians in 1609, in the presence of 'Baron' Thomas Knivet, the master of the mint, and other skilled persons, when an ounce of gold was given to Anthony, which, by his method, he failed to dissolve (GWINNE, *Aurum non Aurum*, p. 169). The process is indeed given in the 'Biographia Britannica,' ostensibly on the authority of a manuscript of Anthony's own; and it is evident that as there described the ultimate product could not contain any gold. The efficacy of the remedy, if any, as a cordial, was possibly due to certain ethers which

would be formed in the process of distillation, and also to the good canary wine in which it was ultimately dissolved. In Anthony's last work he relates the history of numerous cures which he says he performed on various distinguished persons. This brought upon him a violent attack from a Dr. Cotta, one of whose patients was spoken of. In spite of these attacks the potable gold became a very popular remedy.

The popular belief in the virtues of gold, though based on fanciful grounds, was too deeply rooted to be shaken, and even Robert Boyle, in 1685, says that, though prejudiced against 'aurum potabiles and the like' (*sic*), he found a certain tincture of gold which had marvellous effects (Boyle on *Specifick Medicines*, London, 1685). It is now known that preparations of gold have some, though not very potent, medicinal properties; but certainly not the marvellous powers attributed to preparations which, after all, did not contain it.

[Goodall's Royal College of Physicians, London, and an Historical Account of the College's Proceedings against Empiricks, &c., London, 1684; Biogr. Britannica, 1747; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, *s. v.* 'Gwinne,' i. 513, ed. 1721; Cotta's Antiapology, showing the Counterfeitness of Dr. Anthony's Aurum Potabile, Oxford, 1623.] J. F. P.

ANTHONY, JOHN (1585–1655), physician, was the son of Francis Anthony. He was educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge; graduated M.B. 1613, M.D. 1619; was admitted licentiate of College of Physicians, London, 1625. According to the 'Biographia Britannica' he gained a handsome income from the sale of his father's 'Aurum Potabile;' according to Dr. Munk, he succeeded to the more reputable part of his father's practice. A John Anthony served in the civil war, on the parliamentary side, as surgeon to Colonel Sandys (*Mercurius Rusticus*, ed. 1685, p. 125). He was the author of a devotional work, 'The Comfort of the Soul, laid down by way of Meditation . . . by John Anthony, Dr. of Physick, London, 1654, 4to.' The same work in the same impression was afterwards issued with a new title-page as 'Lucas Redivivus, or the Gospell Physitian, by J. A., Dr. of Physick, London, 1656, 4to.' In the British Museum (*Sloane MS.* 489) is a small note-book, bound with the arms of Charles I, entitled 'Joannis Antonii Praxis Medica,' containing notes in Latin on various diseases and their treatment. In it Paracelsus is quoted as the authority for a certain prescription. The notes are evidently for private use, not intended for publication, but clearly belong to this John Anthony.

[Biog. Britannica; Munk's Roll of College of Physicians, 2nd ed. i. 185.] J. F. P.

ANTON, ROBERT (*fl.* 1616), poetical writer, supposed to have been a son of George Anton, recorder of Lincoln, graduated B.A. of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1609–10. He is the author of a quarto volume of satires, published in 1616, under the title of the 'Philosophers Satyrs.' A second edition appeared in the following year, bearing the title 'Vices Anatomie Scourged and Corrected in New Satires.' There are seven pieces, each being named after one of the seven planets (an idea borrowed from Ariosto). The chief interest of the book, which is written in curiously strained language, lies in the references to Beaumont, Spenser, Jonson, Chapman, and Daniel. One Shakespearian allusion occurs—'What *Comedies* of *errors* swell the stage,' &c. There is preserved in Sir Charles Isham's library at Lamport Hall a unique prose tract of Anton's, in black letter, entitled 'Moriomachia, imprinted at London by Simon Stafford, 1613,' 4to.

[Corser's Collectanea; Hazlitt's Second Series of Bibliographical Collections; Cooper's New Biographical Dictionary.] A. H. B.

ANTRIM, Earl of. [See MacDonnell.]

APLIN, PETER (1753–1817), admiral, was midshipman of the Roebuck on 9 Oct. 1776, when her first lieutenant was killed in action with the batteries at the mouth of North River [see Parker, Hyde (2)], and was promoted to the vacancy caused by his death. Aplin's further promotion was rapid, and on 23 Nov. 1780 he was appointed captain of the Fowey frigate of 24 guns. He was still in her at Yorktown in the following October, when she was destroyed by the enemy's red-hot shot; after which he served, with his crew, on shore under the orders of Lord Cornwallis. He had no further service at sea until, in 1797, he was appointed to the Hector of 74 guns, which, after the battle off Cape St. Vincent, reinforced the fleet off Cadiz. He continued in this command for nearly two years, when he was promoted to flag rank. As an admiral, however, he never served, although, he passed through the several gradations by seniority, and attained the high rank of admiral of the white before his death, which occurred on 17 April 1817.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxvii. 89.] J. K. L.

APPLETON, CHARLES EDWARD CUTTS BIRCH (1841–1879), man of letters, was the second son of the Rev. Robert Apple-

ton. He was born on 16 March 1841, and educated at Reading grammar school, of which his father was head master. In 1859 he was elected to a scholarship at St. John's College, Oxford, which led in due course to a fellowship. His university honours were a second class at moderations and another second class in the final examination, both in classics. He graduated as B.A. in 1863, and, in accordance with the custom of his college, proceeded to the higher degree of D.C.L. in 1871. Shortly after taking his bachelor's degree, he travelled on the continent, and studied for about two years at more than one German university. In 1867 he returned to Oxford, and was appointed lecturer in philosophy at St. John's. At this period he read much, but wrote little. During all his life he was an enthusiast for learning, rather than a teacher or an author. The metaphysics of Hegel, considered from a theological (and almost an Anglican) standpoint, was the special branch of learning to which he was himself inclined; but his sympathies were wide enough to comprise everything that a German includes under 'Wissenschaft.' It was Appleton's fate that the remainder of his life should be devoted to the encouragement of learning in England by precept rather than by example. The bulk of his writings is not large, nor can it be said that their permanent value is very great; but he founded the literary periodical called the 'Academy,' and he organised the movement for the 'endowment of research.' The first number of the 'Academy, a Monthly Record of Literature, Learning, Science, and Art,' appeared on 9 Oct. 1869; and Appleton remained editor until his death. The distinctive characteristic of the paper was the signature of all the critiques by the writers' names in full; and its early contributors included men of high eminence in literature and science. If the 'Academy' has not consistently carried out the ambitious programme with which its founder started, it has at least continued to live to the present time without more vicissitudes than are common to newspaper enterprise. On 16 Nov. 1872 the first meeting was held in London of the 'Association for the Organisation of Academical Study,' in which Appleton again was the prime mover. The association held but one more meeting, and then fell to pieces. Shortly after the birth of the 'Academy' Appleton finally left Oxford for London, and occupied an old-fashioned cottage on the edge of Hampstead Heath, in which he delighted to play the host. In the autumn of 1875 he paid a visit to America, and was led to take up the question of international copyright with his wonted energy. The work that Appleton imposed on himself in connection with the 'Academy' was by no means entirely literary. He also undertook the business management of the paper, and became secretary of a company which he formed to foster it. In the opinion of his friends the labour and anxiety thus incurred contributed much to the breakdown of his constitution. The winter of 1877–8 he was ordered to spend in the south. The excitement of travel in Egypt and the Levant he enjoyed thoroughly, but when he came back to England he was visibly worse. Again he went to Egypt, and died at Luxor on 1 Feb. 1879.

To a volume, entitled 'Essays on the Endowment of Research, by Various Writers' (1876), Appleton contributed two essays, the one on the Economic Character of Subsidies to Education, and the other on the Endowment of Research as a Form of Productive Expenditure.

[A sketch of Appleton's career, together with most of his papers on philosophical subjects, will be found in 'Dr. Appleton: his Life and Literary Relics,' by his brother, John H. Appleton, and A. H. Sayce (1881)]. J. S. C.

APPLETON, HENRY (*fl.* 1650–1654), captain in the navy and commodore, was a townsman and presumably a native of Hull; but his name does not appear in any list of naval officers during the civil war or until 26 Sept. 1650, when an order was sent by the parliament to the council of state to appoint him 'as commander of the ship now to be built at Woolwich, or any other ship that they think fit.' This is the earliest mention of him as yet known. That his appointment was irregular and gave offence to his subordinates, officers of some experience at sea, and that he had neither the knowledge nor the ability to enforce obedience to his orders, appears throughout his whole correspondence, which gives an account of his sailing in the Leopard of 50 guns, of his arrival at Smyrna with the convoy, of his sailing thence in April 1651, and of his successive arrivals at Zante, Messina, Naples, and Genoa. In November he went to Leghorn, and immediately off that port captured, or permitted the ships with him to capture, a French vessel; thus, at the outset, giving offence to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. After staying a month at Leghorn he left for Naples, and with the Levant trade sailed again to Smyrna, returning to Leghorn in the end of June 1652. The war with Holland had just broken out, and a squadron of fourteen Dutch ships of war rendered it impossible for the English to move out. The force that Apple-

ton had with him was not more than half that of the Dutch, and during the rest of the summer he attempted nothing beyond despatching the Constant Warwick to reinforce Commodore Badiley, who was expected shortly on the coast of Italy. On 27 Aug. the Dutch learned that Badiley was off the island of Elba; and slipping out with their squadron, now of ten ships, they brought him to action, when, after a fight which lasted through that day and into the next, they succeeded in capturing the Phœnix. Appleton made no attempt to help Badiley, pleading afterwards 'that the Lord had at that time visited him with a violent sickness;' to which Badiley answered that no one else knew of it, and that even if he was sick he ought still to have sent his ships.

Badiley, after his defeat, retreated to Porto Longone, where he was blockaded by part of the Dutch squadron, the other part watching Appleton at Leghorn and refitting the Phœnix. On 2 Nov. Badiley came overland to communicate with Appleton, having received instructions from home to take the entire command. It seems to have been then arranged between them that, in defiance of the neutrality of the port, an attempt should be made to retake the Phœnix, which was successfully carried into execution by Captain Cox on the evening of 20 Nov., or, according to new style, 30 Nov., when the Dutch were holding drunken revelry in honour of St. Andrew. The grand duke was further incensed by Appleton's seizure next day of a Dutch prisoner who had escaped and put himself under the protection of a Tuscan sentry. The duke sent for Appleton, made him a close prisoner under circumstances of much indignity, and two days later sent him, still a prisoner, to Commodore Badiley at Porto Longone, who, holding a council of war, superseded him from the command of the Leopard; all which was approved of by the government at home, and orders were sent out for Appleton to return to England overland. It was, however, decided by Badiley to leave Appleton in command of the Leopard whilst the two squadrons combined to force their way past the Dutch, who had prevailed on the grand duke to give the English a peremptory order to restore the Phœnix or to quit the port (Longland to Navy Committee, 7 March 1652–3).

Appleton was accordingly sent back to his ship at Leghorn, and on 1 March 1652–3 Badiley wrote to him to be ready to come out to meet him as soon as he should appear off the port. Badiley's idea was that the Dutch would attack whichever squadron happened to be to leeward of them, and that the windward squadron might support it. They did not do so; but the wind being off shore, as soon as Appleton was well clear of the port on 4 March they fell on him, and before Badiley, who was a considerable distance to leeward, could come at all near, had completely crushed him. Of the six ships which formed his squadron one only escaped. The Leopard defended herself stoutly, till at last the ship's company refused to fight any longer, and would not permit the poop, which the enemy had won, to be blown up; they seized and disarmed Appleton, and called for quarter. He was held prisoner for some months, but being released on a security of 5,000 pieces of eight, he returned to England, complaining bitterly of having been deserted and betrayed. Inquiry showed that these complaints were unfounded, and that his defeat by the Dutch was due, not to any shyness on the part of Badiley, but to his own ill-judged haste in leaving the port before Badiley was engaged with the Dutch. Appleton was never employed again, and vanished into the darkness from which he had sprung.

[Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, 1651–1653; A Remonstrance of the Fight in Legorn Road (London, 1653, fol.), by Capt. Henry Appleton; Capt. Badiley's Reply to Certaine Declarations, &c., also to Capt. Appleton's Remonstrance (London, 1653, 4to).] J. K. L.

APPLEYARD, Sir MATHEW (1606–1669), military commander, was the son of Thomas Appleyard, the descendant of a family whose residence for several generations was Burstwick Hall Garth, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. In the civil war he took the side of the royalists, and was knighted on the field by Charles I. On the taking of Leicester, the king 'presently made Sir Mathew Appleyard, a soldier of known courage and experience, his lieutenant governor.' He married Frances, daughter of the third Sir Wm. Pelham, of Brocklesby, Lincolnshire; sat in the House of Commons as member for the corporation of Headon; was one of his majesty's customers for the port of Kingston-upon-Hull; was a firm supporter of Church and State, and died in 1669 in the 63rd year of his age.

[A monumental inscription on a stone in the chancel floor in All Saints Church, Burstwick; Poulson's History of Holderness, vii. 362, 364; Clarendon's History of the Grand Rebellion, book ix., 33.] A. S. B.

APPOLD, JOHN GEORGE, F.R.S. (1800–1865), an ingenious mechanician and an inventor of considerable capacity, was the son of a fur-skin dyer, established in Finsbury. Succeeding to his father's busi-

ness at the age of twenty-two, he introduced into it so many scientific improvements that he soon amassed a considerable fortune and was able to devote his time and attention to his favourite mechanical pursuits. His inventions, though numerous and evincing very great ingenuity, were not of the very highest class. Perhaps the most important of them was his centrifugal pump. This procured him a 'council medal' at the 1851 exhibition, and it is highly commended in the report of the juries on that exhibition. It should be mentioned that the medal was for the special form of pump, the principle having been known and acted upon many years before. Another invention of considerable value was a break, employed in laying deep-sea telegraph cables. This apparatus was used in laying the first Atlantic cable. Appold was very liberal in communicating his ideas to others. He was on terms of friendship with many of the chief engineers of his time, and was consulted by them frequently with advantage. He patented but few of his ideas, preferring generally to give them freely to the public. His house was a museum of mechanical contrivances, such as doors which opened at a person's approach, and shutters which closed at the touch of a spring, while the same movement turned on and lighted the gas. Probably, had he been compelled to rely for his support on his mechanical talents, his inventions would have been further developed, and have been brought more prominently into notice than they were. As it was, he was a man of high reputation among his contemporaries, who left behind him but little to keep his name from forgetfulness.

[Full accounts of Appold and his inventions will be found in the Proceedings Roy. Soc. xv. i., and in the Proceedings Inst. C. E. xxv. 523.]

H. T. W.

APSLEY, Sir ALLEN (1569?–1630), lieutenant of the Tower, was youngest son of John Apsley, Esq., of Pulborough, Sussex, and was born about 1569. Coming up to court to seek his fortune, he lost his all at play, and sailed for Cadiz with Essex 1596. Passing, on his return, into Ireland, he became victualler of Munster, married a rich widow, and was knighted at Dublin 5 June 1605 (*Carew Papers*, 619, p. 160). He next married a daughter of Sir Peter Carew, and was made victualler to the navy about 1610. Having married, thirdly, Lucy, daughter of Sir John St. John (by whom he was father of the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson), he obtained in addition the lieutenancy of the Tower, 3 March 1617. 'Here,' says Mrs. Hutchinson, 'he was a father to all his prisoners.' Many eminent prisoners were under his charge, including Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Eliot, and his wife is said to have provided Raleigh with the means for continuing his experiments. But he was the friend and political ally of the Duke of Buckingham (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv. 310), and Mrs. Hutchinson's statement must be compared with Mr. Forster's detailed description of his rigorous treatment of Sir John Eliot and other enemies of Buckingham (Forster's *Sir John Eliot*, ii. 469–78, 521). Apsley witnessed Buckingham's will drawn up 25 June 1627, just before the duke sailed for the island of Rhé (*Wills* (Camden Soc.), p. 91). Apsley himself served with that expedition (1628) and caught a fever, followed by a consumption, of which he died 24 May 1630, aged 61. He was buried in the Tower chapel, where a tablet was erected to his memory. He died deeply involved in debt. As victualler of the navy he set forth in a petition that he had spent 100,000*l.*, which was unpaid at the date of his death. The 'State Papers' throughout the seventeenth century are full of references to this and other of Apsley's debts (cf. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii. 148; *Cal. Treasury Papers*, i. 166).

[Mrs. Hutchinson's Introduction to her Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson; Bell's Memorials of Persons buried in the Tower, pp. 35–36; Cal. State Papers (Dom. 1627–8), p. 499.]

J. H. R.

APSLEY, Sir ALLEN (1616–1683), royalist leader, holder of minor offices of state under Charles II, and poetical writer, was the eldest son of Sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower, by his third wife Lucy, youngest daughter of Sir John St. John of Lydiard Tregooz, Wiltshire, and was baptised at the church of All Hallows, Barking, on 6 Sept. 1616. His sister, Lucy, married, in 1638, John Hutchinson, afterwards a well-known colonel of the parliamentary army. Apsley was educated firstly at Merchant Taylors' School, where he and a younger brother, William, were entered as pupils in 1626 (Robinson's *Merchant Taylors' School Register*, p. 115). He afterwards went to Trinity College, Oxford, but did not take his degree of M.A. till 28 Sept. 1663. His father had left his affairs at his death in the utmost confusion, and during Apsley's youth the resources of his family seemed to have been very precarious. His mother married again in the early years of her widowhood, against the wishes of her first husband's relatives, and Apsley played a part in the domestic quarrel that followed. Numerous petitions concerning the financial position of Apsley and his brothers and sisters were presented to the

king and his council between 1634 and 1637. But before the outbreak of civil war in 1642, the disputes were apparently settled to Apsley's advantage.

Throughout the king's preliminary struggles with the parliament Apsley supported the royalists, and he received the honour of knighthood. When active hostilities began in 1642, he was placed in command of a company of horse raised in Charles's behalf, and soon afterwards proceeded to the west, where he was appointed 'governor of the fort of Exeter.' He was joined in Devonshire by the Prince of Wales in 1645 (Clarendon's *History*, iv. 49), but before the surrender of Exeter in April 1646 he became governor of Barnstaple. He was, however, unable to hold out against the parliamentary army for many days, and on 10 April 1646 he negotiated a capitulation (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 435; cf. Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 243). The articles of surrender enabled him to retire to Nottingham, where he took refuge with his brother-in-law, Colonel Hutchinson, the parliamentary governor of the town. For several years after the king's death Apsley was much harassed by the parliamentary authorities; they pressed him, contrary, as he believed, to the terms originally made with him, to make large compensation for the injuries sustained by parliamentarians in Barnstaple at the hands of royalist soldiers under his command. 'One wicked woman,' Mrs. Hutchinson writes in her husband's memoirs, 'for her revenge and malice against Sir Allen Apsley, which was so venomous and devilish . . . stuck not at inventing false accusations and hiring witnesses to swear to them;' her object was to obtain from him 'a recompence out of his estate, treble and more than the value of a house of hers in the garrison of Barnstaple, which was pulled down to fortify the town for the king, before he was governor of the place.' But through the assistance of Colonel Hutchinson, justice was at length obtained from the parliament, and an order, dated 17 Aug. 1654, relieved Apsley of further liability on account of his service in the king's behalf. In 1647 he was engaged with Sir John Berkeley in negotiations between the king and the army (Berkeley's *Memoirs* in Harl. Miscel. ix. 470–1). He appears before 1655 to have paid 434*l.* to the parliamentary commissioners in Sussex for permission to retain his lands in that county (*Sussex Archæological Collections*, xix. 93).

It is probable that during some years of the Commonwealth, Apsley, like other royalists, retired to Holland. It was his brother James—'one Apseley, a desperate cavalier at the Hague'—who made in April 1651 a ruffianly attempt to murder St. John, the parliamentary ambassador in Holland, and 'the States . . . ordered Apseley to be apprehended, but he fled away' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 491; *Mercurius Politicus*, 1651, p. 728).

At the Restoration Apsley was taken into high favour at court. In June 1660 he was appointed keeper of the king's hawks, with a good salary and perquisites. On 2 Sept. 1662 he was made keeper of the North park at Hampton Court, and the management of the king's game-preserves seems to have passed largely into his hands. Shortly afterwards, James, Duke of York, conferred on Apsley the office of treasurer of his household, and when his master became lord high admiral, large sums of money to be applied to the navy were entrusted to his keeping. In 1667 Apsley was given a colonelcy in the army raised under the Duke of York in view of a threatened war with the Dutch. From 1661 to 1678 Apsley sat in parliament as member for Thetford, and Pepys, who frequently met him in society, notes that on 19 Dec. 1666, he caused much disturbance in the house by coming there in a state of drunkenness.

In the days of his prosperity Apsley's conduct was not always above suspicion. He contrived to make his offices at court as profitable to himself as possible, and Pepys relates how he 'did make good sport' at a London dinner party in 1667 by complaining of the reduction of his salary as 'Master Falconer' and by declaring that England under Cromwell was hardly worse off than under her present rulers. To all outward appearance he endeavoured at the same time to protect his brother-in-law, Colonel Hutchinson, from the vengeance of the royalists, and Mrs. Hutchinson attributes to him the preservation of her husband's life and property in 1660. But Apsley did not prevent his subsequent imprisonment and cruel death in 1664. He certainly somewhat alleviated his sister's misery during the last years of Colonel Hutchinson's life, by procuring her admission to his prison and other privileges. One of Hutchinson's dying requests to his brother was, in fact, 'to remember him to Sir Allen Apsley, and tell him that he hoped God would reward his labour of love to him.' But a letter among the state papers of the time dated 14 Jan. 1663–4, and addressed by Apsley to one of the king's secretaries, proves that he was giving information to the government about his sister and her husband which it is difficult to reconcile with their belief in

the sincerity of his regard for their interests (*Cal. State Papers*, 1664, p. 441).

On 15 Oct. 1683, Apsley died at his house in London in St. James's Square, and was buried two days later in Westminster Abbey. He married Frances, daughter of John Petre of Bowhay, in Devonshire, who died in 1698. By her he had several children, and Apsley secured for his son Peter a reversion to a clerkship of the crown in June 1667. Peter was afterwards knighted, and was frequently employed in the foreign secret service by both Charles II and James II (*Secret Services of Charles II and James II* (Camden Soc.), 110, 114, et seq.). Sir Allen's daughter, Frances, married Sir Benjamin Bathurst, whose eldest son, Allen, was created Baron Bathurst in 1712 and Earl Bathurst in 1772. The courtesy title of Baron Apsley was borne by Earl Bathurst's heir.

Sir Allen Apsley published anonymously in 1679 a long poem, which is now rarely accessible, entitled 'Order and Disorder; or the world made and undone, being Meditations on the Creation and Fall. As it is recorded in the beginning of Genesis,' London, 4to. A private letter, dated 26 April 1669, from Apsley to John Evelyn, relating to some business of the Duchess of York, is preserved at the British Museum (*Addit. MS.* 15857, f. 10).

[Wood's Fasti Oxon. (ed. Bliss) ii. 272; Berry's Sussex Genealogies, p. 150; State Paper Calendars from 1634–5 to 1667; Pepys' Diary (1849), ii. 187, iii. 364, iv. 162; Chester's Registers of Westminster Abbey (Harleian Soc.), pp. 208, 243; Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson (1846), 123, 301, 354, 408-79; Whitelock's Memorials. Mr. W. H. Blaauw described, in 1851, in the Sussex Archæological Collections (iv. 219–30, v. 29, et seq.), a collection of documents (the property of Mrs. Mabbott), known as the Apsley MSS., relating to the civil war in Sussex, and containing *inter alia* a series of interesting letters written by Dame Elizabeth Apsley, wife of Sir Edward Apsley, of Thakenham, to the Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate. Sir Edward Apsley was a cousin of Sir Allen, and the Apsley MSS. contain references to very many members of his family.] S. L. L.

AQUEPONTANUS. [See BRIDGEWATER, JOHN.]

ARABELLA STUART (1575–1615), was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, younger brother of Lord Darnley. This earl was, through his mother, the grandson of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry VIII., by her second husband, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. Arabella stood in the line of succession to the English throne next to her first cousin James. When Elizabeth's age made a speedy vacancy probable, there were some persons in England who argued that her title was preferable even to that of James, as she was born on English soil, whereas he, being an alien, and therefore disqualified for possessing land in England, was also disqualified for wearing the crown. A little before Elizabeth's death Arabella was arrested by the queen's orders in consequence of a rumour that a marriage was planned between her and William Seymour, the grandson of Catherine Grey, the heiress of the Suffolk line. James, however, succeeded peaceably, and treated Arabella with favour as a kinswoman, disbelieving the idle rumours which accused her of taking part in the plots of Cobham and Raleigh. She, as we hear, was much in want of money, and we hear of her in 1608 and 1609 begging for English and Irish monopolies. In December 1609 she was put in confinement with her servants, on the ground of her being engaged in a treaty of marriage with some person whose name is not given. She regained the king's good graces by pleading discontent on the ground of poverty, and James, besides valuable new-year's gifts, granted her a pension of 1,600*l.* a year.

On 2 Feb. 1610, Arabella became actually engaged to William Seymour, whose descent from the Suffolk line made him specially an object of jealousy to James. She and Seymour were summoned before the Privy Council, and declared that he would never marry her without the king's consent. On this Arabella was again taken into favour, and on 22 March received the grant of the Irish monopoly for which she had long been petitioning. Early in July the couple were privately married. The secret was not kept, and on the 9th Arabella was committed to the custody of Sir T. Parry, and her husband to the Tower. On 13 March 1611, she was put under the charge of the Bishop of Durham, to be carried by him to Durham. She appealed in vain for a writ of *habeas corpus*. On 16 March she was removed in a condition of physical prostration, and was allowed to rest at Barnet for a month. When the month was over, she protested she could not travel. On 4 June she escaped in man's apparel, got on board a French vessel in the Thames, and sailed for Calais. She was captured in the Straits of Dover, brought back, and lodged in the Tower. Seymour was more successful, and landed safely at Ostend. Arabella remained a prisoner in the Tower till her death on 25 Sept. 1615.

[E. Cooper, Life and Letters of Lady Arabella Stuart.] S. R. G.

ARAM, EUGENE (1704–1759), was born in 1704, probably in September, at Ramsgill,

Netherdale, Yorkshire. His father was gardener to Sir Edward Blackett, of Newby; and after receiving the elements of education at Ripon, he went to London to be placed in the counting-house of a member of the family. An attack of small-pox occasioned him to lose his situation. Returning into Yorkshire he applied himself to study with so much diligence that he was soon able to open a school at his native place, where he married, very unfortunately as it would seem; thence he removed to Knaresborough in 1734. He there continued to teach, occupying his leisure hours in the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, until, in 1745, he left the town under suspicion of being concerned in a fraud practised by a man named Daniel Clark, who, having borrowed a large quantity of valuable property under various pretexts, suddenly disappeared, and was not again heard of for many years. Aram now led a roving life, teaching in various schools, at one time earning his bread as copyist to a law stationer in London, but continually prosecuting his studies, to which botany, heraldry, French, Arabic, and the Celtic tongues were added, and laying the foundation of a comparative dictionary of all European languages. In August 1758, while usher at a private school at Lynn Regis, he was arrested on the charge of having murdered Clark, on the information of an accomplice named Houseman. Houseman had been long suspected, and the discovery of a skeleton supposed to be Clark's had led to his apprehension. 'This,' asseverated Houseman, 'is no more Dan Clark's bone than it is mine.' His peculiar manner warranted the inference that he at all events knew where Clark's remains were, and upon being pressed he acknowledged that Clark had been murdered by Aram and buried in St. Robert's Cave, near Knaresborough; where, upon search being made, a skeleton was actually found. Aram was consequently apprehended, and tried at York on 3 Aug. 1759, Houseman appearing as the sole witness against him. He defended himself with extraordinary ability, laying but little stress on the tainted character of Houseman, who, he probably thought when he prepared his speech, would not be admitted to give evidence, but insisting on the fallibility of circumstantial testimony, and adducing numerous instances of the discovery of human remains. His speech, however, does not breathe the generous indignation of an innocent man; and though it is said to have impressed the jury, it did not influence the summing up of the judge. Aram was convicted, and executed on 6 Aug., after having attempted suicide by opening his veins with a razor. Before his death he acknowledged his guilt to two clergymen, but alleged, no doubt truly, that Houseman had had the principal hand in the deed, and ascribed his own share in it to the desire of avenging his wife's infidelity with Clark. The body was conveyed to Knaresborough and hung in chains. Ghastly stories are told of his wife, who continued to live at Knaresborough, picking up the bones as they dropped one by one, and of his children taking strangers to view their father's gibbet. The eldest daughter, Sally, however, appears to have been a very interesting person, with a strong resemblance to her father. After several adventures she married comfortably in London. The last known descendants of Aram emigrated to America.

Aram was undoubtedly convicted on the testimony of a greater criminal than himself, and his talents and misfortunes excite so much interest that it would be satisfactory to be able to concur with Bulwer's view that he was merely guilty of robbery. Unhappily all external evidence tends to fix upon him the charge of participation in deliberate fraud and murder, and there is little in his general conduct to rebut it. His indulgence to children and his kindness to animals are indeed amiable traits attested on good authority, but such as have frequently been found compatible with great moral obliquity. As a self-taught scholar he has had many equals: but his peculiar distinction is to have lighted upon a truth of the greatest moment, unrecognised in his day by any scholar—the affinity of the Celtic to the other European languages. He had indeed been anticipated by Edward Lhuyd, and to a less extent by Davies and Sheringham; but their observations had passed unregarded. Aram's fragment on the subject, though marred by fanciful analogies between Celtic and Hebrew, proves that he had thoroughly grasped it. He had a clear perception of the importance of local names in etymology, and he was perhaps the only man in his age who disputed the direct derivation of Latin from Greek. It is hardly too much to say that had he enjoyed wealth and leisure he might have advanced the study of comparative philology by fifty years. Nothing of any scientific value was done to establish the Indo-European affinities of the Celtic languages until the publication of Prichard's 'Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations,' in 1831. Aram's name does not appear in Prichard's book.

[The most copious authority for Aram's life is Norrison Scatcherd (Memoirs, 2nd edition, 1838; Gleanings, 1836). Scatcherd is a writer of

great industry, but little judgment, whose romantic interest in Aram led him to collect everything referring to him in the slightest degree. A contemporary account, carefully compiled by W. Bristow, and including Aram's defence and most of his other compositions, was printed at Knaresborough and in London in 1759, and often since. The best edition is that printed at Richmond in 1832. See also the Annual Register for 1759, pp. 360–65. Aram is probably best known from the highly idealised portrait in Bulwer's brilliant novel. Bulwer derived the idea of this work from Godwin, who had meditated a romance on the same subject, but he departed from his original. Bulwer makes his hero, temporarily bewildered by sophistry, a malefactor on utilitarian principles for the general good of mankind. Godwin aimed at inculcating that 'no man shall die respecting whom it can be reasonably concluded that, if his life were spared, it would be spent blamelessly, honourably, and usefully' (Kegan Paul, William Godwin, ii. 305). Hood's Dream of Eugene Aram is known to all readers of poetry.] R. G.

ARBLAY, FRANCES (BURNEY), MADAME D' (1752–1840), novelist, was born 13 June 1752, at King's Lynn, where her father, Dr. Burney, was then organist. He had been married in 1749 to her mother, Esther Sleepe, the granddaughter of a French refugee named Dubois. Frances was one of six children, of whom Esther (afterwards Mrs. Burney, of Bath) and James (afterwards Admiral Burney) were older, Susannah (Mrs. Phillips), Charles (a well-known Greek scholar), and Charlotte (Mrs. Clement Francis, and afterwards Mrs. Broome) younger than herself. In 1760 Dr. Burney moved to London, where his whole time was soon absorbed in giving music lessons and in social engagements. The death of his wife, 28 Sept. 1761, broke up his household, and Dr. Burney sent Esther and Susannah to a school in Paris. Frances was detained at home from a fear lest her reverence for her maternal grandmother, then living in France, should cause her conversion to Catholicism. Dr. Burney was married again in 1766 to Mrs. Stephen Allen, who seems to have been a kind stepmother. A scheme of sending Frances to follow her sisters was then abandoned. She was thus entirely self-educated, her father having no time to spare even for directing her studies. She was a backward child, and did not know her letters when eight years old. At ten she began scribbling stories, farces, tragedies, and epic poems, till her conscience smote her for this waste of time, and on her fifteenth birthday (preface to *Wanderer*) she burnt all her manuscripts. The heroine of the last story consumed was Caroline Evelyn, the mother of Evelina. The situation struck her fancy, and she continued to work out Evelina's adventures in her head. The story was not written down till it was fully composed, when the first two volumes were offered to Dodsley by her brother Charles. Dodsley declined to deal for an anonymous work. It was then offered to Lowndes, who asked to see the whole. She now confided her secret to her father, who treated the matter as a joke, made no objection to her plan, and 'dropped the subject.' The completed book was then sent to Lowndes, who gave 20*l.*, to which he subsequently added 10*l.* and ten handsomely bound copies. It was published anonymously in January 1778, under the title of 'Evelina, or a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.' It was favourably received and soon attracted notice. Dr. Burney, on reading it, recognised his daughter's work. He confided the secret to Mrs. Thrale, to whose daughter he had given music lessons. Mrs. Thrale had discussed it with Dr. Johnson, who said that he 'could not get rid of the rogue,' and declared that 'there were passages which might do honour to Richardson.' He got it almost by heart, and mimicked the characters with roars of laughter. Sir Joshua Reynolds took it up at table, was so absorbed in it that he had to be fed whilst reading, and both he and Burke sat up over it all night. No story since 'Clarissa Harlowe' had succeeded so brilliantly. Miss Burney expressed her delight on hearing some of this news by rushing into the garden and dancing round a mulberry tree—a performance which in her old age she recounted to Sir W. Scott (SCOTT'S *Diary* for November 1826). This was at Chessington, near Epsom, the retreat of an old friend of her father's, Samuel Crisp, who had retired from the world in disgust at the failure of a play and some loss of money (*Memoir of Dr. Burney*, i. 179). Miss Burney loved him, called him 'daddy,' and wrote to him long and amusing letters. She was now introduced to Mrs. Thrale, and during the next two or three weeks became almost domesticated in the family. She spent many months at Streatham, and was greatly caressed by Dr. Johnson, whom, though he was an old acquaintance of her father's, she seems only to have seen once before. Mrs. Thrale pressed her to write a comedy. Sheridan, whom she met at Sir Joshua's, declared that he would accept anything of hers unseen; and the playwright Murphy offered her the benefit of his experience. Thus prompted, she wrote the 'Witlings,' and submitted it to the judgment of Mr. Crisp and her father. It was suppressed in deference to 'a hissing, groaning,

catcalling epistle' from the two; Mr. Crisp thinking that it recalled too strongly to its own disadvantage Molière's 'Femmes Sçavantes,' a work which she had never read. Returning to her more natural occupation, she composed with great care her second novel, 'Cecilia,' which was published in five volumes in the summer of 1782. Macaulay had heard from contemporaries that it was expected as impatiently as any of Scott's novels; and the success was unequivocal. Three editions of 'Evelina' had consisted of 800, 500, and 1,000 copies; and a fourth edition had been published in the summer of 1779. The first edition of 'Cecilia' was of 2,000 copies, which were all sold in three months (*Diary and Letters*, i. 175 and vi. 66). She was now introduced to her admirer, Burke, who had praised her second work with an enthusiasm all but unqualified. Miss Burney had already been introduced to Mrs. Montagu, the female Mæcenas of the day; and her acquaintance was now (January 1783) sought by the venerable Mrs. Delany. In 1785 George III. assigned to Mrs. Delany a house at Windsor and a pension of 300*l.* a year. The Streatham household had been broken up after the death of Mr. Thrale; his widow's marriage (1784) to Piozzi led to a coolness between the friends, and Miss Burney attached herself to Mrs. Delany. Though always on good terms with her father and his wife, their affection seems to have been of the kind which is not cooled by absence and therefore, doubtless, does not dread separation. She helped Mrs. Delany to settle at Windsor, and there she was seen by the royal family, who were constantly dropping in at Mrs. Delany's house. She soon received the offer of an appointment to be second keeper of the robes, under Madame Schwellenberg. She was to have 200*l.* a year, a footman, and to dine at Madame Schwellenberg's table. After many misgivings she accepted the offer, partly in the belief that she would be able to serve her father. She was assured that there were 'thousands of candidates of high birth and rank,' and her appointment was regarded as matter for the warmest congratulation by Dr. Burney, Mrs. Delany, and her acquaintance generally. She accordingly entered upon her service 17 July 1786. A desire to compensate Dr. Burney for his failure in an application for the mastership of the king's band was probably one cause of the appointment. Her misgivings were amply fulfilled. Her duties were menial—those, in fact, of a lady's maid. She attended the queen's toilette three times a day, and spent much of the intervening time in looking after her own clothes. She rose early and went to bed late. She dined with Madame Schwellenberg, whom she describes as coarse, tyrannical, and ill-tempered. She was rarely permitted to see her friends, and her society was that of the backstairs of a court, a 'weary, lifeless uniformity,' relieved by petty scandal and squabbles. She always speaks of the king, the queen, and all the royal family with a fervent loyalty which verges, to say the least of it, upon adulation. But the queen, though kindly in intention, was a rigid upholder of etiquette, and Miss Burney, whose health was not strong, suffered under rules which sometimes kept her for hours upon trembling legs. Her diary, during her confinement to the court, is lively and interesting, especially the descriptions of the impeachment of Warren Hastings; of the scenes during the king's attack of insanity in 1788–9; and of various details of the domestic life of royalty during the courtly progresses. Of the fictitious names in the diary, Mr. Turbulent means La Guiffardière, French reader to the queen and princesses; Miss P. is Miss Port (afterwards Mrs. Waddington); Colonel Welbred is Colonel Greville; Colonel Fairly is the Hon. Stephen Digby, who lost his first wife, a daughter of Lord Ilchester, in 1787, and married Miss Gunning, called in the diary Miss Fuzilier, in January 1790. Colonel Digby talked poetry and religious sentiment to Miss Burney, who appears to have had a tender feeling for him, and to have been annoyed at his marriage. Her health became worse as time went on; her friends heard rumours of her decline; she confided at last to her father her desire to resign, and he seemed to admit the necessity, yet hesitated long, till there arose a general 'outcry in their own little world' (*Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, iii. 112). Windham declared that he would 'set the literary club' upon him to hasten his resolution; Boswell swore that all her friends were growing 'outrageous;' Reynolds, 'all the Burkes,' and even Horace Walpole protested against her seclusion; and at last, at the close of 1790, she entreated the queen's permission to retire in a humble memorial delivered with much trembling. After 'a scene almost horrible' with Madame Schwellenberg and long negotiations, she was at last permitted to retire, 7 July 1791, with a pension of 100*l.* a year. Miss Burney travelled for some time through different parts of England, and her health improved. Her sister Susanna (now Mrs. Phillips) was living at this time at Mickleham, close to Norbury Park, which belonged to the Lockes, old friends of the Burney family. Some of the French refugees had

settled in Juniper Hall, in the immediate neighbourhood. M. de Narbonne and General d'Arblay lived there and were visited by Madame de Staël and Talleyrand. Miss Burney speedily became attached to General d'Arblay, who had been a comrade of Lafayette's, and was with him at the time of his arrest by the Prussians. They were married 31 July 1793, at Mickleham, the ceremony being repeated next day at the catholic chapel of the Sardinian embassy. Their whole fortune was Madame d'Arblay's pension of 100*l.* a year; and Dr. Burney, though protesting on prudential grounds and declining to be present at the marriage, gave a reluctant consent. The married pair settled at the village of Bookham, within reach of Norbury, and lived with great frugality, which was more imperative on the birth of a son, Alexander. Towards the end of 1794 Madame d'Arblay tried to improve her income by bringing out a tragedy, 'Edwy and Elvina,' the rough draught of which had been finished at Windsor August 1790. It was performed at Drury Lane 21 March 1795; but in spite of the acting of Mrs. Siddons and Kemble it failed and was withdrawn after the first night. She also published a brief and stilted address to the ladies of Great Britain in behalf of the French emigrant priests, but judiciously declined to edit a weekly anti-Jacobin paper to be called the 'Breakfast Table,' which had been projected by Mrs. Crewe. Another scheme was at least more profitable. She published by subscription the novel of 'Camilla,' in 1796; and in pursuance of a suggestion once made by Burke, the lists were kept by ladies instead of booksellers, the dowager duchess of Leinster, Mrs. Boscawen, Mrs. Crewe, and Mrs. Locke. Three months after the publication, 500 copies only remained of 4,000, and Macaulay gives a rumour that she cleared 3,000 guineas by the sale. Burke sent her a banknote for 20*l.*, saying that he took four copies for himself, Mrs. Burke, and also for the brother and son whom he had recently lost. Miss Austen was another subscriber. The book was a literary failure, like all her works after 'Cecilia;' but it brought in profit enough to enable her to build a cottage, called Camilla Cottage from its origin, on a piece of land belonging to Mr. Locke, at West Humble, close to Mickleham, whither she removed in 1797. A comedy called 'Love and Fashion' was accepted by the manager of Covent Garden, but withdrawn, in deference to her father's anxieties, in 1800. In 1801 M. d'Arblay returned to France and endeavoured to get employment. He offered to serve in the expedition to St. Domingo; but his appointment was cancelled upon his attempting to make a condition that he should never be called upon to serve against England. He was placed *en retraite* with a pension of 1,500 francs. In 1802 his wife and child joined him in Paris, where, in 1805, he also obtained a small civil employment, and they passed ten years at Passy, during which communication with England was almost entirely interrupted by the war, and few memorials of Madame d'Arblay are preserved. In 1812 Madame d'Arblay obtained permission to return to England with her son, who was now reaching the age at which he would become liable to the conscription. She arrived, after much difficulty and some risks, in August 1812, to find her father broken down in health, and attended him affectionately till his death, at the age of 86, in April 1814. At the beginning of the same year she published her last novel, the 'Wanderer,' already begun in 1802, for which she was to receive 1,500*l.* in a year and a half, and 3,000*l.* on the sale of 8,000 copies. She says that 3,600 copies were sold at the 'rapacious price' of two guineas. The book was apparently never read by anybody. Upon the fall of Napoleon, M. d'Arblay was restored to his old rank and appointed to a company in the *corps de garde*. Madame d'Arblay rejoined him at Paris; and upon the return of Napoleon from Elba she retired to Belgium, and was in Brussels during the battle of Waterloo, where her adventures, graphically described in the diary, were perhaps turned to account by Thackeray in the corresponding passages of 'Vanity Fair.' M. d'Arblay had meanwhile received an appointment to endeavour to raise a force of refugees at Trèves. Here Madame d'Arblay rejoined him after the battle to find that he had been seriously injured by the kick of a horse. He recovered, but was incapacitated for active service and was placed, contrary to his own wishes, upon half-pay. Madame d'Arblay passed the rest of her life in England. Her journals give us few incidents except a lively account of her narrow escape from drowning at Ilfracombe in 1817. Her husband died on 3 May 1818. Her son was elected to a Tancred studentship at Christ's College, Cambridge; was tenth wrangler in 1818; was ordained deacon in 1818, priest in 1819; was nominated minister of Ely chapel in 1836, and died of a rapid decline 19 Jan. 1837. Madame d'Arblay's last literary employment was the preparation for the press of the memoirs of her father, which appeared in 1832. The book is disfigured by an elaborate affectation

of style and is singularly vague in dates; but it contains much interesting matter and many fragments of letters and diaries, full of vivacious description. She had a severe illness, with spectral illusions, in November 1839, and died at the age of 87 on 6 Jan. 1840. Five volumes of her 'Letters and Diaries' were published in 1842, and two more in 1846. Madame d'Arblay's 'Memoirs of Dr. Burney' and her diary were attacked with great bitterness by Croker in the 'Quarterly Review' for April 1833 and June 1842. The pith of the first article is an accusation (repeated in the second) against Madame d'Arblay (then 80 years old) of having intentionally suppressed dates in order to give colour to a report that 'Evelina' was written at the age of 17. Croker had taken the trouble to inspect the register of baptisms at Lynn, and announced his success with spiteful exultation. Macaulay retorted fiercely in the 'Edinburgh Review' for January 1843; and the accusation is examined at great length by the last editor of 'Evelina.' It is petty enough. Miss Burney was 25 when 'Evelina' appeared, the composition of which, from her account, occupied a considerable period. Her friends clearly made a great point of her youthfulness at the time. Mrs. Thrale and Johnson compared her performance with Pope's 'Windsor Forest,' the first part of which (according to Pope himself) was written at the age of 16, and was finished at 25. Miss Burney accepted this (amidst much more) admiration. The belief, if it really existed, that 'Evelina' was composed at the age of 17 was probably due to an identification of the author with the heroine. It does not appear, however, that any definite report of the kind existed, or was sanctioned by Miss Burney, and if, at the age of 80, she had become vague about dates of her youth, the circumstance is not inexplicable. There can be no doubt that the charm of 'Evelina' was due in part to the youthfulness of the author. It represents, in fact, the spontaneous impressions of a girl of great vivacity and powers of observation upon entering the society of which she caught glimpses in the house of her father. The second more elaborate and didactic novel, 'Cecilia,' is heavier, and the style generally shows signs of deterioration. There are traces of an imitation of Johnson, which gave rise to a false report that he had corrected it himself (*Diary*, 4 Nov. 1802). The later novels are now unreadable; and in the 'Memoirs of Dr. Burney' she adopted a peculiar magniloquence which may be equally regarded as absurd or as delicious. The earlier novels mark a distinct stage in our literature. The form of 'Evelina' is adapted from Richardson's plan of a fictitious correspondence; but its best passages are in the vein of light comedy, and, unlike her predecessor, she is weak in proportion as she attempts a deeper treatment. She gave in turn the first impulse to the modern school of fiction which aims at a realistic portrait of society and remains within the limits of feminine observation and feminine decorum. She was, in some degree, a model to the most successful novelists in the next generation, Miss Edgworth (*b.* 1767) and Miss Austen (*b.* 1775), the last of whom took the title of her first novel, 'Pride and Prejudice,' from the last pages of 'Cecilia,' and speaks with admiration of Miss Burney in a remarkable passage in 'Northanger Abbey.' Madame d'Arblay's diary is now more interesting than her novels. The descriptions of Mr. Thrale and Johnson and Boswell himself rival Boswell's own work; and the author herself with her insatiable delight in compliments—certainly such as might well turn her head—her quick observation and lively garrulity, her effusion of sentiment, rather lively than deep but never insincere, her vehement prejudices corrected by flashes of humour, is always amusing; nor to some readers is even the fine writing of the 'Memoirs of Dr. Burney' without its charm.

[Memoirs of Dr. Burney, 1832; Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay, i.–v. 1842, vi. vii. 1846; Mrs. Delany's Correspondence, 2nd series, vol. iii., where are some feeble and unfriendly strictures upon her accuracy; Quarterly Review for April 1833 and June 1842; Macaulay's Essays; Boswell's Johnson; Evelina and Cecilia, with introduction by Annie Raine Ellis, 1881 and 1882.] L. S.

ARBUCKLE, JAMES (1700–1734?), minor poet and essayist, is supposed to have been a native of Ireland and to have been born in 1700. His earliest works were 'Snuff,' a mock-heroic poem, containing some curious information respecting the snuff-taking and snuff-boxes of the time, and 'An Epistle to Thomas, Earl of Haddington, on the death of Joseph Addison, Esq.,' both published in 1719. Arbuckle contributed to the 'Edinburgh Miscellany' of 1721, in which appeared the earliest printed effusions of Thomson and Mallet, and in the same year he produced a poem, entitled 'Glotta,' describing the scenery about the Clyde, on the title-page of which he is described as a 'student in the University of Glasgow.' Here, as in most of his other compositions, the verse runs smoothly, and bears traces of Pope's influence. On finishing his studies at Glasgow, Arbuckle,

it is supposed, settled as a schoolmaster in the north of Ireland. In the columns of a Dublin newspaper he conducted a periodical miscellany of prose and verse, to which the poet Parnell, Francis Hutcheson, and Samuel Boyse occasionally contributed. Its contents were reprinted in a separate form as 'Hibernicus's Letters; a collection of Letters and Essays on several subjects, lately published in the Dublin Journal' (2 vols. 1725–7), but the work possesses little literary or other interest. Arbuckle was a friend of Allan Ramsay, to whom he wrote some laudatory verses, and who addressed to him a genial epistle in rhyme in 1719, on his return to Scotland from a visit to Ireland.

[Arbuckle's Works; MS. notice of him prefixed to the copy of Glotta in the Library of the British Museum; Allan Ramsay's Poems (1800), i. 173, and ii. 359; Campbell's Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, p. 183; Catalogue of the (Edinburgh) Advocates' Library.]

F. E.

ARBUTHNOT, ALEXANDER (1538–1583), a Scotch divine and poet, second son of Andrew Arbuthnot, of Pitcarles, was born in 1538. He was educated at St. Andrews University, and in 1560 was declared by the general assembly to be qualified for the ministry. Before engaging in ministerial work, he spent five years in studying civil law at Bourges. At his return he was licensed a minister, and on 15 July 1568 was appointed to the living of Logie Buchan, in the diocese of Aberdeen. About the same time he was directed by the general assembly to revise a book called the 'Fall of the Roman Kirk,' which had been suppressed (pending certain amendments) by the ecclesiastical authorities, as containing matters injurious to the interests of the kirk. On 3 July 1569 Arbuthnot was elected principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in place of Alexander Anderson, who had been ejected for popery, and shortly afterwards he received the living of Arbuthnot in Kincardineshire. By Anderson's action the finances of the college had been much reduced; but under Arbuthnot's vigorous management prosperity quickly returned. In 1572 he attended the general assembly which met at St. Andrews, and in the same year he published at Edinburgh his 'Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris,' 4to, of which not a single copy is now known to exist. He was moderator of the assembly which met at Edinburgh in August 1573, and in the following March he was one of four appointed to summon the chapter of Murray for giving, without due inquiry, letters testimonial in favour of George Douglas, bishop of the diocese. At the same time he was directed to give assistance in drawing up a plan of ecclesiastical government for the consideration of the assembly. In April 1577 he was again moderator of the general assembly, and in the following October he was chosen, with Andrew Melville and George Hay, to attend a council (never held) which was to meet at Magdeburg to establish the Augsburg confession. At Stirling, on 11 June 1578, he was among the ministers named by the assembly to discuss matters of ecclesiastical government with certain noblemen, gentlemen, and prelates. On 24 April 1583 Arbuthnot and two others were desired by the assembly to request the king to dismiss Manningville, the French ambassador, whose popish practices had excited much indignation; and when, on the same occasion, a commission was appointed to inquire into the financial condition and educational efficiency of St. Andrews University, Arbuthnot was named one of the commissioners. He was also employed with two others to lay certain complaints, on behalf of the assembly, before the king. But his activity in the presbyterian cause had been watched with little satisfaction by James; and in 1583, when he had been chosen minister of St. Andrews by the assembly, he received a royal mandate to return, on pain of horning, to his duties at the King's College, Aberdeen. (The statement that he gave offence by editing Buchanan's 'History of Scotland' is an error, caused by the identity of Arbuthnot's name with that of the printer of the history.) The assembly remonstrated; but the king replied that he and his council had good reason for the action they had taken. This severity is said to have hastened Arbuthnot's death. He fell into a decline, died 10 Oct. 1583, and was buried in the chapel of the King's College. Andrew Melville wrote his epitaph, in which he is styled 'Patriæ lux oculusque' (*Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, ii. 120).

Arbuthnot regulated his life so well that, while earning the devotion of his friends, he secured the respect of his adversaries. His 'Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris' was praised in a copy of Latin verses (*Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*) by Thomas Maitland, the Roman catholic writer; and Nicol Burne, another champion of Romanism, in his 'Admonition to the Antichristian Ministers of the Deformit Kirk of Scotland,' 1581, exempts Arbuthnot from his general anathema. Spottiswood describes him as 'pleasant and jocund in conversation, and in all sciences expert; a good poet, mathematician, philosopher, theologue, lawyer, and in medicine

skilful; so as in every subject he could promptly discourse and to good purpose.'

Three poetical pieces of Arbuthnot's, 'On Luve,' 'The Praises of Women,' and the 'Miseries of a Pure Scholar,' are printed in Pinkerton's 'Ancient Scottish Poems.' He left in manuscript an account of the Arbuthnot family, 'Originis et incrementi Arbuthnoticæ familiæ descriptio historica,' which was translated by George Morrison, minister of Benholme, and continued to the Restoration by Alexander Arbuthnot, the father of the famous Dr. Arbuthnot.

[Calderwood's True History of the Church of Scotland, Wodrow Society, vols. ii., iii.; Book of the Universal Kirk; Hew Scott's Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ; Anderson's Scottish Nation.]

A. H. B.

ARBUTHNOT, or **ARBUTHNET**, **ALEXANDER** (*d.* 1585), merchant burgess and printer of Edinburgh, with Thomas Bassandyne, brought out the first Bible issued in Scotland. In March 1575 the two presented a petition to the general assembly requesting permission to print the English Bible. This was given, and it was agreed that 'every bible which they shall receive advancement for shall be sold in albis [sheets] for 4 pound 13 shill. 4 pennies Scottis [= $\frac{1}{12}$th English money], keeping the volume and character of the said proofs delivered to the clerk of the assembly' (Lee, *Mem. for the Bible Societies of Scotland*, p. 29). From the 'obligatioun for prenting of the Bybill,' 18 July 1576 (*Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, 1878, ii. 544) it appears that the regent Morton caused the 'advancement' spoken of to be made to the printers from the contributions of the parish kirks, collected by the bishops, superintendents, and visitors of the dioceses. An 'authentic copy' from which to print was delivered, and certain persons were appointed to see that the copy, the Genevan edition of 1561, was duly followed. 'Mr. George Young, servant to the abbot of Dunfermline,' corrected the proofs; Robert Pont compiled the kalendar and preliminary tables. License from privy council was obtained 30 June 1576, giving Arbuthnot and Bassandyne the exclusive right of printing and selling for ten years 'Bibillis in the vulgare Inglis toung, in haill or in partis, with ane callindare' at the price mentioned before (Lee, *Mem. Appendix* No. 5). The name of Bassandyne alone appears on the New Testament, which is dated 1576. The partners seem to have quarrelled. Upon the complaint of Arbuthnot to the privy council, 11 Jan. 1577, of the delay in the publication, Bassandyne was ordered 'to deliver to the said Alexander the said werk of the Bybill ellis prentit, with the prenting hous and necessaris appertening thairto meit for setting furthwart of the said werk, conforme to the said contract' (*Register*, ii. 583). Bassandyne died 18 Oct. 1577. On 1 April 1579 Arbuthnot received license to print, sell, and import psalm books, prayers, and catechism, for the space of seven years. The publication of the Bible was delayed until the completion by Arbuthnot in 1579: 'The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament . . . Printed at Edinburgh, be Alexander Arbuthnot, printer to the King's Maiestie, dwelling at ye kirk of feild, 1579,' 2 vols. folio. The British Museum copy contains a facsimile of the eight leaves following the title, reproduced from a copy, in which variations occur, belonging to Mr. Fry. In spite of the large edition which must have been printed, the book is now extremely scarce, especially in perfect condition. It is a reprint of the second folio edition of the Genevan version (1561), with all the notes, cuts, and maps exactly reproduced. That no effort was made to change the spelling and style to the Scottish usage shows that the southern English was perfectly familiar in the north. The publication was a joint enterprise on the part of the church and the printers, of whom Arbuthnot seems to have been the capitalist and Bassandyne the practical mechanic. The 'Dedication,' which was written by Arbuthnot and revised by the general assembly, is addressed in their name to James VI, and the impression is said to have been intended 'to the end that in euerie paroch kirk there sulde be at leist ane thereof kepit, to be callit the commoun buke of the kirke.' The 'Dedication' is dated 10 July 1579; six weeks later (24 Aug.) Arbuthnot was made king's printer, with right of printing ordinary books and special license to print and sell Bibles 'in the vulgar Inglis, Scottis, and Latein toungis' (Lee, *Mem. App.* No. 7). An act of parliament was passed in 1579 to compel every gentleman householder and others with 300 marks of yearly rent, and every substantial yeoman or burgess to 'have a bible and psalme buke in vulgar language in thair hous' under penalty of 10*l.* (*Act. Parl. Scot.* iii. 139). Searchers were appointed to carry the law into effect, and local authorities issued proclamations calling the attention of the citizens to the enactment. The demand for the new Bible seems to have been so great that some delay occurred in supplying copies (*Articles of General Assembly*, ap. Calderwood's *Hist.* iii. 467).

A romance poem, 'The Buik of the most noble and vailzeand Conquerour Alexander the Great,' was printed by the Bannatyne

Club in 1831 from the unique copy belonging to Lord Panmure. Two devices (pp. 105–6) indicate that the book came from the press of Arbuthnot about 1580. In 1582 he printed the first edition of Buchanan's 'Rerum Scoticarum Historia,' folio, more remarkable for beauty than correctness. He also issued the acts of parliament for 1584. He died intestate 1 Sept. 1585, as appears from the inventory of his effects 'maid and gevin vp be Agnes Pennycuicke, his relect spous, in name and behalf of Alesone, Agnes, Thomas, George and Johne Arbuthnettis, their lauchfull bairnis' (*Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii. 207). He left two printing presses with fittings.

[Wodrow's Collections (Maitland Club); M'Crie's Life of Melville; Cotton's Editions of the Bible; Eadie's English Bible.] H. R. T.

ARBUTHNOT, CHARLES (1767–1850), diplomatist and politician, one of the sons of J. Arbuthnot, by the daughter of J. Stone, a London banker, whose brother was Archbishop Stone, the primate of Ireland, was born in 1767. He began his apprenticeship in public life in 1793, when he accepted the position of précis writer in the Foreign Office, and entered upon his political career with his election in March 1795 as member for East Looe. He served in important diplomatic positions in Sweden and Portugal, and, after holding for a few months (Nov. 1803 to June 1804) the post of under-secretary for foreign affairs, was appointed ambassador extraordinary at Constantinople. When holding this appointment he was instructed by the cabinet to demand from the Porte the dismissal (amongst other things) of the French envoy, General Sebastiani, the rejection of which led to the forcing of the Dardanelles by our fleet. Mr. Arbuthnot, during this operation, was on board the admiral's ship, and it was mainly owing to his firmness that whatever success attended the operation was achieved. The late Sir Henry Blackwood, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh, described him as having been 'not only minister, but admiral.' On receiving his appointment at Constantinople he was sworn of the privy council, and on his return to England in 1807 a pension of 2,000*l.* per annum was conferred upon him. At the same time Mr. Arbuthnot abandoned foreign for home service. From 1809 to 1823 he was one of the joint-secretaries of the treasury; from the latter year until 1827, and again for a few months in 1828, he presided over the board of woods and forests; and for two years (1828–30) he held the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. In April 1809, when he was returned for Eye in Suffolk, he re-entered parliamentary life. At the dissolution in 1812 he became member for Orford in the same county; from 1818 to 1827 he sat for St. Germans, in Cornwall, and from 1828 to 1830 he represented the constituency of St. Ives. His first wife was a daughter of William Clapcott Lisle, and a granddaughter of the Marquis of Cholmondeley. After her death Mr. Arbuthnot married Harriett, the third daughter of the Hon. Henry Fane. She died in 1834, and he died at Apsley House 18 Aug. 1850. The Duke of Wellington was much attached to Mr. Arbuthnot, who during the latter years of his life lived in the duke's house as his confidential friend.

[Dod's Peerage; Gent. Mag. xxxiv. 434 (1850); Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, vol. vi.; Political Diary of Lord Ellenborough, 1828–30.] W. P. C.

ARBUTHNOT, GEORGE (1802–1865), a distinguished member of the permanent civil service, was the son of Lieutenant-general Sir Robert Arbuthnot [see ARBUTHNOT, SIR ROBERT]. He was appointed by Lord Liverpool a junior clerk in the treasury on 18 July 1820, and served in that department until his death on 28 July 1865. He was then holding the appointment of auditor of the civil list, and was also secretary to the ecclesiastical commissioners. On Mr. Arbuthnot's death, the lords commissioners of the treasury, in noticing his 'singular and eminent services,' gave the following account of his official life:—'On 22 March 1850 Sir Charles Wood made the following communication to the board of treasury: "The chancellor of the exchequer avails himself of this opportunity of bringing before the board the services of Mr. Arbuthnot, who has acted as his private secretary for nearly four years. Mr. Arbuthnot has been thirty years in the treasury, during nearly the whole of which period he has been employed in situations of great trust and responsibility. He acted as private secretary to six successive secretaries, and two assistant secretaries of the treasury. He was appointed in May 1841 to perform the duties of colonial clerk during the illness of Mr. Brande, and has since acted as assistant to that gentleman, and has executed the duties of colonial clerk during Mr. Brande's annual vacation to the entire satisfaction of the board. In February 1843 he was selected by Sir Robert Peel to be one of his private secretaries, and he has received not only from Sir Robert Peel, but from the secretaries of the treasury to whom he acted as private secretary in former years, repeated testimonies of their approbation. On Sir Charles Wood becoming chancellor of the

exchequer in July 1846 Mr. Arbuthnot was appointed to his present situation; and Sir C. Wood considers it due to him to record his obligation to him for his constant and zealous exertions at all times, and for the able assistance which he (Sir C. Wood) has received from him in times of great difficulty and on subjects of the greatest moment and importance, and he strongly recommends Mr. Arbuthnot to the board for some distinguished mark of that approbation with which such public services as he has performed must be regarded." My lords have only to add to this just tribute to Mr. Arbuthnot's merits that during the fifteen years which have since elapsed, he has continued his useful career with the same devotion to the public service, and with the still larger opportunities of usefulness which his increased experience afforded him.'

Mr. Arbuthnot's work, as the foregoing minute shows, was not confined to the ordinary business of the treasury. He was constantly consulted on important questions of currency and banking, upon both of which subjects he was regarded as a high authority. As private secretary to Sir Robert Peel at the time when the latter passed through parliament the Bank Charter Act of 1844, Mr. Arbuthnot was intimately associated with the great minister in the framing of that measure, and some years afterwards, when the question of a revision of the act was under consideration, he published a pamphlet containing an able justification of its principles and provisions. In later years he was frequently consulted on questions connected with the Indian currency, when it was proposed to attempt the substitution of a gold for a silver currency in that country; and about the same time he submitted to the lords of the treasury a series of valuable reports upon the currency of Japan in connection with difficulties which had arisen from certain provisions of the treaty executed between the British and Japanese governments in 1858.

Mr. Arbuthnot's paper on Civil Patronage, written in 1854, with reference to alleged defects in the organisation of the permanent civil service, which had been brought to notice in a report made by Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan in the previous year, contains a very able defence of the system of appointment which then prevailed, and a powerful refutation of the arguments advanced in the report in question. His style of writing was singularly vigorous and clear, and the rapidity and energy with which he wrote constituted not the least of his many merits as a public servant.

Mr. Arbuthnot was twice offered the appointment of financial member of the council of the governor-general of India, first on the death of Mr. James Wilson in 1860, and again on the retirement of Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1865, but on both occasions he was compelled by the state of his health to decline the offer.

[Records of her Majesty's Treasury; Report on the Organisation of the Civil Service, published 1854; Pamphlet, entitled 'Sir Robert Peel's Act of 1844, regulating the issue of Bank Notes, vindicated by G. Arbuthnot,' 1857; Arbuthnot's Reports on the Japanese Currency, 1862–3; Macmillan's Magazine, August 1870; Globe, August 1865.] A. J. A.

ARBUTHNOT, JOHN (1667–1735), physician and wit, was the son of a Scotch episcopal clergyman settled at Arbuthnot, Kincardineshire. He is said to have studied at Aberdeen, but he took his doctor's degree in medicine at St. Andrew's on 11 Sept. 1696. His father lost his preferment upon the revolution, and retired to a small estate of his own; and the sons, who shared his high-church principles, found it desirable to seek their fortunes abroad. One of them, Robert, became ultimately a banker in Paris; his extraordinary amiability is celebrated by Pope (*Letter to Digby*, 1 Sept. 1722); he married a rich widow of Suffolk in 1726 (*Swift to Stopford*, 20 July 1726); and he was suspected of Jacobite tendencies (*Gent. Mag.* ii. 578, 766, 782). Another was in the army (*Journal to Stella*, 26 Sept. 1711). John Arbuthnot settled in London, where he first stayed at the house of Mr. William Pate, a woollendraper, and gave lessons in mathematics. In 1697 he published 'An Examination of Dr. Woodward's Account of the Deluge, &c.,' criticising a crude theory suggested by Woodward (1695) in an 'Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth.' Arbuthnot next published an able 'Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning, in a letter from a gentleman in the city to his friend in Oxford,' dated 25 Nov. 1700. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, 30 Nov. 1704; and in 1710 he contributed a paper to its 'Transactions' upon the slight average excess of male over female births; which he regards as a providential arrangement intended to provide against the greater risks of the male sex, and as proving that polygamy is contrary to the law of nature. Arbuthnot was meanwhile rising in his profession, and had the good luck to be at Epsom when Prince George of Denmark was suddenly taken ill and to prescribe for him successfully. He was appointed physician extra-

ordinary to Queen Anne, 30 Oct. 1705; and on the illness of Dr. Hannes, fourth physician in ordinary, 11 Nov. 1709. Swift calls him the 'queen's favourite physician.' On 27 April 1710, he was admitted a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, was censor in 1723, and pronounced the Harveian oration in 1727. Arbuthnot's favour at court was strengthened by his intimacy with the leading statesmen of the Harley administration. He formed a close friendship with Swift, and is frequently mentioned in the 'Journal to Stella.' He was a member of the famous 'Brothers Club,' and took an active share in the literary warfare against the whigs. He was the author, as Swift tells us (*Journal to Stella*, 12 Dec. 1712) of the 'Art of Political Lying,' one of the best specimens of the ironical wit of the time. A more celebrated production was the well-known pamphlet called ultimately, 'Law is a Bottomless Pit; or, the History of John Bull,' published 1712. Both Swift and Pope ascribe this to Arbuthnot (Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 145; *Journal to Stella*, 12 Dec. 1712). It is an ingenious and lively attack upon the war policy of the whigs; and, if it wants the force of Swift's profounder satire, it is an admirably effective and still amusing party squib. It does not seem to be known whether Arbuthnot originated or only adopted the nickname, John Bull. During the last years of Queen Anne's reign Swift and Arbuthnot had become intimate with the younger wits, Pope, Gay, and Parnell. They called themselves the 'Scriblerus Club,' and projected a kind of joint-stock satire to be directed against 'the abuses of human learning in every branch.' Lord Oxford carried on an exchange of humorous verses with them; and, according to Pope (Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 10), Atterbury, Congreve, and even Addison, proposed to join in their scheme. Arbuthnot writes a letter to Swift with various suggestions for Scriblerus during his friend's retirement at Letcombe; and Swift in his reply says that Arbuthnot was the only man capable of carrying out the plan, which had been originally suggested by Pope. The scheme dropped for a time upon Anne's death and the retirement of Swift to Ireland. Fragments, however, had been executed and formed part of the 'Miscellanies' printed by Pope in 1727. The 'Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus' were first published in the quarto edition of Pope's works in 1741; they are mainly, if not exclusively, Arbuthnot's, and give the best specimen of his powers. The ridicule of metaphysical pedantry is admirable, though rather beyond popular appreciation. Other passages are directed against the antiquarians and Arbuthnot's old opponent, Woodward, and his supposed discovery of an ancient shield. The account of Scriblerus's education clearly gave some hints to Sterne's 'Tristram Shandy.'

Arbuthnot was in attendance upon Queen Anne in her last illness. Upon her death he retired for a short time to France. He went there again in 1718, his chief business being, as he told Swift (14 Oct. 1718), to leave his two girls with their uncle. Such visits might be suspicious in the eyes of good whigs. Upon the accession of George I he lost his place at court, but he appears to have retained his practice among the great people. We find him introducing Swift to the Princess of Wales—soon to become Queen Caroline—in April 1726. He was the friend and physician both of Chesterfield and of Pulteney, the last of whom tells Swift that no one but Arbuthnot understood his case. He attended Mrs. Howard, afterwards Lady Suffolk, and Congreve. He was the trusted friend and adviser of all the wits. He helped to get up a subscription for Prior when the poet was in distress. He was the constant adviser, medical and otherwise, of his friend Gay. Pope constantly expressed his gratitude to Arbuthnot, paid to him some of his finest poetical compliments, and dedicated the most perfect of his satires to this

> Friend to my life, which did not you prolong,
> The world had wanted many an idle song.

Though his correspondence with Swift was often interrupted, their friendship never changed. Arbuthnot, who was a musician, helped Swift to get singers for his cathedral, and sent him prescriptions and medical advice. If there were a dozen Arbuthnots in the world, said Swift (*Letter to Pope*, 29 Sept. 1725), he would burn his 'Travels.' 'Our doctor,' he adds, 'hath every quality in the world that can make a man amiable and useful; but, alas! he hath a sort of slouch in his walk.' Elsewhere (*Letter to Gay*, 10 July 1732), he calls Arbuthnot 'the king of inattention,' and Chesterfield confirms the statement that Arbuthnot was frequently absent-minded in company. 'The doctor,' said Swift on another occasion, 'has more wit than we all have, and his humanity is equal to his wit.' And this seems to have been the universal opinion.

Arbuthnot was singularly careless of his literary reputation. His witty writings were anonymous; he let his children make kites of his papers, allowed his friends to alter them as they pleased, and took no pains to

distinguish his share. After the death of Queen Anne he took part, with Pope and Gay, in the silly farce called 'Three Hours after Marriage,' in which his old enemy Woodward is once more ridiculed, and which, being unworthy of all the three authors, was deservedly damned in 1717. Another trifle, called 'A Brief Account of Mr. John Ginglicutt's treatise concerning the Altercation or Scolding of the Ancients,' is identified as Arbuthnot's by letters to Swift from Pulteney (9 Feb. 1731) and Pope (1 Dec. 1731); but Pope's view that it is of 'little value' seems to be better founded than Pulteney's admiration of its humour. Arbuthnot had published about 1707 a collection of 'Tables of Grecian, Roman, and Jewish Measures, Weights, and Coins reduced to the English Standard,' and dedicated to Prince George of Denmark. He republished these in 1727, with preliminary dissertations and with a dedicatory poem to the king by his son Charles, then a student of Christ Church, for whose benefit, he tells us, they were again printed. The death of this son in 1731 was a severe blow to Arbuthnot, and is mentioned with pathetic resignation in the father's letter to Swift, 13 Jan. 1732–3. Arbuthnot's health had long been uncertain. Swift notices, in the 'Journal to Stella' (4 Oct. 1711), that the doctor was suffering from symptoms of stone. In 1723 he tells Swift that he is as cheerful as ever on public affairs, 'with a great stone in his right kidney, and a family of men and women to provide for.' His characteristic cheerfulness seems to have declined under illness and domestic trouble, and some of his later letters express some sympathy with Swift's misanthropical views. In his last years he published three medical treatises: 'An Essay concerning the Nature of Aliments and the Choice of them' (1731); 'Practical Rules of Diet in the various Constitutions and Characters of Human Bodies' (1732); and an 'Essay concerning the Effects of Air on Human Bodies' (1733). He retired for a time to Hampstead in 1734, to try the effect of the air, and there wrote touching letters to Pope (17 July) and to Swift (4 Oct. 1734), taking leave of them with affectionate goodwill. 'A recovery in my case and in my age,' he wrote, 'is impossible; the kindest wish of my friends is euthanasia.' He died peacefully, though in much suffering, 27 Feb. 1734–5.

Arbuthnot had two sons—Charles, mentioned above, and George, who became secondary in the Remembrancer's Office—and two daughters, who died unmarried. George, whose melancholy is contrasted with his father's cheerfulness by Swift's friend Erasmus Lewis, was one of Pope's executors; Pope left to him a portrait of Bolingbroke and a watch given by the King of Sardinia to Peterborough, and by Peterborough to Pope. He also bequeathed 200*l.* to George and 200*l.* to his sister Ann Arbuthnot. Arbuthnot's acknowledged works are given above. Two volumes, called 'The Miscellaneous Works of the late Dr. Arbuthnot,' were published at Glasgow in 1751. George Arbuthnot advertised that they were not his father's works, but 'an imposition upon the public.' They were republished in 1770, with a few additional pieces and a life, the accuracy of which was admitted by George Arbuthnot (see *Biog. Brit.* 1778). The collection has no authority, but includes the following, which were clearly Arbuthnot's: the 'Usefulness of Mathematical Learning,' the 'Scolding of the Ancients,' the 'Examination of Woodward,' a sermon at the Mercat Cross, Edinburgh (see Elwin's *Pope, Letters*, ii. 489), and a poem called Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, first printed by Dodsley in 1748, with Arbuthnot's name. The 'Masquerade,' a poem, is probably Fielding's, with whose 'Grub-street Opera' it was printed in 1731, having first appeared (it is there said) in 1728. The letter to Dean Swift is attributed to Gordon of the 'Independent Whig' (*Monthly Review*, iii. 399). It is said in Chalmers's 'Biog. Dict.' that several of the pieces 'were written by Fielding, Henry Carey, and other authors.' They are for the most part worthless, and seem to have been taken at random on account of the subjects. 'Gulliver decypher'd' is attributed to Arbuthnot in the 'Biog. Brit.,' and by a writer in the 'Retrospective Review,' but it is a more than ostensible attack upon Swift, Pope, and himself; it deals with certain sore subjects for all three on which Arbuthnot was very unlikely to touch. The 'third part of John Bull' seems to be quite unworthy of him. Besides these, he has been credited with 'Critical Remarks on Capt. Gulliver's Travels by Dr. Bantley,' 'Don Bilioso de l'Estomac,' 'Notes and Memorandums of the six days preceding the Life and Death of a late Right Rev. ——' (that is Bishop Burnet), and the 'Essay upon an Apothecary' in a 'Supplement to Dean Sw—t's Miscellanies,' all in the same collection. They are at best very doubtful. It appears, also, that Arbuthnot helped in the notes to the 'Dunciad' (Nichols, *Illustrations*, iii. 766, and *Anecdotes*, v. 586). He may probably have written the 'Virgilius Restauratus' appended to the same; and he is said to have written the 'Reasons offered by the Company

of exercising the Trade and Mystery of Upholders against part of the Bill for viewing and examining Drugs and Medicines;' the 'Petition of the Colliers, Cooks, Blacksmiths, &c., against Catoptrical Victuallers;' and 'It cannot rain but it pours, or London strewed with rarities,' generally printed in Swift's works. They first appeared in the additional volume of 'Miscellanies' published by Pope in 1732, together with an 'Essay of the learned Martinus Scriblerus concerning the Origin of Sciences' (which is traced to the monkeys of Ethiopia) attributed to Arbuthnot and Pope himself by Pope (SPENCE, 167). He may have contributed in some degree to the treatise on the Bathos, which seems, however, to have been almost entirely Pope's.

The 'History of John Bull' originally appeared in 1712, in successive parts, entitled 'Law is a Bottomless Pit, exemplified in the case of Lord Strutt, John Bull, Nicholas Frog, and Lewis Baboon, who spent all they had in a lawsuit;' 'John Bull in his Senses,' being the second part of the above; 'John Bull still in his Senses,' the third part; 'Appendix to John Bull still in his Senses;' and 'Lewis Baboon turned honest and John Bull politician,' being the fourth part. They are described on the title-page as written by the author of the 'New Atalantis.' The history was reprinted in Pope's 'Miscellanies' (1727), rearranged and divided into two parts.

[Life in Miscellaneous Works, 1770; Biographia Britannica; Works of Swift and Pope, passim; Spence's Anecdotes; Chesterfield's Works, 1845, ii. 446; Retrospective Review, vol. viii.; Munk's College of Physicians (1878), ii. 27.]

L. S.

ARBUTHNOT, MARRIOT (1711?-1794), admiral, was a native of Weymouth. About his birth, parentage, and early years, nothing is certainly known. It has been supposed that he was related to Dr. John Arbuthnot, but apparently on no stronger grounds than the similarity of name; and the fact that up to 1763 he always wrote it Arbuthnott, as the family of Viscount Arbuthnott still does, may perhaps suggest a nearer connection with that stem. He did not attain the rank of lieutenant till 1739, when he was twenty-eight years of age. In 1746 he was made a commander, and in 1747 a captain. In 1759 he commanded the Portland, one of the ships employed under Commodore Duff in the blockade of Quiberon Bay, and was present at the total defeat of the French on 20 Nov. From 1771 to 1773 he commanded the guardship at Portsmouth, and in 1775 was appointed commissioner of the navy at Halifax; but he was recalled in January 1778 on his advancement to flag rank. He reached home in September, and in the following spring, after sitting as a member of the court-martial on Admiral Keppel, he was appointed to the command of the North American station, for which he sailed in the Europe of 64 guns on 1 May. He reached New York on 25 August. Here he remained through the autumn and winter, for some time expecting the attack of the Count d'Estaing, which however broke without much harm on Savannah. Afterwards, in concert with Sir Henry Clinton, he undertook the expedition against Charlestown, which surrendered without further resistance, when the passage into the harbour had been forced by the fleet. On 10 July 1780 a squadron of seven ships of the line and four heavy frigates, with a body of 6,000 soldiers newly arrived from France, captured Rhode Island, and Arbuthnot, reinforced at the same time and with a squadron now numbering nine ships of the line, took up his station in Gardiner's Bay at the north end of Long Island, whence he could keep watch on the enemy. He was still here at the latter end of September, when he unexpectedly received a letter from Sir George Rodney, acquainting him that he had arrived at Sandy Hook and taken on himself the command of the station. Sir George was at this time the commander-in-chief at the Leeward Islands, and having reason to believe that the Count de Guichen, the French admiral, had brought his fleet on to the coast of North America, had also come with ten ships of the line. Arbuthnot resented this supersession, and expressed himself upon it with much temper and insolence. Rodney submitted the whole matter to the admiralty. The admiralty approved Rodney's view, and Arbuthnot, nettled by the implied censure, requested, on the plea of ill-health, that he might be relieved from the command which had again devolved on him, since Rodney had gone back to the West Indies as soon as he knew that Guichen had certainly returned to France.

Through the first two months of 1781 the French and English squadrons lay opposed to each other at Rhode Island and Gardiner's Bay. It was only with the beginning of March that M. Destouches, the French senior officer, was persuaded by Washington to attempt a movement against the English positions at the mouth of the Chesapeake. The time was well chosen, for one of the English ships had been wrecked a few weeks before, and another dismasted [see AFFLECK, EDMUND]. Arbuthnot, however, got to sea very shortly after Destouches, and on the morning of 16 March, being then some forty miles to the eastward of Cape Henry, the French squadron

was sighted to the north-east. It was now to leeward; but as Arbuthnot steered towards it the wind gradually drew round from west to north-east. Throughout the forenoon he endeavoured to get to windward of the enemy, and about 1.30 p.m. Destouches, finding that he was losing ground and apprehensive of having his rear doubled on, gave up the weather-gauge, and running down to leeward formed his line on the starboard tack. As the English squadron, on the opposite tack, was now nearly abreast and to windward of the enemy, Arbuthnot began to wear in succession; and the three leading ships, opposed to the enemy's van, found themselves engaged by the whole enemy's line before the rest of their squadron could support them. In this way these three ships were dismantled; whilst the enemy, passing by them and wearing in succession, reformed their line on the larboard tack and waited for a renewal of the action. But this was out of the power of the English to attempt; for of their eight ships three were disabled, and all that could be done was to make for the Chesapeake and, anchoring in Lynnhaven Bay, prevent any operations the French might have in view. But these, on their part, had also suffered severely, and were unable to attempt anything further. Their expedition had miscarried, and they returned to Rhode Island, where they anchored on the 30th. A fortnight later the English took up their old position in Gardiner's Bay, and Arbuthnot, having received permission to return home, surrendered the command to Rear-Admiral Graves, and sailed for England on 4 July. He had no further employment at sea, but, advancing in rank by seniority, was, on 1 Feb. 1793, promoted to be admiral of the blue. He died in London on 31 Jan. 1794 at the age of 83.

Admiral Arbuthnot may be considered as, in some respects, a late survival of the class of officer described under the name of Flip or Trunnion. That he was ignorant of the discipline of his profession was proved by his altercation with Sir George Rodney; that he was destitute of even a rudimentary knowledge of naval tactics was shown by his absurd conduct of the action off Cape Henry; and for the rest he appears in contemporary stories (cf. *Morning Chronicle*, 18 May 1781) as a coarse, blustering, foul-mouthed bully, and in history as a sample of the extremity to which the maladministration of Lord Sandwich had reduced the navy.

[Charnock's Biographia Navalis, vi. 1; Ralfe's Naval Biography, i. 129; Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs; Mundy's Life of Lord Rodney; Official Letters and Documents in the Record Office.] J. K. L.

ARBUTHNOT, Sir ROBERT, K.C.B., K.T.S. (1773–1853), lieutenant-general, was the fourth son of John Arbuthnot, of Rockfleet, county Mayo, and brother of the Right Honourable Charles Arbuthnot and of Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Arbuthnot [see Arbuthnot, Charles]. He entered the army as a cornet in the 23rd light dragoons on 1 Jan. 1797, and was present at the battle of Ballynamuck in the Irish rebellion on 8 Sept. of the following year. He subsequently served with his regiment at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope in 1806, and in South America as aide-de-camp to General (afterwards Lord) Beresford, with whom and the rest of the troops under General Beresford's command he was made a prisoner of war, and remained a prisoner for eighteen months, until released under the convention made by General Whitelock. On his return from America, Arbuthnot, then a captain in the 20th light dragoons, resumed his position on General Beresford's staff at Madeira, and served with him as aide-de-camp, and afterwards as military secretary, throughout the greater part of the Peninsular war.

Few officers have taken part in so many general actions. Besides the battle of Ballynamuck, two at the Cape, and three in South America, Sir Robert was present at the battle of Corunna, the passage of the Douro, the battle of Busaco, the lines of Torres Vedras, the siege and reduction of Olivenza, the first siege of Badajoz, the battle of Albuera, the siege and storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, the third siege and storming of Badajoz, the battles of the Nivelle, Nive, passage of the Adour, and the battles of Orthes and Toulouse. He received the gold cross and three clasps for Busaco, Albuera, Badajoz, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse, and the war medal and two clasps for Corunna and Ciudad Rodrigo. He also received Portuguese and Spanish orders, including the special star given by the Portuguese government to all English officers of superior rank engaged at Albuera. He brought home the despatches regarding Albuera, and on that occasion was appointed a brevet lieutenant-colonel. He was created a knight of the Tower and Sword by the government of Portugal, and in 1815 was appointed a K.C.B. In 1830 he attained the rank of major-general, and in 1838 was appointed to the command of the troops in Ceylon, after which he commanded a division in Bengal until his promotion as lieutenant-general in 1841. In 1843 he was appointed colonel of the 76th foot. He died on 6 May 1853.

Sir Robert Arbuthnot was an officer of

conspicuous gallantry, and was remarkable for his quickness of eye and readiness of resource. At Albuera he distinguished himself by galloping between two regiments, the British 57th and a Spanish regiment, and stopping the fire which by mistake they were exchanging—a feat which he performed without receiving a single wound. In the same battle, at a critical moment, he was enabled by his quickness of sight to discern a retrograde movement on the part of the French, which Marshal Beresford had not perceived, and induced the latter to recall an order which he had just given for the retirement of two batteries of artillery. At an earlier period, in South America, when he and General Beresford were prisoners in the hands of the Spanish, and when all the officers were about to be searched for papers, he contrived by a clever stratagem to secrete in an orchard an important document, viz. the convention which had been executed between General Beresford and the Spanish general Linieres, and of which the Spanish were anxious to regain possession.

[Hart's Army List; Annual Register, 1853; Maxwell's Victories of the British Armies; Napier's History of the Peninsular War; Despatches of the Duke of Wellington.] A. J. A.

ARBUTHNOT, Sir THOMAS (1776–1849), lieutenant-general, was the fifth son of John Arbuthnot, of Rockfleet, county Mayo [see Arbuthnot, Charles, and Sir Robert, lieutenant-general]. He entered the army as an ensign in the 29th foot in 1794, and after serving in that and other regiments joined the staff corps under Sir John Moore in 1803. He subsequently served as quartermaster-general at the Cape of Good Hope, whence, in 1808, he joined the army in the Peninsula, and was assistant quartermaster-general to General Picton's division during the greater part of the war. He was twice wounded, once in the West Indies and again in one of the latest actions in the Peninsula. He was appointed an aide-de-camp to the queen in 1814, and a K.C.B. in 1815. After commanding a regiment for some years, he was sent, in 1826, to Portugal in command of a brigade. He afterwards commanded a district in Ireland, and, having attained the rank of lieutenant-general in 1838, was appointed, in 1842, to the command of the northern and midland districts in England, which command he retained until his death in 1849. Sir Thomas Arbuthnot had a considerable military reputation. Sir Thomas Picton held him in high esteem, and the good opinion which the Duke of Wellington entertained of his judgment and efficiency was proved by his having selected him for the newly constituted command at Manchester at a time when the chartists were causing a good deal of anxiety in that part of the country.

[Annual Register, 1849; Hart's Army List; Horse Guards Records.] A. J. A.

ARCHANGEL, Father. [See Forbes, John.]

ARCHDALL, MERVYN, M.A. (1723-1791), Irish antiquary, was descended from John Archdall, of Norsom or Norton Hall, in Norfolk, who went to Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and settled at Castle Archdall, co. Fermanagh. He was born in Dublin 22 April 1723. After passing through the university of Dublin with reputation, his antiquarian tastes introduced him to the acquaintance of Walter Harris, Charles Smith, the topographer, Thomas Prior, and Dr. Pococke, archdeacon of Dublin. When the latter became bishop of Ossory, he appointed Archdall his domestic chaplain, bestowed on him the living of Attanagh (partly in Queen's County and partly in co. Kilkenny), and the prebend of Cloneamery in the cathedral church of Ossory (1762), which he afterwards exchanged (1764) for the prebend of Mayne in the same cathedral. Archdall was also chaplain to Francis Pierpoint, Lord Conyngham, and a member of the Royal Irish Academy. Having married his only daughter to a clergyman, he resigned part of his preferments in the diocese of Ossory to his son-in-law, and obtained the rectory of Slane in the diocese of Meath, where he died, 6 Aug. 1791.

His works are: 1. 'Monasticum Hibernicum; or an History of the Abbies, Priories, and other Religious Houses in Ireland.' Dublin, 1786, 4to, pp. 820. This work was the result of forty years' labour. The collections for it filled two folio volumes, but the author was obliged to abridge them considerably. Compared with Dugdale's 'Monasticon Anglicanum,' it is a weak and feeble production, and eighty-two mistakes in it are rectified in Dr. Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.' An interleaved copy, with numerous manuscript additions by W. Monck Mason, is preserved in the Egerton collection in the British Museum (Nos. 1774, 1775). Considerable portions of the work appear to have been contributed by Edward Ledwich. The publication of a new edition, with notes by the Rev. Patrick F. Moran, D.D., and other antiquaries, was commenced, in parts, at Dublin in 1871. 2. An edition of Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, 'revised, enlarged,

and continued to the present time,' 7 vols. 1789. On this work Archdall was engaged only four years, confining himself to genealogical inquiries, as, according to his own admission, he was almost totally ignorant of heraldry. Mrs. Archdall rendered valuable assistance to her husband in the preparation of the work by deciphering the valuable notes of additions and corrections left by Lodge in shorthand or cipher. 3. 'Manuscript Collections relating to Irish Topography,' sold with Sir William Betham's MSS. for 7*l.* 15*s.*

[Anthologia Hibernica, iii. 274; Cotton's Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ, pt. vi. 314, 322; Gent. Mag. lxi. 780, N. S. xliii. 162; Taylor's Hist. of Univ. of Dublin, 422; Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. vi. 430, 431, vii. 714, 775, 848; Scots Magazine, liii. 415; Lanigan's Eccl. Hist. of Ireland; Burke's Landed Gentry (1837), ii. 107; Notes and Queries, 3rd series, viii. 473; MSS. Egerton, 1774, 1775.] T. C.

ARCHDEKIN, or **ARSDEKIN**, RICHARD (1618–1693), an Irish Jesuit, who has adopted both forms of his name on his own title-pages, and is also known as Mac Giolla Cuddy, was the son of Nicholas Archdekin and his wife Ann Sherlock, and was born at Kilkenny 16 March 1618. He went through a course of classical studies, and for two years applied himself to philosophy before he entered the Jesuit order; and he studied theology for four years at Louvain. Entering the Society of Jesus at Mechlin 28 Sept. 1642, he was in due time enrolled among the professed fathers of the order. He was teaching humanities in 1650; he studied under the Jesuits at Antwerp and Lille; and arrived at the Professed House at Antwerp 26 March 1653. For six years he taught humanities, and he was professor of philosophy, moral theology, and Holy Scripture for a long period, chiefly at Louvain and Antwerp. His death occurred in the latter city 31 Aug. 1693.

Father Archdekin, who was proficient in the Latin, Irish, English, and Flemish languages, composed the following works:— 1. 'A Treatise of Miracles, together with New Miracles, and Benefits obtained by the sacred reliques of S. Francis Xaverius exposed in the Church of the Society of Jesus at Mechlin,' Louvain, 1667, 8vo, in English and Irish. This very scarce book is supposed to be the first ever printed in the two languages in conjunction. 2. 'Precipuæ Controversiæ Fidei ad facilem methodum redactæ; ac Resolutiones Theologicæ ad omnia Sacerdotis munia, præsertim in Missionibus, accommodatæ,' Louvain, 1671, 8vo. At the end of this volume, which is a summary of theology, is usually found: 3. 'Vitæ et Miraculorum Sancti Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli Epitome, cum brevi notitiâ Hiberniæ et Prophetiâ S. Malachiæ' (Louvain, 1671, 8vo), a life of St. Patrick, with a short notice of Ireland, and the prophecy of St. Malachi respecting the succession of the popes. The 'Controversiæ Fidei' had a wonderful success. A few copies of the work which found their way to the university of Prague were received with such enthusiasm that some transcripts of the whole were made for the use of the students; and in 1678 the book was reprinted, without the knowledge of the author, at the University Press. The third edition, which was printed at Antwerp with the author's corrections and additions, was followed by a fourth and fifth at Cologne and Ingolstadt; and the sixth, again at Antwerp, by a seventh again at Cologne. These particulars are gathered from the prefaces to the eighth edition, which appeared at Antwerp in 1686, and where the title, the bulk, and the arrangement of the work are so altered that it would hardly be recognised as the same. The 'Controversiæ Fidei' of 1671 is a small octavo of 500 pages. In the edition of 1686 the title is 'Theologia Tripartita Universa,' and the three volumes quarto, of which it consists, comprise in all about 1,100 pages closely printed in double columns, containing about five times the matter of the 'Controversiæ.' The work includes a life of Oliver Plunket, the catholic archbishop of Armagh, who was executed at London in 1681, and a life of Peter Talbot, the catholic archbishop of Dublin, who died in imprisonment at Dublin in 1680. In addition to these Archdekin's work contains a number of anecdotes connected with the history of Ireland, introduced as examples in support of his theological doctrines. Archdekin's work displays much order, knowledge, and precision, but some of his decisions in cases of conscience have been controverted by higher authority in the catholic church. In 1700 it was prohibited until correction should be made by the Congregation of the Index. The first edition published with the necessary corrections appears to have been also the last. It appeared at Antwerp in 1718, and was the thirteenth of the whole.

[Foley's Records, vii. 15; Oliver's Collectanea S. J., 231; O'Reilly's Irish Writers, 198; Ware's Writers of Ireland, ed. Harris, 203; Thomas Watts, in Biog. Dict. Soc. D. U. K.; Ribadeneira, Bibl. Scriptorum Soc. Jesu, ed. Southwell, 718; Backer, Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus (1869), 267; Foppens, Bibl. Belgica, 1066.] T. C.

ARCHER, EDWARD (1718–1789), physician, was born in Southwark, studied medicine in Edinburgh and afterwards in Leyden, where he graduated M.D. in 1746 with an inaugural dissertation, 'De Rheumatismo.' In 1747 he was elected physician to the Small-pox Hospital, which had just then been founded, and for the remainder of his life devoted the greater part of his thought and activity to the welfare of this institution and to the study and cure of the small-pox. This institution formed originally two establishments, viz. 'The Hospital for the Small-pox' and 'The Hospital for Inoculation,' and was founded chiefly to give the poor the advantages of the practice of inoculation, which had been previously an expensive operation and almost confined to the rich. Dr. Archer was a steady advocate and practiser of inoculation, and died some years before the introduction of vaccination which was destined to supersede it. He does not appear to have written any separate work on that or any other subject, but an account of the Small-pox Hospital, and, incidentally, of Dr. Archer's practice there, is given in a report by a Dr. Schultz, made to the Swedish government ('An Account of Inoculation, presented to the Royal Commissioners of Health in Sweden, by David Schultz, M.D., who attended the Small-pox Hospital in London near a twelvemonth; translated from the Swedish, London, 1758'), to which Dr. Archer prefixed a commendatory letter. Dr. Archer also wrote a very short note on the subject in the 'Journal Britannique' for 1755 (xviii. 485, La Haye, 1755). He is described as having been a 'humane, judicious, and learned physician, and an accomplished classical scholar.' Being possessed of a private fortune, and unambitious, he was never very busily or profitably engaged in practice. When attacked by his last and fatal illness, Dr. Archer gave a singular and almost unparalleled proof of his interest in the Small-pox Hospital by expressing a wish to die within its walls, whither he was accordingly removed. He ended his life 28 March 1789, in the institution which he had served so well for forty-two years, and the success of which was mainly attributed to his zeal and energy. His portrait, by Pine, is in the board-room of the hospital.

[Gent. Mag. 1789, part i. 373; Munk's Roll of College of Physicians, ii. 182.] J. F. P.

ARCHER, FREDERICK SCOTT (1813–1857), inventor of the collodion process in photography, was the second son of a butcher at Bishop Stortford, and was, as a young man, assistant to a silversmith, Massey, in Leadenhall Street. Showing some talent for sculpture, he was enabled, by the kindness of friends, to start in business as a sculptor, and it was a desire to obtain reproductions of his works that led him to take up the then recently discovered art of photography. Like many other photographers of the time, he made experiments with the view of obtaining a more suitable vehicle for the sensitive silver salt than the waxed paper principally employed. In 1846 Schönbein discovered gun-cotton; in 1847, Maynard, of Boston, prepared collodion, an ethereal solution of gun-cotton, for surgical purposes. In 1850 Archer successfully applied collodion to photography by adding an iodide to the collodion and immersing the glass plate with the film upon it while wet in the solution of nitrate of silver. The first account of the process was published in the 'Chemist,' March 1851. Archer does not seem to have been the first to suggest this application of collodion, but there appears no doubt whatever that he was the first to carry it into effect. He did not patent the invention, possibly because he did not realise its value, though he patented a development of no practical value in 1855 (Patent No. 1914). The process was at first only employed for producing 'positives,' and it was not for some time that it was found to be even more suitable for making 'negatives' from which any number of positive pictures can be obtained. Archer's original process, with certain improvements in the method of 'development' suggested by others soon after its publication, remained until quite recently without a rival, and it is only within the last two or three years that it has given way to the modern 'gelatine' process. Archer himself, soon after his discovery, left his house in Henrietta Street, and went to live in Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, where he practised, with no great success, as a photographer. Here he produced several other inventions. Of these the more important were a camera, in which the various processes for producing a photographic picture could be carried on; and a 'liquid lens,' that is a lens with glass surfaces of suitable shape, and filled with liquid; though with regard to this invention he can make no claim to originality, such lenses having been patented for telescopes, as long ago as 1785, by a naval officer named Robert Blair. He is also said to have been the first to use a 'triplet' lens, a form of lens very popular until it was superseded by recent improvements. He died in May 1857, and was buried in Kensal Green. A subscription was started for his widow, but as she died in the following year the

amount (over 600*l.*) was devoted to the benefit of his children. A pension of 50*l.* was also granted them by the crown, on the ground that their father had reaped no benefit from an invention which had been a source of large profits to others.

Descriptions of Archer's invention in the various photographic text-books, of which the best is in the Report of the Jurors on Class xiv. (Photography) of the 1862 Exhibition; evidence as to his claims of priority in Notes and Queries (first series), vi. 396, 426, vii. 218; information furnished by Dr. Diamond, F.S.A.] H. T. W.

ARCHER, JAMES (1551?–1624?), Irish Jesuit, was born at Kilkenny in 1549 or 1551; entered the Society of Jesus at Rome in 1581; was professed of the four vows in Spain; and became the first rector of the Irish college at Salamanca. Father Archer was a great promoter of education, and was very dear to Irishmen, with whom he possessed unbounded influence. He was a famous missioner in Ireland during the war of Tyrone. He died in Spain between 1617 and 1624.

[Hogan's Chronological Catalogue of the Irish Province S. J., 5; Oliver's Collectanea S. J., 231.] T. C.

ARCHER, JAMES, D.D. (*fl.* 1822), was a renowned catholic preacher, of whose personal history little appears to be known. We are informed by Dr. Husenbeth (*Life of Bishop Milner*, 13) that 'the celebrated preacher, Dr. Archer, began his preaching at a public-house near Lincoln's Inn Fields, at which the catholics assembled on Sunday evenings to hear the word of God in a large club-room in Turn Style.' In 1791 he was chaplain to the Bavarian minister in London. Archer published 'Sermons on various Moral and Religious Subjects, for some of the Principal Festivals of the Year,' London, 1789, 8vo; 2nd edit. 4 vols. London, 1794, 12mo; 3rd edit. 2 vols. London, 1817, 8vo; and 'Sermons on Matrimonial Duties, and other Moral and Religious Subjects,' London, 1804, 12mo. Bishop Milner, in a pastoral (1813), denounced the mixture of erroneous and dangerous morality in Archer's sermons, and absolutely forbade them to be publicly read in the chapels of his district. This feud was of old standing, as it appears, by 'A Letter from the Rev. James Archer to the Right Rev. John Milner, Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District,' London, 1810, 8vo, that the bishop had 'added to the charge of irreligion a charge of immorality.' The nature of the latter charge may be inferred from the following allusion by Archer to his conduct on a certain occasion at the Clarendon Hotel: 'The smallest voluntary aberration from the rules of temperance is certainly never to be justified. Yet, in certain moments of peculiar interest or exultation, and when men meet together to exhilarate their humanity, such a failing will, in liberal minds, meet with a gentle, mild disposition to give it some degree of extenuation.'

Archer continued to preach to crowded audiences, and his pulpit eloquence was greatly admired, though it appears to have been somewhat stilted and artificial, according to the fashion set by Dr. Hugh Blair. Charles Butler, writing in 1822 of his sermons, remarks: 'It has been his aim to satisfy reason, whilst he pleased, charmed, and instructed her; to impress upon the mind just notions of the mysteries and truths of the Gospel; and to show that the ways of virtue are the ways of pleasantness, and her paths the paths of peace. No one has returned from any of his sermons without impressions favourable to virtue, or without some practical lesson which through life, probably in a few days, perhaps even in a few hours, it would be useful for him to remember. When we recollect that this is the fortieth year of Mr. Archer's predication, that he has preached oftener than fifty-two times in every year, and that in the present his hearers hang on all he says with the same avidity as they did in the first, we may think it difficult to find an individual to whose eloquence religion has in our times been so greatly indebted.'

He was created D.D. by Pope Pius VII 24 Aug. 1821, at the same time as Dr. Lingard.

[Butler's Hist. Memoirs of the English Catholics, ed. 1822, iv. 441, 442; Husenbeth's Life of Bishop Milner, 13, 228; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Notes and Queries, 6th series, viii. 426; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, i. 9.] T. C.

ARCHER, JOHN (1598–1682), judge, son of Henry Archer, Esq., of Coopersale, Theydon Gernon, Essex, by Anne, daughter of Simon Crouch, of London, alderman, was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1619, and M.A. in 1622. Having entered Gray's Inn as a student in 1617, he was called to the bar in 1620. He appears to have risen very slowly in his profession, as his name is not mentioned by any of the reporters of the time of Charles I. Foss states that 'in 1647 he was selected as counsel for the corporation of Grantham,' but cites no authority; and the corporation of Grantham does not appear as a party to any case reported in that year. In 1651 he was assigned by the court as

one of the counsel for Christopher Love on his trial for high treason, in plotting with the Scots to bring about the restoration of the monarchy; but exception was taken to Archer on the ground that he had not subscribed the engagement to be true to the commonwealth, as required by a resolution of the House of Commons passed on 11 Oct. 1649, to be subscribed by public functionaries and by 'all sergeants at law, counsellors, officers, ministers, and clerks, and all attornies and solicitors.' As Archer had not subscribed, and at the trial declined to subscribe, this engagement, he was not allowed to plead. Whether he subsequently did so does not appear; but in 1656 he was returned to parliament, and his name does not appear in the list of the excluded members. On 27 Nov. 1658 he was made a serjeant, the appointment being confirmed by Charles II on 1 June 1660; but his elevation to the bench, which had occurred in the interim (15 May 1659), was thereby tacitly annulled. On 4 Nov. 1663 he was made a justice of the common bench in succession to Sir Robert Hide (then raised to the chief justiceship of the same bench), and knighted. As a judge he travelled the western circuit with Sir J. Kelyng. His name occurs in the list of the judges who attended the meeting of the bench summoned in 1666 to confer upon the proper course to be taken in view of the impending trial of Lord Morley for murder by the House of Lords, a case still cited as an authority upon the distinction between murder and manslaughter. Archer is characterised by Roger North as one 'of whose abilities time hath kept no record unless in the sinister way,' as uncertain in his law and afraid of a long and intricate cause. He appears, however, to have held decided and sound opinions on the construction of his own patent; for when the king in the winter of 1661 attempted to remove him from his office he stood stoutly upon his right to hold it on the terms of the patent, 'quamdiu se bene gesserit,' and refused to surrender the patent without a writ of *scire facias*, the proper legal mode of procedure to annul a royal grant; but which was so little to the taste of the king that Archer continued, until his death, legally justice of the common bench, and in receipt of his salary as such, though relieved by royal prohibition from the performance of the duties of the office, which were discharged by Sir William Ellis. He died in 1682, and was buried in Theydon Gernon churchyard, where a monument was raised to his memory. He married (1) Mary, daughter of Sir George Savile, Bart., of Thornhill, Yorkshire, by whom he does not appear to have had any children; (2) Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Curson, Bart., of Kedleston, Derbyshire, by whom he had one child, viz. John, who died without issue, 7 Nov. 1706, having by his will left the Theydon Gernon estate to W. Eyre, Esq., of Gray's Inn, on condition that he married Eleanor Wrottesley (a niece of the testator), and assumed the name of Archer, which happened in due course. The Archers traced their descent from one Simon de Bois, who came to England with the Conqueror, of whom a namesake and lineal descendant changed his name to Archer at the bidding of Henry V on the occasion of a shooting match at Havering-atte-Bowre, in which he displayed the same skill as had formerly done the king good service at Agincourt, the king at the same time granting him a pension of five marks yearly. There are some inaccuracies in Foss's account of Archer's parentage.

[Morant's History of Essex; Ogborne's History of Essex; Cobbett's State Trials, ii. 337, v. 210, vi. 770; Parl. Hist. iii. 1286, 1334, 1480; Whitelocke's Memorials (ed. 1732), 675, 678; Kelyng's Reports, 53; Siderfin's Reports, 3, 153; Sir T. Raymond's Reports, 217; Sir T. Jones's Reports, 43; Mercurius Politicus, 16 Feb. 1660; Cal. State Papers, Dom. series (1667), 337; North's Life of Lord Keeper Guildford (ed. 1742), 45; Wotton's Baronetage, i. 162, ii. 246–7, 346; Foss's Lives of the Judges.] J. M. R.

ARCHER, JOHN (*fl.* 1660–1684), was court physician in the reign of Charles II. Of his origin nothing is certainly known; but he was probably an Irishman, as he speaks of having been in practice in Dublin in 1660. He afterwards lived in London, and was styled 'Chymical Physitian in Ordinary to the King' (1671); afterwards, on his engraved portrait, he is called simply 'medicus in ordinario regi' (1684). He boasts that, on the favourable report of some of his patients, his majesty was pleased to command him 'to help some noble persons afflicted with a fistule.' He was never a member of, or in any way licensed by, the College of Physicians. In fact Archer, although a royal physician, was what would be called in these days an advertising quack. His book, 'Every Man his own Doctor,' purporting to be a manual of health, but really treating of various diseases, reputable and disreputable, especially the latter, was nothing but an advertisement. He promises marvellous cures by secret remedies, sold only by himself, and able even to insure immunity beforehand from the possible consequences of debauchery. It is written in a style at once prurient and hypocritical. The British Mu-

seum copy of this work has written on the fly-leaf, in a contemporary hand—and probably a similar advertisement was written in every copy before it was sold—the following notice: 'The author is to be spoke with at his chamber in a sadler's house over against the mewes gate next the Black Horse nigh Charing Cross; his howers there are from eleven to five in the evening, at other times at his house in Knightsbridge.'

His only medicines were certain nostrums of his own preparation, 'to be had only from the author at his house in Winchester Street, near Gresham College,' and at prices which seem high. His books were also sold by himself. Archer's 'Secrets Disclosed, of Consumption, &c.' is a book of the same stamp, and in part a repetition of the former. His 'Herbal' is worthless. He also boasts of three inventions—a vapour-bath, a new kind of oven, and a chariot which enabled one horse to do the work of two.

The only interest attaching to these discreditable works and their author is the singular fact that a man who might in the present day even be liable to prosecution, should in the reign of Charles II have enjoyed the status of the king's physician.

The titles of his works, alluded to above, are: 1. 'Every Man his own Doctor, compleated with an Herbal, &c.' by John Archer, one of his Majesty's Physicians in Ordinary. 2nd edition. London, printed for the Author, and are to be sold at his house, 1673 (1st edition 1671). 2. 'Secrets Disclosed, of Consumption, showing how to distinguish between Scurvy and Venereal Disease, &c.' by John Archer. London, printed for the Author, 1684.

[Works by John Archer, referred to above.]
J. F. P.

ARCHER, JOHN WYKEHAM (1808–1864), artist and antiquary, was the son of a prosperous tradesman of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he was born in 1808. At an early age he showed skill in drawing, and copied in a vigorous manner some of the designs of the Bewicks and other artists. After he had received a good general education, he was apprenticed to John Scott, who was a fellow-townsman, then practising in Coppice Row, Clerkenwell, as an animal engraver. He afterwards returned to his native place, and in conjunction with William Collard, a local engraver, produced a series of large views of Fountains Abbey, in Yorkshire, from drawings by Mr. Carmichael. During his visit to Yorkshire, Archer also engraved several plates for Mackenzie's 'History of Durham.' About 1831 he returned to London, and procured an engagement in the engraving establishment of Messrs. William and Edward Finden. He was subsequently employed by other publishers; and during the next few years he engraved many plates for the 'New Sporting Magazine.' When the introduction of lithography and engraving on wood superseded almost entirely the old-fashioned plates as a means of book illustration, Archer turned his attention to painting in water-colours, and made numerous sketches of the relics of bygone days in the metropolis. Some of these sketches were purchased by Mr. W. Twopeny, of the Temple, who commissioned Archer to produce twenty drawings each year of the relics of antiquity scattered about in the highways and byways of London. Up to the close of the artist's life this work was carried regularly forward, and the result was that Mr. Twopeny obtained a collection of drawings of the utmost value illustrative of the varied aspects of the great city. This collection was afterwards acquired by purchase for the nation, and is now deposited in the print-room of the British Museum. Archer was a diligent antiquary, and made copious notes descriptive of the sites and objects which he pictorially represented. After the decline of steel engraving he began to draw on wood, and some specimens of his work are to be found in Charles Knight's 'London,' the 'Illustrated London News,' and Blackie's 'Comprehensive History of England.' Many of the illustrations in the first series of Dr. William Beattie's 'Castles and Abbeys of England' (1844) are from drawings by Archer. In consequence of an inspection of the drawings in Mr. Twopeny's possession, the Duke of Northumberland commissioned Archer to make sketches, in the course of each summer, of the interesting antiquities on his grace's extensive estates. Archer also executed several monumental brasses, particularly one which was ordered for India by Lord Hardinge to the memory of the officers who fell in the battles of the Punjab. He was for many years an associate of the new Society of Painters in Water Colours. His death occurred in London, 25 May 1864.

Archer's published works are: 1. 'Vestiges of Old London, a series of Etchings from Original Drawings illustrative of the Monuments and Architecture of London in the first, fourth, twelfth, and six succeeding centuries, with Descriptions and Historical Notices,' London, 1851, fol. It contains 37 plates. The subjects are very pictorially treated, with numerous figures well introduced. 2. 'Posthumous Poems,' London, 1873, 8vo. A pamphlet of 22 pages, pub-

lished by the author's son, George R. Wykeham Archer.

[Pinks's Clerkenwell, 1865, pp. 90, 239, 388, 393, 639-41; The Builder, 4 June 1864, p. 409; Art Journal, N.S. iii. 243; Gent. Mag. ccxvii. 246; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists.] T. C.

ARCHER, Sir SYMON (1581–1662), an industrious and learned antiquary, who laid the foundation of Dugdale's 'History of Warwickshire,' was born at Umberslade, near Tanworth, in that county, 21 Sept. 1581, being descended from an old family of that name seated there in the time of Henry III. His life was uneventful. He was knighted on 21 Aug. 1624; sheriff of his county in 1628; and M.P. 1640. He married Ann, daughter of Sir John Ferrars, of Tamworth Castle. He formed one of a body of enthusiastic antiquaries who devoted themselves to the elucidation of the history of their country in its minor details. He was the friend of Burton, Spelman, Cotton, Dodsworth, and others. The first letter of Dugdale to Archer in the published correspondence of that herald is dated 16 Nov. 1635; and the last is 9 Sept. 1657. Very early in the letters a history of Warwickshire was under discussion; it was first intended to be Archer's book, who had collected the materials: it was next arranged that the two friends were to be partners in the undertaking; but it was ultimately published as Dugdale's, who said that he had made special use of Archer's manuscripts on every page of the book.

Sir Symon amassed a large quantity of choice manuscripts and other rarities, which he freely imparted to the younger race of antiquaries, including Fuller, the author of the 'Church History,' and Webb, the editor of 'Vale Royal.' In 1658 he was at the expense of engraving Dean Nowell's monument for his friend's 'History of St. Paul's.' Fuller, in the 'Worthies,' refers to his great age. He died in June 1662, and was buried at Tamworth on the 4th of that month. He had two sons who had the same affection for antiquarian pursuits as distinguished himself.

[Hamper's Life of Dugdale, 1827; Visitation of Warwickshire, 1619 (Harl. Soc.); Colvile's Worthies of Warwickshire, 1870.] J. E. B.

ARCHER, THOMAS (1554–1630?), divine, was born at Bury St. Edmunds 12 Aug. 1554, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was elected to a fellowship. He took his master's degree in 1582, and in November 1584 became chaplain to his kinsman, Dr. John May, bishop of Carlisle. In 1588 he was public preacher to the university, and in May 1589 was inducted rector of Houghton Conquest and Houghton Gildable, in Bedfordshire. He served as chaplain in 1599 to Archbishop Whitgift, and in 1605 was made one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. In 1623 he made a vault for himself in the chancel of Houghton Conquest Church, and five years later added his epitaph in English and Latin. He kept an obituary of all the eminent persons who died in his time, and also wrote an account (extracts from which are preserved among the Baker MSS. at Cambridge) of the parish and neighbourhood of Houghton Conquest. His manuscripts were lent in 1760 by Dr. Zachary Grey, then rector of Houghton Conquest, to Cole, the author of 'Athenæ Cantabrigienses,' who describes the collection as one of much interest and value. Archer is supposed to have died about 1630, as the obituary notices do not go beyond that date. Cole mentions also a manuscript diary of Archer's, which contained some curious anecdotes.

[Cole's MS. Athenæ; Catalogue of MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, v. 421.] A. H. B.

ARCHER, THOMAS (*d.* 1743), architect, was the son of Thomas Archer, M.P. for Warwick in the time of Charles II. He was a pupil of Sir John Vanbrugh, and had considerable practice in the first half of the eighteenth century. He held the office of 'groom porter' under Queen Anne, George I, and George II, and he is so styled in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' where his death is recorded (23 May 1743). About 1705 he built Heythorpe Hall, in Oxfordshire, said to have been his first work; St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, begun in 1711 and finished in 1719; St. John's Church, Westminster, consecrated in 1728; Cliefden House, which was destroyed by fire; and many other buildings, of which there is sufficient record in the 'Dictionary of the Architectural Publication Society.' The date of his birth is not known; but at his death, in 1743, he must have reached an advanced age. He is said to have left above 100,000*l.* to his youngest nephew, H. Archer, Esq., member for Warwick.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists; Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting; Dictionary of Architectural Publication Society; Gent. Mag. xiii. 275.] E. R.

ARCHER, THOMAS (*d.* 1848), actor and dramatist, was the son of a watchmaker, and acted at Bath and Birmingham. He made his first appearance at Drury Lane in 1823, as the King in the 'First Part of King Henry the Fourth.' In the same season he person-

ated Appius Claudius in 'Virginius,' Polixenes in the 'Winter's Tale,' Gloster in 'Jane Shore,' Bassanio in the 'Merchant of Venice,' and Claudio in 'Measure for Measure,' and other characters; and took part in the melodramas of the 'Cataract of the Ganges' and 'Kenilworth.' He was the original representative of Opimius and Gesler in Sheridan Knowles' plays of 'Caius Gracchus' (1823) and 'William Tell' (1825). He visited the United States, and was engaged in the management of several theatres there. He was afterwards a member of the English company of actors performing in Paris with Miss Smithson. At a later period he led a company to Belgium and Germany, and presented certain of Shakespeare's plays at Brussels, Antwerp, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Frankfort, Hamburg, &c. He was again a member of the Drury Lane company, under the management of Mr. Hammond, in 1839, and in 1845 was appearing at Covent Garden Theatre, then under the management of M. Laurent, as the blind seer in the tragedy of 'Antigone.' He was the author of many successful dramas, adaptations from the French, including the 'Black Doctor,' the 'Little Devil,' produced at the minor theatres, and of one original play of historical interest, entitled 'Blood Royal, or the Crown Jewels.' Of this production he was accustomed to represent the hero, Colonel Blood.

[Genest's History of the Stage, 1832; Theatrical Times, 1847.] D. C.

ARDEN, EDWARD (1542?–1583), high sheriff of Warwickshire in 1575, was a probably innocent victim of the rigorous severity adopted by the ministers of Queen Elizabeth in order to defeat the numerous Roman Catholic conspiracies in favour of Mary Queen of Scots and against the protestant sovereign. He was the head of a family that had held land in Warwickshire for six centuries from the days of Edward the Confessor downwards. His father, William, having died in 1545, Edward succeeded his grandfather Thomas Arden in 1563. He kept to the old faith and maintained in his home, Park Hall, near Warwick, a priest named Hall, in the disguise of a gardener. This man, animated with the fierce zeal of his order, inflamed the minds of the Arden household against the heretical queen, and especially influenced John Somerville, Edward Arden's son-in-law. This weak-minded young man had been greatly excited by the woes of the Scottish queen, who had given to a friend of his a small present for some service rendered her when at Coventry in 1569. He talked of shooting the Queen of England, whom he vituperated as a serpent and a viper, and set out for London on this deadly errand. Betraying himself, however, by over-confident speech, he was arrested, put to the rack, and confessed, implicating his father-in-law in his treason, and naming the priest as the instigator of his crime. All three were tried and sentenced to death. Somerville strangled himself in his cell. Arden was hanged at Tyburn (October 1583), but the priest was spared. Arden's head and Somerville's were set on London Bridge beside the skull of the Earl of Desmond.

Dugdale, who quotes from Camden's 'Annals,' says that Arden was prosecuted with much rigour and violence at the instance of the Earl of Leicester, whom he had irritated, partly by disdaining to wear his livery, but chiefly for galling him by certain harsh expressions touching his private accesses to the Countess of Essex before she was his wife. The language of Camden is very outspoken. 'The woful end of this gentleman, who was drawn in by the cunning of the priest and cast by his evidence, was generally imputed to Leicester's malice. Certain it is that he had incurred Leicester's heavy displeasure; and not without cause, for he had rashly opposed him in all he could, reproaching him as an adulterer, and defaming him as a new upstart.' Much interest is attached to the question of relationship between this Edward Arden and Mary Arden of Wilmcote, the mother of Shakespeare, and second cousin of Edward Arden's father. Ingenious writers have not been wanting who trace the poet's consummate portrayal of high-born dames to his gentle blood and the influence of the Arden ladies, his mother and her six sisters who dwelt at Asbies in Wilmcote.

[Froude's England, vii. 610; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser., v. 352, 463, 492; Dugdale's Warwickshire, ii. 931; Camden's Annals, 1583; Calendar of State Papers, 1583; French's Genealogica Shakspeareana.] R. H.

ARDEN, RICHARD PEPPER, Baron Alvanley (1745–1804), born at Bredbury, Cheshire, in 1745, was the son of John Arden of Stockport, and was educated at the Manchester grammar school. His two brothers received their earlier instruction at the same institution. The eldest, John, became a country squire, and was resident at Harden and Utkinton Halls in Cheshire, and at Pepper Hall in Yorkshire, and was a feoffee of the grammar school and of the Chetham Hospital at Manchester. The other, Crewe Arden, A.M., of Trinity College, 1776, became rector of Tarporley, and died there in

1787. Richard Pepper Arden entered the Manchester grammar school in 1752, and remained there until 1763. The elder boys acted the play of 'Cato' in 1759, and it is remarkable that of the ten scholars one became lord chief justice of the common pleas (Arden), one vice-principal of Brasenose (Rev. James Heap), two archdeacons of Richmond (Travis and Bower), one senior wrangler (William Arnald), and one recorder of Chester (Foster Bower). It is further noteworthy that the prologue declaimed by Arden in 1761 dealt with the topic of English elocution, and the career of the lawyer and politician. Arden was of the Middle Temple in 1762; he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in October 1763, and soon distinguished himself by his command of classical literature and by the elegance of his elocution. The year when he came out as twelfth wrangler was one remarkable for the number of young men of ability who took part in the contest. Arnald, the senior wrangler, was another 'Manchester School' boy, and the second wrangler, Bishop Law, the brother of Lord Ellenborough, is said to have remembered with bitterness the defeat he then sustained in the struggle for the highest academical distinction. Arden proceeded M.A. in 1769, and soon after was elected to a fellowship at Trinity College. He was called to the bar in the same year. His legal studies were pursued in the Middle Temple, and when he took chambers in Lincoln's Inn he lived on terms of friendly intimacy with William Pitt, who was on the same staircase. In 1776 he was made judge on the South Wales circuit, and took silk in 1780. In 1782 he became M.P. for Newton, entering the House of Commons a year later than his friend the future prime minister, who was, however, fourteen years his junior. He became solicitor-general under Shelburne's ministry in 1782, and again under Pitt's in 1783, and in the following year was attorney-general and chief justice of Chester. He succeeded Kenyon as master of the rolls in 1788, notwithstanding Thurlow's vehement opposition, when he was knighted. He sat successively for Aldborough, Hastings, and Bath, and was M.P. for the last-named from 1794 to 1801, when Pitt resigned. On the formation of the Addington administration Lord Eldon became chancellor, and Arden succeeded him as lord chief justice of the common pleas. He was called to the House of Lords as Baron Alvanley, Cheshire, the title being derived from his brother's estate. He was not a man of great oratorical powers, but possessed the qualities of intelligence, readiness, and wit, which are so important to the debater. Mr. James Crossley says that Alvanley's decisions show him to have been a better equity judge than Thurlow, much as Thurlow would have been surprised at being considered inferior to 'little Peppy,' the man he most contemned. Lord Alvanley's poetical trifles were never collected. The best known of them is an epigram which appeared in the 'Cambridge Verses' of 1763, and was suggested by the circumstance of Dr. Samuel Ogden having written three copies of verses, one in Latin, one in English, and one in Arabic, on the accession of George III. Another of his slighter pieces, the 'Buxton Beggar's Petition,' has been annotated by Mr. J. E. Bailey, and appears in the 'Palatine Note Book,' iii. 255. He married Anne Dorothea, the daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, M.P., and died 19 March 1804. He is buried in the Rolls Chapel. His widow died in 1825. He left two sons, who in turn succeeded to the title. William Arden, second Baron Alvanley, who was born 10 Feb. 1789, adopted the military profession, but after reaching the grade of lieutenant-colonel he retired, and died unmarried in 1849. Richard Pepper Arden, third Baron Alvanley, was born 8 Dec. 1792, and married in 1831 Arabella, the youngest daughter of the first Duke of Cleveland, but died without issue 24 June 1857. He, like his elder brother, had been in the army, and attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. With him the peerage became extinct.

The only portrait of the first Lord Alvanley is a caricature by Dighton. It would be vain to claim any great distinction for Lord Alvanley. He was a learned lawyer and a successful politician, who doubtless owed much to the friendship of Pitt, without whose patronage his career would have been far more arduous. He retained a keen interest in the fortunes of the school where he had received his early training. If his legal decisions show his learning and sound judgment, the few productions that remain from his pen evince refinement, taste, and facility of expression.

[Smith's Manchester Grammar School Register, Chetham Society, vol. lix.; Foss's Lives of the Judges; Ormerod's Cheshire; Palatine Note Book, Nov. 1883; Brydges's Peerage; Burke's Peerage; Axon's Cheshire Gleanings; The Reliquary, xxiv. 175.] W. E. A. A.

ARDERNE, JAMES, D.D. (1636–1691), dean of Chester, belonged to the family of Arderne, which is one of great antiquity in Cheshire, and whose forty-five quarterings are sufficiently indicative of estate and consideration. The seat of the family was at

Harden Hall, near Stockport, and at that mansion, now a ruin, James, son of Ralph Arderne of Harden, was baptised 12 Oct. 1636. He entered Christ's College, Cambridge, 9 July 1653, but afterwards removed to St. John's, and took his B.A. in 1656, and afterwards M.A. Two years later he went to Oxford, and became M.A. in 1658. He was apparently afterwards resident in London; for he is stated to have been a member, in 1659, of a coterie that met nightly at the Turk's Head, New Palace Yard, Westminster, under the chairmanship of Harrington, the author of 'Oceana.' The Restoration brought him within sight of preferment. In April 1666 he was curate of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, and held that post until 1682. Another of his preferments was Thornton-le-Moors. From the double inducement, we are told, of the public library and the society, he became a fellow-commoner of Brasenose, and in 1673 was admitted D.D. This degree he is also said to have had from Cambridge University. He was chaplain to Charles II, and his ministrations to that monarch procured him the rectory of Davenham in 1681 and the deanery of Chester in 1682. He is said to have had the promise of succession to the bishopric of Chester, but the events of the revolution prevented James II from giving him any further promotion.

His writings are the following: 1. 'Directions concerning the Matter and Style of Sermons, written to W. S., a young deacon, by J. A., D.D.,' London, 1671 (B.M.) 2. 'True Christian's Character and Crown,' a sermon, London, 1671. 3. 'A Sermon preached at the Visitation of John [Wilkins], Lord Bishop of Chester,' London, 1677 (B.M.) 4. 'Conjectura circa Ἐπινομὴν D. Clementis Romani, cui subjiciuntur Castigationes in Epiphanium et Petavium de Eucharistica, de Cœlibatu Clericorum et de Orationibus pro vitâ functis. Autore Jacobo de Ardenna.' 1683 (Bodleian). 5. 'Dean of Chester's Speech to his Majesty, August the 27th 1687,' London, 1687, folio, one leaf (Bodleian).

Arderne, if a courtier, was of the better type. His devotion to the Stuarts is said to have brought him affronts in his own district so vexatious as to have shortened his life. He died in 1691, but the date of his death is variously given, as 18 Aug., 15 Sept., and 18 Sept. He was buried in the choir of his cathedral, with a monument, on which, in accordance with his will, was inscribed: 'Here lies the body of Dr. James Arderne, brother of Sir John Arderne, awhile dean of this church; who, though he bore a more than common affection to his private relations, yet gave the substance of his bequeathable estate to this cathedral, which gift, his will was, should be mentioned, that clergymen may consider whether it be not a sort of sacrilege to sweep away all from the church and charity into the possession of their lay kindred who are not needy.' The particular intention of Arderne in this bequest was the foundation of a public library. The property was not then large, but was increased by the reversion to the younger branch of the Ardernes of the property of Mrs. Jane Done. Ormerod, in printing the dean's will, observes that it is one 'which the dean would certainly never have executed if he could have imagined that, from subsequent contingencies, it would have been the means of wresting from his family a very large share of one of the most antient estates in the county, and have involved the representatives of two of his brothers in a series of law expenses, which compelled them to alienate a considerable portion of Mrs. Jane Done's bequest, the successive turns of presentation to the rectory of Tarporley.' In the will he desires that the maps of Ortelius should be returned to Sir John Arderne, who had only lent the book for his lifetime. He mentions his collection of the fathers of the first three hundred years, and the common-place book which he had made from them of controversies. This he desired to be placed in the chapter-house for the use of the dean and prebendaries. A portrait of him is preserved in the deanery.

[Ormerod's History of Cheshire, ed. Hilsby; Earwaker's East Cheshire; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 1120, iv. 255, 864, Fasti, 338; Axon's Cheshire Gleanings.] W. E. A. A.

ARDERNE, JOHN (*fl.* 1370), the first Englishman who displayed much skill in surgery, was a layman, not a doctor of medicine, and practised in the time of Edward III. In the prologue to his 'Practice,' or treatise on the fistula, he says: 'I, John Arderne, from the first pestilence, which was in the year of our Lord 1349, till the year 1370, lived at Newark, in the county of Nottingham.' In 1370 he came to London, and in the same year wrote his book, 'De Arte Medicinæ,' as he tells us in the preface to that work. Arderne gives the names of many patients whom he cured; and among them were persons of distinction, who had served in the French wars; such as Sir Adam Everingham, who was in Gascony with Henry (afterwards Duke) of Lancaster, 'then named Earl of Darby.' His successful treatment of Sir Adam's case, and the consequent favour of the Duke of Lancaster, brought Arderne, as he says, a large practice. He seems also

to have been favoured with the patronage of the Black Prince, who apparently gave him a grant of land in Connaught (*Collections of John Guillim*, Bibl. Bodl. Col. Rawlinson, B. 102, No. 4). He is said to have been present at the battle of Crécy. Beyond this his career cannot be traced: but he mentions many notable cures which he effected in London, on citizens, clergy, and other persons. Fragmentary as his biography is, the works of Arderne are of great interest, both as showing his own skill as a surgeon and as throwing light on the surgery of the time. They still exist, chiefly in Latin, as manuscripts in public libraries, a portion only of one of them having been printed in 1588, translated into English by John Read. The arrangement of the manuscripts is confused, but there seem to be two books, the best known called either 'Practica Johannis Arderne,' or 'Liber de Fistulis,' containing forty-four chapters in some copies; and the other a treatise 'De Arte Medicinæ,' chiefly concerned with herbs and simples. Some copies are illustrated with figures of plants and surgical instruments, and with rude pictures of surgical ailments. In his treatise on fistula, which is the most important part of his works, Arderne exhibits a surgical knowledge far in advance of that of his immediate English predecessors, John of Gaddesden and Gilbertus Anglicus, or Gordon of Montpelier (whom he quotes). He may be better compared with his French contemporary, Guy de Chauliac, whose works he does not appear to have known. His operation for the fistula, which he describes with great minuteness, is virtually the same as that of Paulus Ægineta, and of his Arabian copyists, but pronounced to be impossible by most of the mediæval surgeons; so that from whom Arderne derived it is not clear. His chief authorities are Salernitan and 'Arabistic' writers, especially Constantine and John of Damascus; and he quotes the one book of Galen commonly known in mediæval times, the so-called Pantegni (*τέχνη*). But in general Arderne quotes little; and his surgical precepts are evidently mainly based on his own experience.

In the entire absence of any parade of second-hand knowledge, Arderne's works were singular in an age when most medical writers were nothing more than copyists. He was probably a better surgeon for not being a learned man; though sufficiently a scholar to write tolerable Latin, and quote Boetius and Cato. His descriptions are clear and concise; his remarks practical and full of common sense; in short, he anticipates in a startling manner those qualities which have been known in later times as characteristic of the English school of surgery. The prologue to the treatise on surgery contains directions 'for the behaviour of a leech,' which curiously illustrate the professional life of the time. They exhibit Arderne as a shrewd and worldly-wise man, not at all indifferent to the pursuit of wealth. Arderne's reputation must have been great in his own day, and for two centuries afterwards. Even in the seventeenth century the celebrated Sir Theodore de Mayerne took the trouble to copy out for his own use a great portion of Arderne's works. But the fact that only a small portion of these has been printed is probably the reason why the first English surgeon has not occupied a more prominent place in the history of medicine.

[Pits, De Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 506; Freind's History of Physick, ii. 325 (Engl. Transl. 1726). It is much to be regretted that Arderne's own works are not more accessible. The printed portion is contained in Franciscus Arceus, on Wounds, translated by John Read, London, 1588. The British Museum contains eighteen or more manuscripts, of which may be mentioned Sloane, 6 (English) 56, 335, 341, 2002, 3844, 1991 (the last copied by Mayerne).] J. F. P.

ARDERON, WILLIAM (1703–1767), naturalist, born in 1703, went from Yorkshire to Norwich in the capacity of an officer of excise. His scientific attainments secured for him the friendship of several influential gentlemen in that city, who obtained for him the situation of managing clerk at the New Mills. He became very intimate with Henry Baker, F.R.S., to whose works on the 'Microscope' he largely contributed. Arderon was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1745. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of a defective education, he may be regarded as the founder of a school of naturalists and men of science in Norwich. He died 25 Nov. 1767, and was buried in Heigham churchyard, near Norwich. The last letter he wrote was addressed to Henry Baker, and is in these terms: 'My dear friend. When you receive this you may be asured I am no more. I took this interval to take my last farewell of you, which I now do with the utmost affection. A pluresy amongst the many diseases hath laid a heavy hand upon me and is hard to bear. I have finished a life in which I laboured forty years. In which I had some pleasure, but none equal to your correspondence. I have acquired some fortunes which I have left amongst my poor acquaintance without any regard to any thing but merit.' Dawson Turner, after a careful perusal of

Arderon's correspondence, formed a very high opinion of his merits as a naturalist, and considered him superior to Gilbert White, the author of the 'Natural History of Selborne.'

Arderon is the author of: 1. Numerous contributions to the 'Philosophical Transactions.' 2. 'Remains,' 1745–60; a folio volume of 351 leaves, preserved in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 27966. The contents of this bulky volume are almost entirely on subjects connected with natural history and microscopical science. 3. 'Journals and Observations on Nature and Art,' 6 vols. 12mo, 1742–64; manuscript formerly in the possession of Dawson Turner. 4. 'Correspondence with Henry Baker, F.R.S.,' 4 vols. 4to, 1744–67; manuscript formerly in the possession of Dawson Turner.

[MS. Addit. 23107 f. 28; Cat. of Dawson Turner's MSS., i. pref. xiii, 4, 5, 10, 11; Gent. Mag. xxxvii. 610; Chambers's Norfolk, 1306, 1307; Index to Philosophical Transactions; MS. Birch 4439, art. 541; Thomson's Hist. of Royal Soc. Appendix 44.] T. C.

ARDMILLAN, Lord. [See Crawford.]

ARGALL, JOHN (*fl.* 1604), was admitted to Christ Church, Oxford, in the latter part of Queen Mary's reign; took the degree of M.A. in 1565, and was afterwards presented to the living of Halesworth, in Suffolk. 'He was always esteemed,' says Anthony Wood, 'a noted disputant during his stay in the university; was a great actor in plays at Christ Church (particularly when the queen was entertained there, 1566), and, when at ripe years, a tolerable theologist and preacher.' Two tracts of his are extant: 1. 'De vera Pœnitentia,' London, 1604, 8vo; 2. 'Introductio ad artem Dialecticam,' London, 1605, 8vo. He died suddenly at table on the occasion of a feast at Cheston, near Halesworth, and was buried in Halesworth Church on 8 Oct. 1606.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, i. 760–1.] A. H. B.

ARGALL, RICHARD (*fl.* 1621), is a very shadowy personage. His name is on the title-page of a unique volume of poems (1621, 4to) in Mr. Christie-Miller's library at Britwell. The contents of this volume are: (1) 'The Bride's Ornament, Poetical Essays upon a Divine Subject;' (2) 'A Funeral Elegy consecrated to the memory of his ever honoured lord, John King, late Bishop of London;' (3) 'The Song of Songs metaphrased in English heroicks.' Anthony à Wood, *sub* 'John Argall' (*Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 761, ed. Bliss), writes: 'Now I am got into the name of Argall I must let the reader know that in my searches I find one Richard Argall to be noted in the reign of King James I for an excellent divine poet, having been much encouraged in his studies by Dr. Jo. King, bishop of London, but in what house educated in Oxon, where he spent some time in study, I cannot now tell you.' After enumerating the works mentioned above, he proceeds: 'He also wrote a book of meditations of knowledge, zeal, temperance, bounty, and joy. And another containing meditations of prudence, obedience, meekness, God's word, and prayer. (These latter unpublished.)' But it is very doubtful whether a poet of the name of Richard Argall ever existed. In 1654 the 'Bride's Ornament,' &c., and the 'Meditations' were included in a collection of the poems of Robert Aylett, one of the masters of the high court of Chancery. It is unlikely that the name Richard Argall had been adopted as a *nom de plume*, and it is equally unlikely that a man in Aylett's position would have had the impudence to reissue another person's verses under his own name. From the fact that only one copy is known of the early edition it might be suggested that Aylett, learning of the attempted fraud, succeeded in calling in the copies that had gone abroad under Argall's name. (A Richard Argall, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was rector of Roothing-Aythorp, Essex; he married into the family of the Bramstons: vide 'Autobiography of Sir John Bramston,' p. 23, Camden Society Publications, 1845.)

[Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, ed. Bliss, i. 761; Huth Library Catalogue, sub 'Aylett, Robert.'] A. H. B.

ARGALL, Sir SAMUEL (*d.* 1626), adventurer and deputy-governor of Virginia, was descended from an old Kentish family who afterwards settled at Walthamstow in Essex. His first appearance in history is among the early adventurers to Virginia, where we find him in July 1609 in charge of a small barque lying at anchor off Jamestown, where he was sent to trade on behalf of a Mr. Cornelis, and to fish for sturgeon. His next task, after his return home, appears to have been that of conducting Lord Delawarre from England to Virginia, where they arrived on 6 June 1610, in time to prevent the abandonment of Jamestown by the colonists, who, under the guidance of Sir Thomas Gates, the governor, had already embarked on board four vessels for Newfoundland. For further relief of the colony, Argall was despatched with Sir George Somers to the Bermudas for hogs to replace the stock which the colonists had

eaten up the previous winter; he was, however, separated by stress of weather from Somers, and driven northward to Cape Cod, where he found good fishing, afterwards returning to Jamestown at the end of August (Purchas). In the early part of 1611 he appears to have returned to England with Lord Delawarre, who was in ill health, but not before he had established a trade in corn with the natives above Jamestown. At an early period in his history, Argall appears to have distinguished himself as a skilful seaman by making rapid voyages to Virginia. In September 1612 we find him again at Jamestown after a quick passage of fifty-one days, his course, as he tells us, 'being fifteen leagues northward of the Azores,' the remainder of the year until November being employed in the repair of the ships and boats that he found fast going to decay 'for lacke of pitch and tar,' and in pursuing Indians for their corn with Sir Thomas Dale, the governor, who nearly lost his life. On 1 Dec. Argall set out for his first voyage up the Potomac in search of corn, of which he secured 1,100 bushels for the colony, after giving three men and two boys as hostages to the king of Pastancy. It was while on this business that he devised the well-known stratagem of the abduction of Pocahontas. Argall writes: 'I was told by certaine Indians, my friends, that the great Powhatans daughter Pocahuntis was with the great king Powtowneck, whither I presently repaired, resolving to possesse myself of her by any stratagem that I could use, for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with Powhatan; as also to get such armes and tooles as he and other Indians had got by murther and stealing from others of our nation, with some quantitie of corn for the colonies reliefe.' With this view he went to the king of Pastancy, and told him 'that unless he delivered vp Pocahontas to the English wee would be no longer brothers or friends' (Purchas). This threat, backed up, according to another account, by the promise of a copper kettle, proved too much for the fidelity of king Pastancy, her uncle; Pocahontas was beguiled on board Argall's vessel, and found herself a prisoner. It has long been the fashion to regard this as an infamous act of treachery on the part of Argall, but the wisdom of the enterprise was proved by the English captives being restored and peace secured to the colony. As for Pocahontas, she regarded the abduction as the happiest event of her life, declaring that 'she would dwell with the English, who loved her best.' After handing over his fair captive to Sir T. Gates, Argall proceeded to explore the east shore of Chesapeake Bay, forty leagues to the northward, varied by fishing and trading with the Indians. At this period (12 May 1613) Argall's own narrative ceases (Purchas, part iv. p. 1765). Later in the year he proceeded with a vessel of fourteen guns, under orders to reduce the newly established French settlements of Mount Desart, off the coast of Maine, St. Croix, on an island in the river of the same name, and Port Royal, six miles below Annapolis, Nova Scotia, on the opposite shore of the bay of Fundy, settlements which were regarded by the authorities in Virginia as infringements of their charter. In June 1614 Argall left Virginia for England with his French prisoners, where, soon after his arrival, he was put upon his defence for his late proceedings. His dignified and judicious reply, which completely silenced his adversaries, and which has been strangely overlooked, is preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum (*Otho E.* 8, 29). Of his movements for the next three years we have no certain knowledge. In May 1617 he arrived once more in Virginia as deputy-governor and admiral of the adjacent seas. Few incidents in American colonial history have been more hotly debated than his career during these two years. Recent writers, misled by the apparent but injudicious impartiality of Stith, have hastily and acrimoniously condemned Argall and all his works, in spite of contemporary evidence to the contrary, which has never been gainsayed, of the well-known Captain John Smith and several others. Argall always courted the strictest investigation, while a suit got up mainly by his successor, Sir G. Yardley, who was only too anxious to succeed him, finally collapsed after running a feeble course of four years. On 12 Oct. 1620, Argall served in an expedition against Algiers, under the command of Sir R. Mansell, as captain of a merchant vessel armed with twenty-four guns. The fleet returned in August of the following year without having rendered any real service to the nation. On 26 June 1622 Argall received the honour of knighthood from King James I at Rochester; he was then described as of Walthamstow in Essex (Nichols, *Prog. James I*, iv. 770). As admiral of a squadron of twenty-four English and four Dutch ships, Sir Samuel left Plymouth, 6 Sept. 1625, in search of a fleet of Dunkirkers supposed to be sailing along the coast of France towards Spain. Although he failed to find the fleet, he took other prizes, and returned to Plymouth after a cruise of seven days. On 3 Oct. following, this squadron joined the expedition against

Cadiz under the command of Lord Wimbledon, Argall commanding the Swiftsure as captain, having on board Robert, earl of Essex, as vice-admiral and colonel-general of the land forces. Argall, reconnoitring the town, reported it to be too strongly fortified to be taken except by a regular siege for which no provision had been made, the merchant ships under the command of Argall having been ill supplied and badly paid; the masters, after waiting in vain in hopes of relief from the king (Charles I), refused to serve any longer and returned to Plymouth in December, the expedition proving a failure. We learn from a letter to Buckingham, 28 Jan. 1625–6, that the end of Sir S. Argall was in this wise: 'The master of the Swiftsure being very backward and very cross, as the report was, to his captain Sir Samuel Argall, which broke his heart, and four days since he died.'

[Doyle's English in America, 1882; Hannay's Hist. of Acadia, 1880; Massachusetts Hist. Soc. Coll. 1871, fourth series, vol. ix.; Neill's English Colonization of America, 1871; Nichols's Prog. of James I; Purchas's Pilgrims, 1625, part 4; Smith's Hist. of Virginia, 1627; Stith's Virginia, 1747; Cal. State Papers (Dom. series), 1625–6; Cotton MS. Otho E. 8 (229); Addit. MS. 16279, 429; Harl. Miscell. 13, 137.]

Brown, Hen. Genesis of U.S. C. H. C.

ARGENTINE, GILES DE (*d.* 1283–4), baronial leader, was the son of Richard de Argentine, a justiciar in Normandy, whom he succeeded in 1247. He acted as justice itinerant in 1253, and in 1258 was named by the barons, in the Provisions of Oxford, as one of the twelve permanent representatives of the commonalty, and one of the twenty-four 'a treter de aide le rei' (*Ann. Burt.* 449, 450). In 1263 he was made constable of Windsor, and after the battle of Lewes he appears to have been placed on the supreme council of nine, and to have been one of its three members (acting also as *custodes sigilli*) who were in attendance on the king and Simon de Montfort throughout the campaign of Evesham (*Pat.* 49 *Hen. III*). His lands were subsequently forfeited.

[Dugdale's Baronage of England (1675), i. 614; Foss's Judges (1848), ii. 208.] J. H. R.

ARGENTINE, JOHN, M.D. and D.D. (*d.* 1507–8), provost of King's College, Cambridge, was born at Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, of an ancient and knightly family. In 1457 he was elected from Eton to King's College. After taking the degree of M.D. he was physician and dean of the chapel to Arthur, Prince of Wales. He also obtained various ecclesiastical preferments; was appointed master of the hospital of St. John Baptist at Dorchester in 1499, and was elected provost of King's College, Cambridge, in 1501. He took the degree of D.D. in 1504, and, dying 2 Feb. 1507–8, was buried in his chantry in King's College chapel. There is extant from his pen 'Actus publice habitus in Acad. Cantab. contra omnes regentes Universitatis quoad oppositiones,' 1470, MS. in Corp. Chr. Coll. Oxon. This is said to contain verses on all arts and faculties.

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglic. ed. Hardy; Cox's Cat. of Oxford Coll. MSS.; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 12.] T. C.

ARGENTINE, alias SEXTEN, RICHARD, M.D. (*d.* 1568), physician and divine, went to Ipswich 'in a serving-man's coat,' and afterwards was successively usher and master of the grammar school in that town, where he also practised as a physician and read a lecture in divinity. He was created M.D. by the university of Cambridge in 1541. In the reign of Edward VI he was a protestant; but in the reign of Queen Mary, having lost his wife, he took orders and made himself conspicuous by his advocacy of catholic principles, and by persecuting the reformers. He was instituted to the rectory of St. Helen with St. Clement, Ipswich, in 1556. Shortly before the death of Queen Mary he removed to London, and in the reign of Elizabeth retained his rectory by again becoming a reformer. In January 1563–4 he appears to have been living at Exeter, but the statement that he was a prebendary of Exeter and Wells is without foundation. He probably died in 1568, when his rectory at Ipswich became vacant.

His works are: 1. 'Certeyne Preceptes, gathered by Hulricus Zuinglius, declaring howe the ingenious youth ought to be instructed and brought unto Christ,' Ipswich, 1548, 8vo; a translation from the Latin. 2. 'A ryght notable Sermon made by Doctor Martyn Luther upon the twentieth chapter of Johan of absolution and the true use of the keyes, full of great comforte,' Ipswich, 1548, 8vo; a translation. 3. 'Sermons of the ryght famous and excellent clerke Master Bernardine Ochine,' Ipswich, 1548, 8vo; a translation. 4. 'De Præstigiis et Incantationibus Dæmonum et Necromanticorum,' Bâle, 1568, 8vo. 5. 'Ad Oxonienses et Cantabrigienses pro lingua Arabica beneficio principum restituenda;' MS. in the Bodleian library. 6. Observations about Rome and the popes.

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Wodderspoon's Memorials of Ipswich, 391; MS. Addit. 5862 f. 48; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 275; British Bibliogr. i. 504; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. ed. Herbert, 595, 1456.] T. C.

ARGYLE, or **ARGYLL**, Dukes, Earls, and Marquises of. [See Campbell.]

ARKISDEN, THOMAS (*fl.* 1633), stenographer, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (B.A. 1629–30; M.A. 1633). While at the university he invented a shorthand alphabet, which has acquired a peculiar interest in consequence of its similarity to other early systems of stenography published somewhat later, especially to those of William Cartwright and his nephew, Jeremiah Rich, the latter of whom lays claim in his 'Art's Rarity' (1654) to absolute originality. Edward Howes, writing from the Inner Temple 23 Nov. 1632 to John Winthrop, jun., 'at the Matachussetts in New England,' says: 'As for my vsuall characters, they are that wherewith I conceiue you have bin formerly acquainted, viz^t^, Mr. Arkisdens, whoe hath sent you a letter here inclosed in John Samfords. I thought good to send you his character, for feare you should haue forgotten it;' and he adds that 'the characters are approued of in Cambridge to be the best yet invented, and they are not yet printed nor comon.' The alphabet is given in the 'Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society' (4th ser. vi. 481). Some correspondence with regard to it between Mr. J. E. Bailey and Mr. E. Pocknell appeared in the 'Athenæum' in September 1880.

[Collections of the Massachusetts Hist. Soc.; MS. Addit. 5885 f. 84 *b*; Pocknell's Legible Shorthand (1881), 75–77.] T. C.

ARKWRIGHT, Sir RICHARD (1732–1792), one of the earliest and principal contrivers of machinery on a large scale as a substitute for hand labour in textile manufactures, was born at Preston 23 Dec. 1732. His parents, if not poor, belonged to the humbler ranks of life, and he is said to have been the youngest of thirteen children. Baines (*History of Lancashire*, 2nd ed. 1870, ii. 453) states that 'there are reasons for believing that he was born in a house afterwards occupied by Mr. Clare, hosier, in Lord Street, pulled down about 1854.' Its site, according to Hardwick (*History of Preston*, 1857, p. 361), is now occupied by the south end of Stanley Buildings, Lancaster Road. Hardwick conveys the impression that Arkwright resided there while practising the trade of a barber (p. 361); but as he elsewhere (p. 650), on the authority of Baines, mentions the house as that in which Arkwright was born, he would seem to have been possessed of no independent information on the subject. Arkwright is said to have served his apprenticeship to one Nicholson of Preston (Whittle, *History of Preston*, 1837, ii. 213), but there is no evidence that he set up in business in that town. Besides his apprenticeship to a barber, all that is known of his early life is that his uncle Richard taught him reading, and that, probably while an apprentice, he attended a school during the winter months (Whittle, p. 213). By making the most of his opportunities he perhaps acquired a somewhat better education than was then customary in the lower ranks of life. At the age of fifty he indeed felt its defects so much in conducting his correspondence and the management of his business, that he encroached upon his sleep in order to gain an hour each day to learn English grammar, and another hour to improve his writing and orthography (Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, p. 195), but his perseverance in these tasks at such an age would seem to indicate a considerable amount of original training. Soon after the close of his apprenticeship he is supposed to have settled in Bolton, probably about 1750 (Clegg, *Chronological History of Bolton*, p. 15). In any case his settlement there took place before his marriage, 31 March 1755, in the parish church of the town, to 'Patients, daughter of Robert Holt of Bolton, schoolmaster.' Baines (*History of Cotton Manufacture*, p. 148) states that he established himself at Bolton in the year 1760, but this apparently is a mere misreading of a statement of Guest (*Compendious History*, p. 21) that Arkwright was living in Bolton as a barber at that particular date. There is no information as to when the first wife of Arkwright died, but on 24 March 1761 he was married for the second time in the parish church of Leigh to Margaret Biggins of Pennington. Shortly before or shortly after his second marriage, Arkwright removed from his small shop in Churchgate to a better one at the end of the passage leading up to what was then the White Bear public-house. The small property, 'perhaps of the value of 400*l.*,' possessed by his wife, though settled on herself, was probably advantageous in assisting him to develope his business; for about this time indications of his enterprising spirit become visible in his engaging as his journeyman a workman from Leigh specially skilled in making the strong country wigs then in general use. Shortly afterwards he began to travel through the country to buy human hair, attending for this purpose the hiring fairs frequented by young girls seeking service. He had got possessed of a valuable chemical secret for dyeing it, and thus was enabled to add to his business a new source of profit, by selling the hair dyed and prepared

to the wigmakers (Guest, *Compendious History*, p. 21).

The gradual disuse of wigs is assigned by some as the reason why Arkwright began to turn his attention to mechanical inventions as likely to afford him a new source of income; but, as during his journeys he was brought into constant intercourse with persons engaged in weaving and spinning, his inquisitive and strongly practical intelligence would in any case have been naturally led to take a keen interest in inventions which were a constant topic of conversation among the manufacturing population. The invention of the fly shuttle by Kay of Bury had so greatly increased the demand for yarn, that it began to be impossible to meet it merely by hand labour. A machine for carding cotton had been introduced into Lancashire about 1760 (Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, p. 175), but until 1767 spinning continued to be executed wholly by the old-fashioned hand wheel. It was in that year that Hargreaves had completed his invention of the spinning-jenny, which he patented in 1770. The thread spun by the jenny was, however, suitable only for weft, and the roving process still required to be performed by hand. Probably Arkwright knew nothing of the experiments of Hargreaves, when, in 1767, he asked Kay, a clockmaker then residing at Warrington, to 'bend him some wires and turn him some pieces of brass' (Evidence of Kay, Trial, June 1785, p. 62). Shortly afterwards Arkwright gave up his business at Bolton, and devoted his whole attention to the perfecting of a contrivance for spinning by rollers. After getting Kay to construct for him certain wooden models, which convinced him that the solution of the problem had been accomplished, he is said to have applied to a Mr. Atherton of Warrington to make the spinning-machine, who, from the poverty of Arkwright's appearance, declined to undertake it (Aikin, *General Biography*, 1799, i. 391). He, however, agreed to lend Kay a smith and watch-tool maker to do the heavier part of the engine, and Kay undertook to make the clockmaker's part of it. Arkwright and Kay then proceeded to Preston, where with the co-operation of a friend of Arkwright, Mr. John Smalley, described as a 'liquor merchant and painter,' the machine was constructed and set up in the parlour of the house belonging to the Free Grammar School. The room seems to have been chosen for its secluded position, being hidden by a garden filled with gooseberry trees; but the very secrecy of their operations aroused suspicion, and popular superstition at once connected them with some kind of witchcraft or sorcery. Two old women who lived close by averred that they heard strange noises in it of a humming nature, as if the devil were tuning his bagpipes and Arkwright and Kay were dancing a reel; and so much consternation was produced that many were inclined to break open the place (Whittle, *History of Preston*, ii. 216). The building has since been changed into a public-house, which is known as the Arkwright Arms. As a proof of the straits to which Arkwright was then reduced and the degree to which he had sacrificed his comfort in order to obtain the means of completing his invention, it is stated that his clothes were in such a ragged state that he declined, unless supplied with a new suit, to go to record his vote at the Preston election of 1768, which took place while he was engaged in setting up his machine. Having thoroughly satisfied himself of the practical value of his invention, Arkwright removed to Nottingham, already an important seat of the stocking trade, whither Hargreaves, the inventor of the spinning-jenny, had the year previously removed, after his machines had been destroyed by a mob at Blackburn. Arkwright entered into partnership with Smalley from Preston, Kay continuing with him under a bond as a workman; and they erected a spinning-mill between Hockley and Woolpack Lane, a patent being taken out by Arkwright for the machine 3 July 1769.

The spinning-frame of Arkwright (see the drawing of the original one in Baines's *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, p. 153, and Ure's *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, i. 255; and of the water-frame in Ure, p. 276, and Guest's *Compendious History*, plate 9) was the result of inventive power of a higher and rarer order than that necessary to originate the spinning-jenny. It was much more than a mere development of the old hand-wheel. It implied the application of a new principle, that of spinning by rollers; and in the delicate adjustment of its various parts, and the nice regulation of the different mechanical forces called into operation, so as to make them properly subordinate to the accomplishment of one purpose, we have the first adequate example of those beautiful and intricate mechanical contrivances which have transformed the whole character of the manufacturing industries. The spinning-frame consisted of four pairs of rollers, acting by tooth and pinion. The top roller was covered with leather to enable it to take hold of the cotton, the lower one fluted longitudinally to let the cotton pass through it. By one pair of rollers revolving quicker than another the rove was drawn to the requisite fineness for twisting,

which was accomplished by spindles or flyers placed in front of each set of rollers. The original invention of Arkwright has neither been superseded nor substantially modified, although it has of course undergone various minor improvements.

The first spinning-mill of Arkwright was driven by horses, but finding this method too expensive, as well as incapable of application on a sufficiently large scale, he resolved to call in the aid of water-power, which had already been successfully applied for a similar purpose, notably in the silk mill erected by Thomas Lombe on the Derwent at Derby in 1717. In 1771 Arkwright therefore went into partnership with Mr. Reed of Nottingham and Mr. Strutt of Derby, the possessors of patents for the manufacture of ribbed stockings, and erected his spinning-frame at Cromford in Derbyshire, in a deep, picturesque valley near the Derwent, where he could obtain an easy command of water-power from a never-failing spring of warm water, which even during the severest frost scarcely ever froze. From the fact that the spinning-frame was driven by water, it came to be known as the water-frame: since the application of steam it has been known as the throstle. As the yarn it produced was of a much harder and firmer texture than that spun by the jenny, it was specially suited for warp, but the Lancashire manufacturers declined to make use of it. Arkwright and his partners, therefore, wove it at first into stockings, which, on account of the smoothness and equality of the yarn, were greatly superior to those woven from the hand-spun cotton. In 1773 he began to use the thread as warp for the manufacture of calicoes, instead of the linen warp formerly used together with the cotton weft, and thus a cloth solely of cotton was for the first time produced in England. It met at once with a great demand, but, on account of an act passed in 1736 for the protection of the woollen manufactures of England against the calicoes of India, it was liable to a double duty, which, at the instance of the Lancashire manufacturers, was speedily enforced. Notwithstanding their strenuous opposition, Arkwright, however, in 1774 obtained an act specially exempting from extra duty the 'new manufacture of stuffs wholly made of raw cotton wool.' Up to this time more than 12,000*l.* had been expended by Arkwright and his partners on machinery with little or no return, but after the new act the cotton manufacture created by his energy and genius developed with amazing rapidity, until it became the leading industry of the north of England.

While struggling against the mingled inertness and active opposition of the manufacturers, Arkwright had all the while been busily engaged in augmenting the capability and efficiency of his machinery, and in 1775 he brought out a patent for a series of adaptations and inventions by means of which the whole process of yarn manufacture—including carding, drawing, roving, and spinning—was performed by a beautifully arranged succession of operations on one machine. With the grant of this patent every obstacle in the way of a sufficient supply of yarn was overcome, and, whatever might happen to Arkwright, the prosperity of the cotton manufacture was guaranteed. Afterwards the invention was adapted for the woollen and worsted trade with equal success.

Meanwhile Arkwright, besides building several additional cotton mills, sold grants of his patents to numerous cotton spinners in the northern and midland counties. By 1782 he concluded that a business had in this way been formed which employed upwards of five thousand persons and a capital on the whole of not less than 200,000*l.* New difficulties, however, began to arise in his path. In 1779 serious riots occurred in Lancashire, and a mill which Arkwright had erected at Chorley at great expense was completely sacked. Up to this time the incompetency of his workers and mechanics and the slow sale of his yarn had almost daunted his energy. The destruction of his mill, happening when it did, strained his resources, therefore, to their utmost limits, while the increasing infringements of his patent threatened to extinguish one of his most valuable sources of profit. For a time he was baffled in his attempts to proceed against the infringers, on account of the precautions they made use of to conceal their operations, for they took care that none but persons sworn to secrecy should be employed as workmen. At last in 1781 he brought an action against nine firms. The first cause selected for trial was that against Colonel Mordaunt, who at once admitted his use of Arkwright's machine, but pleaded insufficiency of specification in the patent, and on that ground Arkwright was nonsuited. In the following year Arkwright dissolved his partnership with Reed and Strutt, retaining in his own hands the mill at Cromford. Shortly afterwards he drew up a statement of his 'Case,' in which, after recording his difficulties and disappointments, he concluded by praying that the 'legislature would be pleased to confirm, connect, and consolidate the two letters patent so as

to preserve to him the full benefit of his invention for the remainder of the term yet to come in the *last* patent.' The one patent would expire in 1783 and the other in 1789. Although the statement was circulated among members of parliament, no further action was taken by him to influence the legislature in the matter. In 1785 he, however, made a new effort to enforce the validity of his second patent, and in the court of Common Pleas an action against its infringement, where the plea of insufficiency of specification was set up, was decided in his favour. This verdict greatly alarmed the cotton-spinners, for, owing to the verdict of 1781, the unauthorised use of the patent had grown so greatly that in 1785 it was calculated that thirty thousand persons were employed in establishments set up in defiance of it, the capital expended on buildings being about 300,000*l*. Several of the manufacturers, therefore, combined in self-defence, and obtained from the lord chancellor a writ of *scire facias* for a new trial. The case was tried in the court of King's Bench before Mr. Justice Buller and a special jury, 25 June 1785, when for the first time Arkwright's claim to the invention was disputed. The points on which the jury had to decide were stated by the judge to be three: '1. Is the invention new? 2. Is it invented by the defendant? 3. Was it sufficiently described in the specification?' To answer any of these questions in the negative was of course fatal to the patent. The judge summed up unmistakably for the crown against Arkwright on every point, and the jury without a moment's hesitation brought in their verdict for the crown. On 10 Nov. Arkwright moved for a rule to show cause why there should not be a new trial, alleging that he had new evidence to contradict that adduced against the originality of the invention; but the application was refused, the mere ability to give more evidence not being regarded as a sufficient reason for the rule. On the 14th of the same month judgment was given to cancel the letters patent.

For deficiency in the specification no amount of new evidence could atone, and the judge was persuaded that on this point as well as the others Arkwright 'had not a leg to stand upon.' It was proved that Arkwright had given directions that the specification should 'be as obscure as the nature of the case would admit;' but besides this he had introduced into it articles intended to render it unintelligible, and some of which, if put into operation, would inevitably have spoiled the cotton. The deficiency of specification he had also in his statement of his 'Case' in 1782 practically admitted, though asserting that, so far from intending to perpetrate 'a fraud upon his country,' he was 'anxiously desirous of preserving to his native country the full benefit of his inventions.' It is to be presumed, however, that he had more reason to dread infringements of his patents at home than abroad; and as this was of itself sufficient reason for his desire to make the specification obscure or misleading, it is not absolutely necessary to suppose either that he wished to utilise to his own special advantage improvements which were not his own invention, or that he designed to preserve to himself the benefits of his patents beyond the legal period of fourteen years.

In regard to the originality of the invention the opponents of Arkwright sought to prove that the whole series of machines included in the patent were stolen by Arkwright from others, his sole title to originality being the combination of them into one machine. This implied the denial of his right to the spinning patent of 1769, which had expired in 1783, but was practically continued to him by the patent of 1775. In support of their allegation in reference to this patent the opponents of Arkwright relied chiefly on two witnesses, Kay, the watchmaker, who had made the models for Arkwright, and Thomas Highs or Hayes, a reedmaker at Leigh, whom Kay asserted to be the original inventor of the models. The evidence of Kay was tainted by the fact that he was confessedly guilty of a fraud in revealing to Arkwright the secret of Highs, that he had fled from Arkwright when threatened with a charge of felony, and that he had in conversation represented himself to be the author of the invention. Further, it does not appear that he was ever treated by Arkwright otherwise than as a mere workman, which may of course have been owing to the superior astuteness and force of character of the latter, although it is scarcely compatible with the supposition that he was indebted to Kay for the whole secret of the invention. The evidence of Kay was confirmed by that of his wife in so far as concerned the assertion that he had made models for Highs. Kay had undoubtedly been employed by Highs to make models, but this does not render it impossible that Arkwright, having some previous acquaintance with Kay at Leigh, employed him at Warrington simply on the ground of this acquaintance, and because, wishing to carry on his experiments secretly, it was easier to do so at a distance from Bolton. The evidence of Highs was on several important points both obscure and

contradictory. He asserted that he had made rollers for spinning in 1767 on the principle of the one set going faster than the other, but confessedly they must have been incapable of performing the operation of spinning, for he admitted that it was not till 1769—that is the year after Arkwright removed to Nottingham—that he had hit on the contrivance of having the one roller fluted and the other covered with leather, a contrivance without which it was impossible that a machine constructed on Arkwright's principles could work. Further, none of the machines by which Highs asserted that he had spun cotton as an experiment were ever produced, and on this ground alone Arkwright—if it be merely a question between his word and that of Highs—must be held to possess the preferable claim to the invention. That Arkwright was not over-scrupulous in his business dealings appears sufficiently probable from the fact that he applied for his first patent as Richard Arkwright, *clockmaker*, although he may have done so merely on account of the awkwardness of applying for it in the character of a barber. A punctilious regard for the rights of inventors was, moreover, not a characteristic trait of those among whom Arkwright lived, and he may not have considered himself very blameworthy in utilising the ideas of Highs, which, in the words of Highs, had not then 'been brought to bear.' At the same time, even if he were indebted to Highs at all, it may have been for nothing more than a knowledge of the inventions of Paul, who had obtained patents for spinning by rollers in 1738 and 1758. So radically different, however, were the machines of Paul from that of Arkwright that probably when the latter constructed it, he possessed no accurate knowledge of what had been done by Paul. Not only did Paul fail to solve satisfactorily the problem of spinning by rollers, but probably it never could have been solved by one following the lines which he had adopted. (See drawing of Lewis Paul's spinning machine, patent 1758, in Baines's *Cotton Manufacture*, p. 139.)

The machine of Arkwright was adapted for roving by means of a revolving can which a witness asserted he had used in 1774, although, as it happened, the can had been made for him by two men in Arkwright's employment. For the process of carding additions and improvements of great ingenuity were affixed to the carding cylinder patented by Paul in 1748, transforming it into an entirely new machine. The most important of these were the crank and comb, said to have been used by Hargreaves, but which it is now known that Hargreaves stole from Arkwright (see Baines, *Cotton Manufacture*, p. 178); the perpetual revolving cloth called the feeder, said to have been used by John Lees, a quaker of Manchester, in 1772, but which Arkwright had undoubtedly used previously at Cromford; and filleted cards on the second cylinder which also must have been used by Arkwright in 1772, although a manufacturer named Wood claimed to have first used them in 1774 (see Ure, *Cotton Manufacture*, ii. 24). Indeed the whole of the complicated self-acting machinery which without the intervention of hand labour performed the different processes necessary to change raw cotton into thread suitable for warp, was substantially the invention of Arkwright; and while each separate machine was in itself a remarkable triumph of inventive skill, the construction of the whole series, and the adaptation of each to its individual function in the continuous succession of operations, must be regarded as an almost unique achievement in the history of invention.

It is from the construction of the mills of Arkwright that we may properly date the origin of the factory system, with its minute division of labour and the regular uninterrupted co-operation of numerous individuals in the different processes of machinery. In overcoming the prejudices of workers, in accustoming them to unremitting diligence during the stated hours of labour, in training them for their particular tasks and inducing them to conform to the regular celerity of the machinery, Arkwright displayed an energy and perseverance perhaps of a higher kind, if less rare, than that which enabled him to originate his inventions. His whole arrangements were framed with the utmost forethought and care, and from the beginning he enforced scrupulous cleanliness and the most systematic order. So admirable were his plans of management that they cannot be said to have yet been in any degree superseded, and their general adoption doubtless rendered the introduction of the factory system much smoother and easier than it would otherwise have been.

The prosperity of Arkwright suffered no serious check from the cancelling of his patents. His experience and extraordinary business capacity, and the start he had obtained, enabled him to retain an advantage over other manufacturers. 'For several years he fixed the price of cotton twist, all other spinners conforming to his prices' (Baines, *Cotton Manufacture*, p. 193). About 1784 Arkwright had visited Scotland, and assisted David Dale in planning the erection of the New Lanark mills, afterwards associated

with the socialistic experiments of Robert Owen; but if he entered into partnership with Dale this was dissolved after the adverse decision in reference to the patent. Several additional mills were, however, erected by him both in Derbyshire and Lancashire, and, notwithstanding a distressing asthmatic affection, he continued to the last actively interested in their management and the introduction of improvements. In 1790 he erected Boulton and Watt's steam engine in his mill at Nottingham. In 1786 Arkwright received the honour of knighthood from George III on the occasion of presenting him with a congratulatory address from the wapentake of Wirksworth on his escape from assassination by Margaret Nicholson. In the following year Arkwright was chosen high sheriff of Derbyshire. He purchased the manor of Cromford in 1789, and shortly afterwards obtained the grant of a market for the town. He had begun the erection of a church, and also of Willersley Castle for his own residence, when a complication of disorders resulted in his death 3 Aug. 1792.

Carlyle, forming his opinion from the well-known portrait of Arkwright, describes him as 'a plain, almost gross, bag-cheeked, pot-bellied Lancashire man, with an air of painful reflection, yet also of copious free digestion.' Arkwright possessed an energy which would scarcely allow him a moment's rest. He generally laboured 'in his multifarious concerns from five o'clock in the morning till nine at night,' and utilised all his time to the best possible advantage. Bad or careless work roused his stern wrath. For the success of his schemes he was ready to endure any personal inconvenience and suffer the severest sacrifices. From the beginning he was so sanguine of the vast results that would follow his inventions 'that he would make light of discussions on taxation and would say that he would pay the national debt' (Baines, *Cotton Manufacture*, p. 196).

[Case of Richard Arkwright and Company in 1782; Reports of Trials, 17 Feb. 1785 and 25 June 1785; Guest's Compendious History of the Cotton Manufacture (1823), and British Cotton Manufacture (1828); Baines's History of Lancashire, and History of Cotton Manufacture; Ure's Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, and Philosophy of Cotton Manufacture; Edinburgh Review, vol. xlvi.; Quarterly Review, vol. cvii.; Aikin's General Biography, i. 389–92; Beauties of England and Wales, iii. 512–24, and ix. 278–82; Kennedy's Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade, in Memoirs of Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, 1819; Histories of Preston, by Whittle, vol. ii. (1837), and by Hardwick (1857); Smiles's Self-Help; Espinasse's Lancashire Worthies, vol. i. (1871).] T. F. H.

ARKWRIGHT, RICHARD (1755–1843), only son of Sir Richard Arkwright by his first wife, Patience Holt, was born at Bolton, 19 Dec. 1755. He was brought up to his father's business, and received from him a mill at Bakewell. On his father's death he removed to Willersley. Possessing good business talents and habits of great punctuality, he carried on the extensive concerns which he inherited, with thorough success, and at his death was probably the richest commoner in England. He was specially careful of the health of his workpeople, and introduced into his mills improved methods of warming and ventilating. From the Horticultural Society he received a medal for a new method of cultivating grapes. In 1780 he married Mary, daughter of Adam Simpson of Bonsall, by whom he had six sons and five daughters. He died at Willersley on 23 April 1843.

[Gent. Mag. new series, xix. 655–7; Annual Register, lxxxv. 252–3.] T. F. H.

ARLINGTON, Earl of. [See Bennet.]

ARMIN, ROBERT (*fl.* 1610), actor and dramatist, was living in 1610. From a chapter in 'Tarlton's Jests and News out of Purgatory,' 1611, headed 'How Tarlton made Armin his adopted son to succeed him,' we learn that Armin was apprenticed to a goldsmith in Lombard Street; that he became acquainted with Richard Tarlton, the famous performer of clowns and jesters in Queen Elizabeth's time; that Tarlton prophesied that Armin should be his successor in clown's parts; and that Armin, from his regard for Tarlton, frequented the plays in which he acted and perhaps acquired something of his humour. Afterwards Armin was able to display his own abilities as an actor at the Globe Theatre on the Bankside. Tarlton died in 1588. If his pupil Armin was then seventeen or so, he was born about 1570, and must have been an actor of some position when, in 1603, James I. granted his patent to the players, wherein the name of Armin comes last but one. He is supposed to be the Robert Armin who was the author of 'A Brief Resolution of the Right Religion,' printed in 1590, and of other publications, and who was described in 'Pierce's Supererogation,' 1593, as one of 'the common pamphleteers of London.' The name of Robert Armin is also attached to a publication in 1604, entitled 'A True Discourse of the practices of Elizabeth Caldwell and others to poison her husband.' Armin was probably a member of the company of actors performing under the patronage of Lord Chandos. He is believed to have joined the Lord Cham-

berlain's players in 1598, and to have accompanied them to Scotland in the following year. In 1608 he published a work called 'A Nest of Ninnies' (reprinted by the Shakspeare Society), and in 1609, styling himself 'servant to the King's most excellent Majesty,' he printed a play: 'The Two Maids of More Clacke, with the Life and simple manner of John in the Hospital,' as it was acted by 'the children of the King's Majesty's Revels.' Armin is enumerated as one of the original representatives of Ben Jonson's 'Alchemist' in 1610. From a passage in Armin's next tract, 'The Italian Tailor and his Boy,' 1609, it has been concluded that Armin had played the part of Dogberry, succeeding to that duty upon the death or the departure from the Lord Chamberlain's players of William Kemp, the original Dogberry. About 1611 John Davies of Hereford published his 'Scourge of Folly,' in which a long 'epigram' was devoted to 'honest gamesome Robin Armin,' and testimony was borne to the worth of his private character, and the excellence of his public performances. In 1615 was published a play, the 'Valiant Welshman,' purporting to have been written by R. A.: the publisher may have wished the public to infer that Robert Armin was the author. The date of his death is not known. The London parish registers have been vainly searched for evidence of his burial. Apparently he left no will, nor were there issued any letters of administration of his estate.

[Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare, by J. Payne Collier, 1846; Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets, 1691.] D. C.

ARMINE or **ARMYNE**, LADY MARY (*d.* 1675–6), remarkable for her learning, piety, and benevolence, was the daughter of Henry Talbot, fourth son of George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, and second wife of Sir William Armyne, baronet, of Osgodby, Lincolnshire [q. v.]. Her first husband was Thomas Holcroft, Esq. Lady Mary's accomplishments included a good knowledge of French and Latin, and wide reading in divinity and history. Her business capacity is applauded at length by her biographer, and her personal beauty and activity, which characterised her old age no less remarkably than her youth, were frequently commented on by her contemporaries. She devoted her wealth to many charitable objects. At the time of the 'ejection of the two thousand' ministers 'on the fatal Bartholomew day [1662] she gave 500*l.* to Mr. Edm. Calamy, to be distributed among the most indigent and necessitous families of them,' and the 'godly ministers' seldom appealed to her in vain for assistance in pecuniary difficulties. She took a similarly practical interest in the missionaries engaged in converting the Indians of North America. At home, she founded three hospitals, one at Barton Grange, in Yorkshire, and by her will left 40*l.* per annum to be applied to charitable purposes for ninety-nine years. She died 6 March 1675–6, over eighty years of age. Her portrait was painted by Cornelius Jansen, and is now at Welbeck. An elegy 'upon the much-lamented death of the truly honourable, very aged, and singularly pious lady, the Lady Mary Armine' was written by John Sheffield, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire.

[Samuel Clarke's Lives of sundry Eminent Persons in this Late Age (1683); Wilford's Lives of Eminent Persons; Granger's Biographical History, iv. 175.] S. L. L.

ARMINE, RICHARD DE. [See AYREMINNE, RICHARD DE.]

ARMINE, WILLIAM DE. [See AYREMINNE, WILLIAM DE.]

ARMINE, or **ARMYNE**, SIR WILLIAM (1593–1651), parliamentarian, was the son of Sir William Armine of Osgodby, Lincolnshire, where he was born 11 Dec. 1593. The family was of Yorkshire origin, and has been traced to one Sewal de Armyne, stated to be the grandfather of Richard and William de Ayreminne [q. v.], the well-known ecclesiastics of the fourteenth century. The father of our Sir William was M.P. for Grantham in 1588–89, was sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1603, when he was knighted (23 April) by James I, and died at the age of sixty on 22 Jan. 1620–21. The son was created a baronet on 28 Nov. 1619 on payment of 1,095*l.*, married a fortnight afterwards Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Michael Hicks, Knight, and was in 1620 holding the office of sheriff of Huntingdonshire. He was returned as M.P. for Boston in 1621 and 1624, as M.P. for Grantham in 1625, and as M.P. for the county of Lincoln in 1626, 1628, and 1641. In May 1626 he was one of the assistants to the managers of Buckingham's impeachment. In March 1626-7 he was appointed a commissioner for the collection of the arbitrary loan in Lincolnshire, and on his refusal to lend or enter into bond for his appearance before the council was committed to prison in the Gatehouse, Westminster; he was released, at the same time as John Hampden, early in the following year (*Cal. Dom. State Papers*, 1627–8, p. 81; NUGENT'S

Memorials of Hampden, 1860, p. 369). In 1630 he became sheriff of Lincolnshire, and in 1639 sheriff of Huntingdonshire. In the latter capacity in February and March 1639–40 he endeavoured to collect ship-money, but declared himself unable to secure one penny of it. He was an intimate friend and supporter of Sir John Eliot, with whom he corresponded frequently until the latter's death in 1632. Many of his letters, in one of which he urged Eliot (20 Dec. 1631) to publish the 'Monarchy of Man,' are among the manuscripts at Port Eliot. In 1641 he was one of the four members of the House of Commons ordered to accompany Charles I to Scotland. In 1643 he was sent to Oxford by the parliament to discuss terms with the king, and on the failure of his mission proceeded to Scotland to urge the advance of a Scottish army into the north of England. On 12 July 1645 he was nominated a member of a commission to revisit Scotland to treat of 'matters concerning the good of both kingdoms' (*Commons' Journal*, iv. 206). Two days later the House of Commons voted its thanks to Sir William for his 'many and great services to parliament.' On 14 Feb. 1648-9 Armine was appointed by resolution of the commons a member of the council of state, and was reappointed to the office 12 Feb. 1649-50 and 7 Feb. 1650-1. He was a fairly regular attendant at the meetings of the council till the end of March 1651, and during that time served on innumerable committees, especially on those that dealt with finance. He died in April 1651. On Thursday, 1 May, it was resolved by parliament, to show its high sense of Armine's services, that the council of state and the parliamentary committees should 'forbear to sit' on the following Monday afternoon, when Sir William's body was to be 'carried out of town.' On 3 May the council of state ordered every one of its members to attend the funeral, and on 5 May an order was issued, that while the body was being carried for interment from Westminster to Osgodby it should be treated 'according to the civilities due to a person of his condition.'

After the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Hicks, Armine married for the second time Mary Talbot, widow of Thomas Holcroft [see ARMINE, Lady MARY]. By his first wife he had several sons. The eldest, William, who succeeded to the baronetcy, was born 14 July 1622, entered Gray's Inn 18 Nov. 1639, and died 2 Jan. 1657-8. He has been identified with the William Ermyn who was returned to the Long parliament in 1646 as M.P. for Cumberland. His wife Anne and two daughters, Anne and Susan, survived him. The widow married for the second time Baron Belasyse [see BELASYSE, JOHN]. Susan, the younger daughter, married Sir Henry Belasyse, Baron Belasyse's son and heir. She ultimately shared with her sister Anne all her father's estates at Osgodby, and, in 1674, after the death of her husband, who died in the lifetime of his father, was created Baroness Belasyse of Osgodby; she died 6 March 1712–13. Her only son, Henry, succeeded his grandfather as second Baron Belasyse in 1689, and on his death in 1694 that title became extinct. The first husband of Anne Armine, the elder daughter of the second baronet, was Thomas, eldest son of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston [q. v.].

Armine's second son, Theophilus, born 25 June 1623, entered Gray's Inn 18 Nov. 1639, became a parliamentary colonel in the civil wars, and was killed at Pontefract in 1644. Michael, the third son, born 21 Sept. 1625, succeeded his eldest brother in the baronetcy, and died in 1668, when the baronetcy became extinct.

[Blore's Rutlandshire, p. 176; Clarendon's History (1849), i. 395, ii. 541, 573, iii. 117; Cal. Dom. State Papers, 1639–40, 1649–51; Forster's Life of Sir John Eliot; Foster's Admissions to Gray's Inn, p. 17.] S. L. L.

ARMITAGE, TIMOTHY (*d.* 1655), was in the year 1647 'chosen pastor of the first independent [or congregational] church in the city of Norwich.' This was a kind of offshoot or migration from that of the venerable William Bridge's church at Yarmouth. It was erected into a 'separate congregation' on 10 June 1644, 'in the presence of several of their brethren from Yarmouth, who signified their approbation by expressions of the most tender and endeared affection.' The members of both congregations had been exiles in Holland and elsewhere. They returned home on the outbreak of the great civil war. Armitage laboured most unweariedly until his nonconformist congregation was larger than any in the city. He was superintendent (in connection with Bridge) of numerous nonconformist congregations in Norfolk and Suffolk. The following is the title-page of an unusually scarce book by him: 'A Tryall of Faith, or the Woman of Canaan on Matthew xv. 21–24. Together with the Souls Sure *Anchor-hold* on Hebrews vi. 19, with the Wisedome of timely remembring our Creator on Eccles. xii. 1. In severall Sermons by Timothy Armitage, Late Minister of the Gospel in Norwitch' (1661), pp. vi, 479. He died in December 1655.

[Brook's Lives of the Puritans, iii. 254–5; Browne's Engl. Ch. of Norfolk and Suffolk.] A. B. G.

ARMSTRONG, ARCHIBALD (*d.* 1672), jester at the courts of James I and Charles I, commonly called ARCHIE, was born of Scotch parents either at Arthuret in Cumberland (LYSONS, *Magna Britannia*, iv. 13) or at Langholm in Roxburghshire (STARK, *Biographia Scotica*). After gaining a widespread reputation, according to a well-known tradition, as a dexterous sheep-stealer in the neighbourhood of Eskdale (*Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, iii. 479), he was attached at an early age to the household of James VI of Scotland. On his accession to the English throne, Armstrong accompanied the king, and, during the first years of his reign in England, he took a regular part in the 'fooleries' which the master of the revels prepared each evening for James's amusement, but the performances recorded of him consisted mainly of the roughest horseplay (WELDON, *Court of King James*, p. 92). The king, however, evinced a strong attachment for Armstrong, who was characteristically Scotch, and, making him his official court jester, gave him a permanent place among his personal attendants.

Armstrong rapidly took advantage of the influence he acquired at the English court to treat his royal master and the noblemen in his service with the utmost freedom and familiarity, and he was repeatedly the cause of petty imbroglios. The story is told that on one occasion before 1612, when the king was staying with a large company at Newmarket, Armstrong raised a childish quarrel between James and his eldest son, Henry, by ascribing to the prince a greater popularity than his father commanded in the country, and the prince's friends revenged themselves upon the fool's impudent officiousness by tossing him 'every night they could meet him in a blanket like a dog.' Sir Henry Wotton describes an elaborate contest 'at tilt, torny, and on foot,' that took place in London in 1613 'before their Maiesties,' between 'Archy and a famous knight called Sir Thomas Persons,' whom the fool had insulted (*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, ed. 1685, p. 406). On another occasion (9 April 1616) Armstrong addressed a boldly familiar letter to the Earl of Cumberland, lord lieutenant of several northern counties, peremptorily demanding a vacant office for 'my cozen, John Woollsen' (*Dartmouth MSS., Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ii. 19*a*). Similarly, in September 1619, when the king was being meanly entertained by the Earl of Northampton, who had recently been promoted in the peerage, Armstrong openly called James's attention to the small account the earl 'made of him' now that 'he had got what he wanted.' But in spite of his unruly speeches, the king treated Archie with increasing favour, and he not only gained great social distinction, but amassed a large fortune. On 16 May 1611 he was granted a pension of two shillings a day during pleasure, which a month later was re-granted for life, and almost every year James presented him with an elaborate uniform. On 20 Aug. 1618 a patent for making tobacco-pipes was secured to him, and rich presents were frequently made him by the king's friends and suitors. In May 1617, when James was hunting near Aberdeen, he was admitted, with other royal attendants, to the freedom of the city, and was given 'one Portugall ducat' (*Keith-Murray MSS., Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii. 409), and the boroughs of Coventry and Nottingham honoured him with gifts of apparel and money when he was visiting those towns in attendance on the king (NICHOLS's *Progresses of James I*, iii. 430–1, 711). The important place that Armstrong held in court society at the time is further attested by John Taylor, the water poet, who dedicated, in 1621, his 'Praise, Antiquity, and Commodity of Beggary,' to 'the bright eye-dazeling mirrour of mirth, adelantado of alacrity, the pump of pastime, spout of sport, and regent of ridiculous confabulations, Archibald Armestrong, alias the court Archy.' The dedicatory epistle speaks in no complimentary terms of Armstrong's avarice and of his nimbleness of tongue, which makes 'other men's money runne into your purse;' it is, therefore, significant that in the collected edition of Taylor's poems, published in 1630, the epistle was suppressed (HAZLITT, *Prefaces, Dedications, Epistles, selected from Early English Books*, 1874).

In 1623 Armstrong reached the zenith of his public career. Although he condemned the Spanish match with his customary directness of speech (NEAL, *Hist. of Puritans*, ii. 122), he was included at his own desire in the retinue of Prince Charles and Buckingham on their famous visit to Spain. An 'extraordinarie rich coate' for Archie holds an important place in the wardrobe accounts of the expedition (*Denbigh MSS., Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. 224*b*), and just before setting out he created much consternation among 'the privy-chamber gentlemen,' who complained bitterly of the favours bestowed on him, by asking permission to take a servant to wait upon him. While in Spain, Armstrong behaved with unprecedented arrogance. He soon ingratiated himself with the royal family at Madrid, and in a letter to James I, dated 28 April 1623, he wrote that the King of Spain received him in audience when neither 'men of your own nor your son's men can come

nere of him' (*Addit. MSS.* 19402, f. 79). According to his own account Philip IV granted him a pension of which he received in 1631 'the arrearages amounting to 1,500*l.*' (*Authentic Documents of time of Charles I*, ii. 104), and we know that Olivarez, the prime minister, gave him a 'rich suit.' James Howell (*Letters*, p. 136), writing from Madrid (10 July 1623), says that 'our cousin Archie hath more privilege than any,' and that he was often invited to amuse the Infanta in her private chamber, and one day twitted her with the defeat of the Armada. To his English companions he made himself repeatedly obnoxious. Sir Tobie Matthew, one of Prince Charles's attendants, unable to endure his blunt taunts, quarrelled openly with him one day at a public dinner, and before the embassy left Madrid he came to very high words with Buckingham. He 'dared to speak his opinion to the duke,' says Fray Francisco, the author of 'the Narrative of the Spanish Marriage' (published for Camden Soc. p. 252), 'with all the force of truth, blaming severely the manner in which the whole negotiation had been carried on without consistency or truthfulness.' Buckingham, unable to silence Armstrong, threatened to have him hanged, and 'the fool replied in a way worthy of one of better sense: "No one has ever heard of a fool being threatened for talking, but many dukes have been beheaded for their insolence."' On his return to England, Armstrong's continued attacks upon the Spanish match and upon Buckingham rendered him highly popular. Ben Jonson made more or less complimentary references to 'the principal fool of state' in a masque prepared for the court revels on Twelfth Night 1623–4, in the 'Staple of News' (iii. 1), written in 1625, and in his 'Discoveries' (vii. 80), and Bishop Corbet in his 'Poems' (p. 68) spoke of the clamorous applause and laughter provoked by 'salt Archy.'

On the accession of Charles I Armstrong retained his office, and, being permitted as much license as before, wielded for a time no little political power. A petition from William Beloe, a Danish pensioner of the king's mother, shows how jealously he was regarded by the other attendants at court. Beloe states, that the king had given so special a direction for the payment of Archie's entertainment, that he was better off than in the late king's time; and another petition of a later date tells us that Charles I gave Armstrong an estate of 1,000 acres in Ireland. In a letter of much political interest addressed at the end of the year 1628 to the Earl of Carlisle, Archie boldly writes in reference to the murder of Buckingham, that 'the greatest enemy of three kings is gone;' from the same source we learn that Armstrong was married, and that a son had just been born to him whom he named Philip for the 'King of Spain's sake,' and whose godparents comprised five of the highest officials and peeresses in the state. But Armstrong's fall was not far distant. With Archbishop Laud he was, as with Buckingham, never on good terms. The fool openly ridiculed his religious and political principles, and a quarrel between them lingered on for many years. On one occasion Armstrong, having obtained permission to say grace at Whitehall in Laud's presence, blurted out 'Great praise be given to God, and little *laud* to the devil.' The archbishop was at first unable to obtain any redress; his enemies rallied round Armstrong, and the fool continued with impunity to 'belch in his face such miscarriages as he was really guilty of.' But on the Marquis of Hamilton's return from Scotland in 1637 with the news of the rebellion at Stirling in opposition to Laud's new liturgy, the fool, after many expressions of disapproval of the Scotch policy, went a step too far. Meeting the archbishop as he was entering the council chamber at Whitehall on 11 March 1636–7, he shouted out, 'Whoe's feule now? Does not your grace hear the news from Striveling?' Laud at once brought the matter before the council, at which the king and many noblemen were present, and Armstrong was condemned 'to have his coat pulled over his head and be discharged the king's service and banished the king's court.' Armstrong pleaded in vain the privilege of his office; the order was summarily executed, and the post of court-jester was immediately filled up. According to some accounts Laud endeavoured to bring the fool before the Star Chamber, and the mediation of the queen alone prevented the success of this attempt.

For some years after his disgrace Armstrong remained in London. He was seen on one occasion walking disconsolately about Westminster Abbey, dressed in black like a priest, a disguise in which, he said, he could speak with impunity whatever scandal he pleased. But his wealth had enabled him to become a large creditor, and he spent much of his time in mercilessly distraining on his debtors. Many petitions to the privy council and the House of Lords complain of the sharp practices he employed to obtain the repayment of his loans, and from 1638 to 1642 a lawsuit was pending between him and the Dean of York with regard to 200*l.* alleged to be due to him from the latter, and Laud intervened in the clergyman's behalf. One attempt Armstrong made to revenge himself

on the archbishop. In 1641, on Laud's arrest by the order of the commons, he published a small pamphlet entitled 'Archy's Dreams, sometimes Jester to his Majestie; but exiled the Court by Canterburies malice. With a relation for whom an odde chaire stood wide in Hell.' Many instances of Laud's tyrannical cruelty are here adduced, and Armstrong confidently consigns him to hell, to join 'blind Bonner and Woolsey,' whom he introduces 'dancing a galliard.' Almost immediately afterwards Armstrong apparently retired to Arthuret in Cumberland, where, according to a reference to him in a poem on a local topic published in 1656, he became a considerable landowner (*Fatal Nuptials, or the Mournful Marriage*; *London Magazine*, x. 287, 408). In the parish register of Arthuret there are entries of the baptism of 'a base son' of Archibald Armstrong on 17 Dec. 1643; of his marriage, probably for the second time, with Sybella Bell on 4 June 1646; and of his burial 1 April 1672; but no memorial of him in the churchyard survives.

Besides the pamphlet ascribed to him above, he is credited with the authorship of 'A Banquet of Iests: a Change of Cheare. Being a collection of modern Iests, Witty Ieeres, Pleasaunt Taunts, Merry Tales,' the first edition of which was published in 1630. A portrait of Armstrong forms the frontispiece, with the verses inscribed below:

> Archee, by kings and princes graced of late,
> Jested himself into a fair estate.

After the book had passed through three editions, a second part was added in 1633, and a fifth edition of the whole work appeared in 1639. Only a few of the jokes have any claim to originality; the majority are to be found in previous collections. In 1660 there was published in London, 'A choice Banquet of Witty Jests, Rare Fancies, and Pleasant Novels. Fitted for all the Lovers of Wit, Mirth, and Eloquence. Being an addition to Archee's Jests, taken out of his Closet; but never published in his Lifetime.' But the appearance of Armstrong's name on the title-page was probably a bookseller's device; the fact that he was still alive in Cumberland is a certain proof that he was in no way connected with the publication of the work.

[Lysons's Magna Britannia, iv. 13; Calendars of State Papers from 1611 to 1639; Strafford Papers, ii. 133; Osborne, Memorialls of King James in his Works (1682), p. 474; Rushworth, Historical Collections, part 2, vol. i. pp. 470–1; House of Lords Journal, v. 372 *b*, 433 *a*; Doran's History of Court Fools, pp. 196 et seq. (with the supplementary chapter in Chambers's Book of Days, i. pp. 181–5); Gent. Mag. xci. part ii., ciii. part ii.; Thoms's Anecdotes and Traditions (Camden Soc.), p. 67; Nares's Glossary (ed. Halliwell and Wright), i. 31.] S. L. L.

ARMSTRONG, COSMO (*fl.* 1800–1836), line-engraver, was a pupil of Thomas Milton, the landscape-engraver. He was a governor of the Society of Engravers, and he exhibited with the Associated Engravers in 1821. He engraved some plates for Cooke's edition of the British Poets, Sharpe's edition of the British Classics, Kearsley's edition of Shakespeare, Suttaby's edition of the British Classics, Allason's 'Picturesque Views of the Antiquities of Pola,' 1819, and the 'Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.' Among his other works may be noticed 'Camaralzaman and Badoura' and 'The Sleeper awakened,' after Robert Smirke, for Miller's edition of the 'Arabian Nights,' published in 1802; 'Don Quixote's Combat with the Giant Malumbruno,' also after Smirke, for Cadell's edition of 'Don Quixote,' issued in 1818; and small portraits of Michelangelo, Shakespeare, Charles I., after Van Dyck, Lord Byron, after Thomas Phillips, and George IV, after Sir Thomas Lawrence. Cosmo Armstrong possessed much power of execution, but was too irregular in his application and too eccentric in character to take the rank in his profession that he might otherwise have done. He was still living in 1836.

[Raimbach's Memoirs and Recollections, 1843, p. 36; Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 1878.] R. E. G.

ARMSTRONG, EDMUND JOHN (1841–1865), a poet who died in early manhood, was born in Dublin 23 July 1841. As a boy he was distinguished by his adventurous spirit, romantic temper united with humour and love of frolic, and his passionate delight in music and literature. Long rambles among the Dublin and Wicklow mountains gave inspiration and colour to his verse. At the age of 17-18 his religious faith yielded before turbulent moods of scepticism; a disappointment in love added to the gloom of this period. In 1859 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, distinguishing himself highly by his compositions in Greek and Latin verse. Immoderate work and intellectual excitement in the spring of 1860 were followed by severe illness; a blood-vessel in the lung was burst, and the lung seriously injured. A summer of convalescence was passed in Wicklow, and then he found it possible to trace back his way towards christian beliefs. He wintered, 1860–61, in Jersey—a joyous and fruitful season for him, during which much was

seen, felt, and thought. Here began a long correspondence on religious questions with a friend as yet unseen, Mr. G. A. Chadwick. Having returned from a delightful visit to Brittany, he left Jersey reluctantly in midsummer 1861, and spent the warmer months of the year in Ireland. On the approach of winter he again resorted to Jersey, now accompanied by a younger brother, G. F. Armstrong (since professor of English literature, Queen's College, Cork). In April 1862 the brothers started for Normandy, thence visited Paris, and once more returned to Jersey, to bid it a final farewell. Armstrong had now sufficiently recovered to accept a tutorship in the north of Ireland. During his vacation (summer of 1862) he walked much among the Wicklow mountains, and was engaged in writing his poems, 'The Dargle' and 'Glandalough.' In October 1862, now looking forward to the clerical profession, he continued his college course. In April 1863 he read before the Undergraduate Philosophical Society an essay on Shelley, designed partly as a recantation of his earlier anti-christian opinions. In May of the same year he was rapidly producing his longest poem, 'The Prisoner of Mount Saint Michael,' a romantic tale of passion and crime in blank verse, the landscape and local colour having been furnished by Armstrong's wanderings in France. This was followed by the idyllic poem 'Ovoca,' partly dramatic, partly narrative in form. In October 1863 he came into residence at Trinity College, Dublin, and attracted much attention by speeches delivered before the Historical Society, and essays read before the Undergraduate Philosophical Society. Of this latter society he was elected president, and in October 1864 delivered his opening address, 'On Essayists and Essay-writing.' In the winter his health broke down, and he went to reside at Kingstown, where, after an illness of several weeks, he died, 24 Feb. 1865. He was buried at Monkstown, co. Dublin. As a memorial of his genius, his college and other friends published the volume 'Poems by the late Edmund J. Armstrong' (Moxon, 1865). It includes the two longer poems named above, with many lyrical pieces which show much ardour of imagination and mastery of verse. A short memoir by Mr. Chadwick is prefixed. His poems appeared in a new edition, with many added pieces, edited by G. F. Armstrong, in 1877 ('The Poetical Works of Edmund J. Armstrong,' Longmans, Green, and Co.) At the same time, and by the same publishers, were issued a volume of his prose ('Essays and Sketches by Edmund J. Armstrong, edited by G. F. Armstrong'), including essays on Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe's Mephistopheles, E. A. Poe, Essayists and Essay-writing, &c. In the 'Life and Letters of Edmund J. Armstrong, edited by G. F. Armstrong' (1877), a portrait is given. An article on Armstrong, by Sir Henry Taylor, appeared in the 'Edinburgh Review,' July 1878.

[Memoir as above; personal knowledge.] E. D.

ARMSTRONG, GEORGE, M.D. (*fl.* 1767), brother of John Armstrong, the poet, after practising pharmacy at Hampstead, qualified himself as a physician, removed to London, and established in 1769 a dispensary, supported by contributions, for the relief of poor children. This beneficent institution continued to exist for more than twelve years, and it was calculated that not less than 35,000 children were relieved during that time. But it met with small pecuniary support, and in December 1781 its career of usefulness was closed. In 1767 he published an 'Essay on the Diseases most fatal to Infants;' a second edition appeared in 1771, and a third edition, dedicated to Queen Charlotte, in 1777. An enlarged edition appeared in 1808, edited by A. P. Buchan, M.D. To the third edition was appended 'A General Account of the Dispensary for the Infant Poor,' which had been printed, in a shorter form, in 1772. Armstrong claimed that 'no charitable institution was ever established whereby so much good has been done, or so many lives saved at so small an expense,' as by the dispensary he had founded. He dwells with emphasis on the fact that it was the only institution where children were received 'without any letters of admission, provided the parents are really indigent, the case dangerous, and requiring speedy relief.' The date of his death is unknown. In 'Rees's Cyclopædia' he is said to have died 'in obscurity.' He left three daughters (to whom their uncle had bequeathed his property) and a widow.

[Rees's Cyclopædia; Works.] A. H. B.

ARMSTRONG, JAMES, D.D. (1780–1839), Irish unitarian minister, born in 1780 at Ballynahinch, county Down, was the son of John Armstrong, who married a daughter of Rev. John Strong, for thirty-six years (1744–1780) presbyterian minister of Ballynahinch. He was a descendant of John Livingstone, of Killinchy, one of the founders of Irish presbyterianism [see LIVINGSTONE, JOHN]. He was first trained at the Rademon Academy, under Moses Neilson, D.D., after which he became classical assist-

ant to William Bruce, D.D., in the Belfast Academy, and conducted a special class of sacred history. He graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and studied philosophy in Edinburgh under Dugald Stewart. He was licensed 11 May 1806 by Antrim Presbytery (non-subscribing). The same year he received calls to Clonmel and Strand Street, Dublin (2 Oct.); choosing the latter, he was ordained 25 Dec. 1806 by Dublin Presbytery (non-subscribing) as colleague to John Moody, D.D. (*b.* 11 Dec. 1742, *d.* 15 July 1813), after whose death William Hamilton Drummond, D.D. [see DRUMMOND, W. H.], became (25 Dec. 1815) his colleague. He was one of the founders of the Irish Unitarian Society (1830) and of the Association of Irish Nonsubscribing Presbyterians (1835), and he represented the latter body at the celebration of the tercentenary of the reformation at Geneva in August 1835. In the previous year he had received the degree of D.D. from the university of Geneva. He was a member of the Royal Irish Academy. He died very suddenly at Stonehouse on Wednesday, 4 Dec. 1839, having preached on the previous Sunday, and married a couple that very morning. He married Mary Allman, and left two sons (John Strong Armstrong, A.B., president of the Dublin Historical Society, and Rev. George Allman Armstrong, A.B., originally a barrister, who succeeded him in 1841 at Strand Street) and four daughters. A petition from his widow is printed in Parl. Debates on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, 1844. He published: 1. 'A Discourse on Presbyterian Ordination,' and an 'Appendix, containing some account of the Presbyterian Churches in Dublin,' both included in the 'Ordination Service' for James Martineau, Lond. 1829 (this appendix is one of the most valuable contributions yet made to Irish presbyterian biography, being the fruit of most accurate and extensive research). 2. 'The Sin against the Holy Ghost,' Lond. 1836 (sermon before the British and Foreign Unitarian Association). 3. 'A Sermon vindicating the Principles of Unitarian Christianity,' Dublin, 1838 (a discourse originating in local controversy).

[Appendix (as above), p. 77; Bible Christian, 1839, p. 426; Drummond's Memoir and Funeral Sermon, 1840.] A. G.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN, or JOHNIE, of Gilnockie (*d.* 1528), a famous freebooter of the border-country, lived at the Hollows, a stronghold near Langholm, whence he was accustomed to ride abroad with twenty-four able gentlemen well horsed. He never molested any Scot, but from the borders to Newcastle he was a name of terror. On 28 March 1528 James V held a parliament at Edinburgh in which he consulted with his lords and barons as to what measures should be taken to 'stanch all theft and reving within his realm;' and proclamation was made that all lords, barons, and gentlemen should appear at Edinburgh, with a month's victual, to accompany the king on an expedition against the freebooters of Teviotdale, Annandale, and Liddisdale. Hoping to gain favour by submission, Armstrong, with thirty-six followers, came into the king's presence. But the king 'bade take the tyrant out of his sight,' saying, 'What wants this knave that a king should have?' Armstrong offered to maintain himself and forty followers always ready at the king's service, without doing injury to any Scot, and undertook to bring any English subject, duke, earl, or baron, before the king within a fixed number of days. Seeing that his offers were vain, he exclaimed proudly, 'It is folly to seek grace at a graceless face. But had I known this, I should have lived in the borders in despite of King Harry and you both; for I know that Harry would downweigh my best horse with gold to know that I were condemned to die this day.' Then he and his followers were hanged on trees at Carlanrigg Chapel, on the high road to Langholm. Such is the account given in Pitscottie's 'History of Scotland,' p. 145. According to the old Scotch ballad, the king wrote to Armstrong 'to cum and speik with him speidily;' whereupon the Eliots and Armstrongs gathered a 'gallant company' and rode out to bring the king on his way to Gilnockie. At their approach the king turned fiercely on Armstrong—

> Away, away, thou traytor strang,
> Out of my sicht thou mayst sune be.
> I grantit never a traytor's lyfe,
> And now I'll not begin with thee.

He makes large promises to the king, but all to no purpose; and so

> John murdred was at Calinrigg,
> And all his galant companie;
> But Scotland's heart was never sae wae
> To see so many brave men die.
> Because they saved their country deir
> Frae Englishmen; nane were sae bauld,
> Quhyle Johnie lived on the border-syde
> Nane of them durst cum neir his hald.

Buchanan represents Armstrong to have been dreaded alike by Scots and English, and says that, being enticed to seek the king, he rode out with fifty unarmed knights, fell into an ambush, and was brought a prisoner before the king. Bishop Leslie adds that his brother,

George Armstrong, saved his life by turning informer.

Armstrong is also the hero of an English ballad and chap-book. These make him to have lived at Giltnock Hall, in Westmoreland, where he entertained eight score followers. After the battle of Bannockburn the king summoned him to Edinburgh under the pretence of conferring honour upon him. Coming, bravely attended, into the king's presence, he was denounced as a traitor. A desperate fight ensued, in which the streets of the city ran with blood; but at length Armstrong and his men were slain by the king's guards, a page alone escaping to take the news to the widow. The chap-book prefaces the narrative by an account of Armstrong's youthful adventures in the Holy Land.

The Scotch ballad was first published by Allan Ramsay in his 'Evergreen,' who says he took it down from the mouth of a gentleman called Armstrong, of the sixth generation from John. It bears every mark of a high antiquity. The English ballad, which no doubt belongs to the middle of the seventeenth century, is preserved among the 'Bagford' and 'Roxburghe Ballads,' and has been published by Ritson and others. There are several editions of the chap-book, which seems to have been composed early in the last century.

[Ritson's Scottish Songs and Ballads; Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border; Ritson's Select Collection of English Songs; The History of Johnny Armstrong of Westmoreland, n. d. (chap-book); Burton's History of Scotland, iii. 144–6, second edition.] A. H. B.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN, F.R.S. (1673–1742), became major-general and quartermaster-general of the forces, colonel of the royal regiment of foot in Ireland, surveyor-general of the ordnance and his majesty's chief engineer, and was elected fellow of the Royal Society on 2 May 1723. He appears to be the person who, as 'Colonel John Armstrong, Chief Engineer of England,' was the author of part of a work entitled a 'Report with Proposals for draining the Fens and amending the Port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge and the rest of the trading towns in those parts and the navigable rivers that have their course through the great level of the Fens called Bedford Level.' In 'Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica' the authorship of the whole work is ascribed to Colonel John Armstrong, but it is evident that the compiler of the 'Proposals for draining the Fens' was Thomas Badesdale, and that Colonel Armstrong was only the author of the 'Report.'

[Musgrave's MS. Biographical Advertiser, 5718, and Obituary 5727 in British Museum; Gent. Mag. xii. p. 219; London Mag. 1742, p. 205; Thompson's History of the Royal Society, Appendix, p. 35; Badesdale's History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn, &c.] A. S. B.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN, M.D. (1709–1779), poet, physician, and essayist, was born in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire, about the year 1709. His father was a clergyman. He studied at Edinburgh University, and took his degree of M.D. on 4 Feb. 1732, composing for the occasion a 'Dissertatio de Tabe Purulenta,' which he published at Edinburgh in the same year, with a dedication to Sir Hans Sloane. A Latin letter which the author sent to Sir Hans Sloane with a copy of the thesis is preserved in the British Museum (*MS. Sloane*, 4036). Before 1735 Armstrong was practising medicine in London.

At an early age Armstrong began to cultivate poetry. He tells us that the verses entitled 'Winter' (an 'imitation of Shakespeare'), first published in 1770, were written in 1725. Thomson, Mallet, Aaron Hill, and Young received manuscript copies of the verses from the youthful writer, and expressed to him their congratulations. Mallet promised to print the piece, but afterwards changed his mind.

In 1734 Armstrong published, in vol. ii. of the 'Edinburgh Medical Essays,' an essay on 'Penetrating Topic Medicines;' and in the same year he wrote a paper (read before the Royal Society on 30 Jan. 1735, and preserved among the Sloane MSS., No. 4433) on the 'Alcalescent Disposition of Animal Fluids.' His next production was a satirical pamphlet entitled 'Essay for abridging the Study of Physick,' 1735, 8vo. In the following year he made his first appearance as a poet. The 'Œconomy of Love,' 1736, 8vo, was published anonymously; and it is indeed a production which not many men would care to claim. A more nauseous piece of work could not easily be found. When the author reissued the poem in 1768, he had the good sense to cancel some of the worst passages. It was followed by a 'Synopsis of the History and Cure of Venereal Diseases.' In 1741 Armstrong solicited Dr. Birch's recommendation to Dr. Mead for the appointment of physician to the troops going to the West Indies (*Sloane MS.* 4300).

Writing many years afterwards, in 1773, he ascribes his limited success in his profession to the fact that 'he could neither tell a heap of lies in his own praise wherever he went; nor intrigue with nurses; nor associate, much less assimilate, with the

various knots of pert insipid, lively stupid, well-bred impertinent, good-humoured malicious, obliging deceitful, waspy drivelling gossips; nor enter into juntos with people who were not to his liking' (*Medical Essays*). Habitual inertness and a splenetic temperament were probably the real drawbacks to his advancement. Dr. Beattie, in a letter to Sir William Forbes, writes: 'I know not what is the matter with Armstrong, but he seems to have conceived a rooted aversion against the whole human race, except a few friends, which it seems are dead.' In Thomson's 'Castle of Indolence' there is a stanza which is supposed to refer to Armstrong:—

> With him was sometimes join'd, in silent walk
> (Profoundly silent, for they never spoke),
> One shyer still, who quite detested talk:
> Oft, stung by spleen, at once away he broke
> To groves of pine and broad o'ershadowing oak;
> There, inly thrill'd, he wandered all alone
> And on himself his pensive fury wroke,
> Nor ever utter'd word, save when first shone
> The glittering star of eve—'Thank Heaven! the day is done.'

In 1744 appeared the 'Art of preserving Health,' a didactic poem in four books, which sprang at once into popularity, and has passed through several editions down to our own day. In the class of poetry to which it belongs, the 'Art of preserving Health' holds a distinguished place. No writer of the eighteenth century had so masterful a grasp of blank verse as is shown in parts of this poem. The powerful passage descriptive of the plague (book iii.) has been highly praised. As in all didactic poetry, the practical directions are of little interest; but those who value austere imagination and weighty diction cannot afford to neglect Armstrong's masterpiece.

He was appointed, in February 1746, a physician to the Hospital for Lame, Maimed, and Sick Soldiers in London. Five years later (1751) he published 'Benevolence, an Epistle,' which added little to his fame; and in 1753 'Taste, an Epistle to a young Critic,' readable but acrimonious. At this time Dr. Theobald addressed to him two complimentary Latin odes. Armstrong's next venture was a tragedy, 'The Forced Marriage,' written in 1754, but not published until 1770. Much more interesting are the 'Sketches or Essays on various subjects, in two parts,' published in 1758 under the pseudonym of Launcelot Temple. It has been suggested—without evidence—that he was assisted in the composition of these essays by Wilkes, with whom he was nearly acquainted for many years. Always terse, often original, and sometimes brilliant, Armstrong's prose is undeserving of the neglect into which it has fallen.

In 1760 he received the post of physician to the army in Germany. Writing to Wilkes on 3 Nov. of that year, he enclosed a poetical epistle entitled 'Day,' which was published in the following year. A letter in the 'Public Advertiser' of 23 March 1773 accused Wilkes of having published it against the author's wish. In the following number appeared a reply, signed 'Truth,' denying the charge; and this was followed, on 1 April, by a letter, signed 'Nox,' wherein the writer declared that the verses were published at Armstrong's repeated requests and against Wilkes's advice. Several years afterwards there appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (January 1792) the notes of a conversation between Wilkes and Armstrong on the subject of the correspondence in the 'Public Advertiser.' According to this report Armstrong accused Wilkes of having written the three letters in question, Wilkes denying the charge with caustic pleasantry. Whether the letters were written by Wilkes, or whether any such conversation ever occurred, is extremely doubtful; but as to the publication of 'Day' we are able to refer to Armstrong's unpublished letters in the valuable 'Wilkes Correspondence' acquired a few years ago by the British Museum (*Add. MS.* 30867). On 3 Nov. 1760, when sending the epistle to Wilkes, he writes:—'I . . . send you letters by the brace. If you approve of that in rhyme, I wish all the people in Britain and Ireland would read it, that I might be indulged in the vanity of being known for your friend. But if you think it worthy of Mr. Bowyer's press, don't submit it to that severe operation till everything you find wrong in it is altered.' Wilkes ruthlessly excised whatever he thought to be inferior, and exposed a tattered version to the public, indicating the cancelled passages by stars. Moreover, after sending the epistle to press, he seems not to have troubled himself to make any communication on the subject with the author; for on 29 Oct. 1762, unaware that the epistle was already in print, Armstrong wrote from abroad to ask Wilkes to hand over to Millar, the bookseller, 'one strayed ode—item one elegy—item one epistle entitled a "Day," which I shall be glad to clear of a few clouds. You must know I kept only the first copy, which is mislaid, or more probably lost.' The next letter broke off, once for all, the connection between the friends. We print it, for the first time, from Add. MS. 30867, p. 216:—'London, 17 Sept. 1763. Sir,—I thank you for the honour of a letter, and continue sensible of every mark

of friendship I have received from you, which makes me regret it the more that you have for ever deprived me of the pleasure of your conversation. For I cannot with honour or decency associate myself with one who has distinguished himself by abusing my country. I am with all due sincerity, Sir, your most humble servant, John Armstrong.' Had it not been for the publication of the unfortunate 'Day,' he would probably have continued on familiar terms with Wilkes, who (it is supposed) had procured him the post of physician to the army, and to whom he was certainly indebted for much pecuniary help. In some very vigorous lines of Churchill's posthumous satire, 'A Journey,' published in 1764, Armstrong is held up to unsparing ridicule:—

Let them with Armstrong, taking leave of sense,
Read musty lectures on Benevolence,
Or con the pages of his gaping Day,
Where all his former fame was thrown away,
Where all but barren labour was forgot
And the vain stiffness of a letter'd Scot.

One writer after another has asserted that Churchill's attack was provoked by some reflections on himself in 'Day,' but the reader must be extraordinarily lynx-eyed to discover any allusion to Churchill in Armstrong's epistle. It is far more probable that the lines were written at the suggestion of Wilkes, who was on terms of close intimacy with the satirist.

At the recall of the troops from Germany Armstrong returned to London, receiving half-pay for the rest of his life. In 1770 he published, in two volumes of 'Miscellanies,' such works in verse and prose as he wished to preserve. He took this opportunity of printing in his own name the four concluding stanzas of the first canto of the 'Castle of Indolence.' Accompanied by Fuseli, he started in the same year for a tour in France and Italy. At Leghorn he visited Smollett, who was fast sinking into his grave. Under the title of 'A Short Ramble through France and Italy,' 1771, he published some desultory notes taken on the journey. In 1773 he published his last work, 'Medical Essays,' in which he coarsely charges his professional brethren with incompetency and servility.

Armstrong died at his house in Russell Street, Covent Garden, on 7 Sept. 1779, from the effects of a fall. He had been staying in Lincolnshire, and as he was preparing to return home his foot slipped when he was stepping into his carriage. To the surprise of everybody he left the sum of 3,000*l.* As his pension and his very small practice were his sole means of support, he must have lived somewhat parsimoniously.

There is a mezzotint portrait of him, from a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, inscribed 'John Armstrong, M.D. The suffrage of the wise, the praise that's worth competition is attained by sense alone and dignity of mind.' One who knew him well, Dr. Cuming, of Dorchester, has set down his character briefly as follows:—'He always appeared to me (and I was confirmed in this opinion by that of his most intimate friends) a man of learning and genius, of considerable abilities in his profession, of great benevolence and goodness of heart, fond of associating with men of parts and genius, but indolent and inactive, and therefore totally unqualified to employ the means that usually lead to medical employment, or to elbow his way through a crowd of competitors.'

[The original editions of his works; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, ii. 275, &c.; Public Advertiser, 23 and 24 March and 1 April 1773; Gentleman's Magazine, January 1792; Add. MSS. 30867 and 30875.] A. H. B.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN (1771–1797), journalist and writer of verses, was born of humble parents, at Leith, in June 1771. After attending the Grammar School of that town and the High School of Edinburgh, he entered Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.A. In 1789 he published 'Juvenile Poems, with remarks on Poetry, and a Dissertation on the best means of punishing and preventing Crimes.' These poems, if stilted in style and hackneyed in sentiment, are characterised by general good taste and some artistic finish. Their publication obtained for him the honour of being invited to compose the words of the songs used in connection with the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Edinburgh University buildings. While tutor in a family in Edinburgh, Armstrong pursued the theological studies necessary to qualify him to become a preacher in the church of Scotland, but in 1790 he removed to London, where he obtained employment on one of the daily papers at a small weekly salary. In 1791 he published a collection of poems, under the title 'Sonnets from Shakspeare.' His literary prospects continued gradually to improve, and he was in receipt of a considerable income, when his health began suddenly to give way. He retired to Leith, where he died of a rapid decline, July 21, 1797.

[Memoir in Edinburgh Magazine, new series, vol. x. pp. 254–5, which contains some additional details to those given in Monthly Magazine, vol. iv. pp. 153–4, and Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxvii. part 2, pp. 731–2.] T. F. H.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN, senior (1784–1829), physician, was born, 8 May 1784, at Ayres Quay, near Bishop Wearmouth, county Durham, where his father, George Armstrong, a man of humble birth, was a superintendent of glass works. He was educated at first privately and afterwards studied medicine at the university of Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D. in 1807 with a dissertation, 'De Causis Morborum Hydropicorum.' He practised at his native place and in the adjoining town of Sunderland, and was physician to the Sunderland Infirmary. In 1811 he married Sarah, daughter of Mr. Charles Spearman, by whom he left a family, including a son John, who became bishop of Grahamstown [q. v.]. While at Sunderland he published, besides several memoirs in the 'Edinburgh Medical Journal,' two works, 'Facts and Observations relative to the Fever commonly called Puerperal' (London, 1814), and 'Practical Illustrations of Typhus and other Febrile Diseases' (London, 1816), by which he became favourably known to the medical profession. In 1818 he removed to London and published 'Practical Illustrations of the Scarlet Fever, Measles, Pulmonary Consumption' (London, 1818), which added to his reputation. In the next year he was appointed physician to the London Fever Institution (now called Hospital), an office which he resigned in 1824, and in 1820 became licentiate of the College of Physicians.

Dr. Armstrong rapidly acquired a large practice and also became a very successful and popular teacher of medicine. In 1821 he joined Mr. Grainger, an eminent teacher of anatomy, as lecturer on medicine at the school at that time being founded by the latter in Webb Street, which, before the complete development of the great hospital schools, was one of the most important in London. In 1826 he joined Mr. Bennett in founding another school in Little Dean Street, Soho, and for some time lectured on medicine in both institutions. In 1828 failing health compelled him to give up teaching, and he died of consumption on 12 Dec. 1829, at the early age of 45.

There can be no doubt of Dr. Armstrong's great energy and brilliant talents, though the rapidity of his success and the fact of his being unconnected with any of the greater medical schools caused his career to be watched with much surprise and possibly a little jealousy. His opinion was, however, highly valued by his professional brethren.

Dr. Armstrong's works on fevers became extremely popular in this country and America, and they have the merit of being founded entirely on his own observations. Their importance has, however, been greatly diminished by later discoveries, and especially by the discrimination of several kinds of fever which were at that time confounded together. The latter consideration probably explains the changes that Armstrong's own views underwent in relation to typhus, which he in his earlier works asserted to be contagious, but in his later memoirs (*Lancet*, 1825) attributed to a malarial origin. In treatment Armstrong was an ardent advocate of the antiphlogistic system, and made a copious use of bleeding.

His controversy with the College of Surgeons arose out of an attempt on the part of that body to discourage private medical teaching by refusing to accept certificates except from the recognised hospitals and their medical schools. With the College of Physicians he was equally displeased on account of his having been rejected when he first presented himself as a candidate for the licentiateship, an accident which may often happen when a physician established in practice has to undergo examination on subjects with which he was familiar as a student. Dr. Armstrong is described by his friend Dr. Boott as a man of high integrity, absorbed in his profession, of gentle and reserved character, with much power of sympathy. He appears to have had few intellectual interests outside of his daily work, and spoke with some contempt of 'learned physicians.'

Besides the above, Dr. Armstrong was author of: 1. 'An Address to the Members of the Royal College of Surgeons on the injurious conduct and defective state of that Corporation with reference to Professional Rights, Medical Science, and the Public Health,' London, 1825. 2. 'The Morbid Anatomy of the Stomach, Bowels, and Liver, illustrated by a series of plates with explanatory letterpress, and a summary of the symptoms of the acute and chronic affections of the above-named organs,' 4to, London, 1828 (unfinished). 3. 'Lectures on the Morbid Anatomy, Nature, and Treatment of Acute and Chronic Diseases,' edited by Joseph Rix (after the author's death), London, 1834.

[Boott's Memoir of the Life and Medical Opinions of John Armstrong, in 2 vols., 1833; Munk's Roll of College of Physicians (1878), iii. 216.] J. F. P.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN, junior (1813–1856), bishop of Grahamstown, was the son of Dr. John Armstrong, the physician [q. v.]. He was educated at a preparatory school at Hanwell, and at Charterhouse. In 1832 he was elected to a Crewe exhibition at Lincoln

College, Oxford, and having graduated in classical honours (third class) in 1836, he received holy orders in 1837. He was curate for a very short time, first at Alford in Somersetshire, and then at Walton-Fitzpaine in Dorsetshire; but within a year of his ordination he took a curacy at Clifton, where he remained about three years. In 1841 he became a priest-vicar of the cathedral at Exeter, and in 1843 rector also of St. Paul's, Exeter. In the same year he married Miss Frances Whitmore. About this time his convictions became strengthened and his spirituality deepened, chiefly through the influence of the earlier 'Tracts for the Times;' and it is an instance of his peculiar attractiveness that views and practices then very unpopular made him no enemies and raised very little opposition. The 'surplice riots,' e.g., were raging at Exeter, but they were little felt at St. Paul's. In 1845 he exchanged posts with Mr. Burr, vicar of Tidenham, in Gloucestershire. He found Tidenham in a ferment, owing to the introduction of usages which are now all but universal; but Mr. Armstrong soon lived the opposition down, and carried his points with all but universal approbation. Both at Exeter and Tidenham he almost entirely gave up what is called society, and devoted himself exclusively to the labours of a hard-working parish priest. But he was thoroughly happy in his domestic life; he had a truly like-minded wife and children, whom he loved to have about him even in his busiest hours. 'There was, I believe,' writes an eye-witness to the present writer, 'no separate study in the vicarage, so that much of his work was done in the midst of his family. I found him one morning writing a sermon with three of his children climbing over and playing with him; and so far from rebuking them, from time to time the pen was laid aside, and he joined in their frolics, returning again to his graver thoughts and writing; and on my admiring that he could so work, he replied simply, "I would give but little for a man that could not."' Mr. Armstrong made his mark as a preacher far beyond the limits of his country parish. 'He was,' writes a clergyman still living, 'the best all round country congregation preacher I ever knew.' A volume of 'Sermons on the Festivals,' preached at Exeter Cathedral, was published in 1845; another volume of 'Parochial Sermons' in 1854; and the series of 'Sermons for the Christian Seasons,' from Advent 1852 to Advent 1853, were all of them edited, and several of them written, by him. In some interesting sketches of 'successful preachers,' one of 'Bishop John Armstrong' will be found in the 'Guardian' of 20 Dec. 1882. He was also a successful tract-writer. He wrote many of, and was the responsible editor of all, the 'Tracts for the Christian Seasons,' the first series of which came out monthly from Advent 1848 to Advent 1849, and the second from Advent 1849 to Advent 1850; and these were followed in 1852–3 by 'Tracts for Parochial Use.' Mr. Armstrong's strong common sense and genial humour are conspicuous in these tracts, and their popularity has been very great. Mr. Armstrong had always taken the deepest interest in what are called 'social questions.' He now threw himself with characteristic energy into a scheme of which he was unquestionably the chief originator. The scheme was, to establish a system of penitentiaries, in which the chief agents should be self-devoted and unpaid ladies, working on sound church principles and under the direct superintendence of clergymen. Mr. Armstrong advocated this scheme in articles on 'Female Penitentiaries' in the 'Quarterly Review' in the autumn of 1848; in the 'Christian Remembrancer' in January 1849; in the 'English Review' in March 1849; and in a stirring tract, entitled 'Appeal for a Church Penitentiary,' also in 1849. The interest of the public was awakened. Mr. Armstrong was as indefatigable in his private correspondence on the subject as in his articles for the press. 'I have acres of his letters,' writes a friend to the present writer, 'all on one subject—a House of Mercy for Gloucestershire.' The first church penitentiary was founded in Mr. Carter's parish of Clewer; in the same year (1849) another house of mercy was founded at Wantage; and shortly afterwards another at Bussage, in Mr. Armstrong's own diocese. In 1852 the Church Penitentiary Association was formed, and Mr. Armstrong's day-dream was in a fair way of being realised. Among the rest of Mr. Armstrong's writings may be noticed his 'Pastor in the Closet,' published in 1847; a singularly vigorous article in the 'Christian Remembrancer' on the 'History and Modern State of Freemasonry' from the christian point of view, which can hardly have been acceptable to freemasons; and articles in the 'National Miscellany,' a monthly religious periodical which he founded a little while before he left England.

In 1853 he was offered the new bishopric of Grahamstown, chiefly through the influence of Bishop Gray, of Capetown. His penitentiary scheme was well afloat, and after having consulted some tried friends he accepted the post, and was consecrated at Lambeth on St. Andrew's day; after a few months' delay, during which, in spite of bad

health, he pleaded the cause of Africa in various parts of the country, he set sail for Grahamstown. One of the most interesting presents which he took with him was a set of episcopal robes worked by the Bussage penitents. He regarded his position as that of a missionary as well as a colonial bishop. 'Do you think,' he said at a public meeting, 'I go forth thinking the diocese of Grahamstown is to be the bound and limit of Christian enterprise? God forbid! Africa is given to us if we will first do our part.' The diocese of Grahamstown, however, was in itself no trifling charge; it was almost as large as England, and, owing to bad roads and other hindrances, twenty miles a day was the average of travelling. His first work was to make a visitation tour of his diocese. He won golden opinions wherever he went; and he found or made many able coadjutors. There is little doubt that if his life had been spared he would have been eminently successful; his buoyant temper, his attractiveness, his ardent piety, his definiteness of aim and conviction, his readiness to recognise good wherever he found it, these and other qualities found a larger sphere for development abroad than at home. No one can read Bishop Armstrong's letters home, or his 'Notes on Africa,' a journal published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, without deep interest. In 1856 he began a second visitation tour; but it was too much for him. His health, which had decidedly improved after he left England, failed him; and he died somewhat suddenly in Whitsun week, in the presence of his faithful friend and chaplain, archdeacon Hardie. His last public utterance was an opening lecture on the 'Character and Poetry of Oliver Goldsmith' at the Literary Institute at Grahamstown, which, after some opposition, he had succeeded in establishing on a general basis, and not in connection with any one religious body. He regarded literature and the natural sciences as 'common ground on which churchmen, without resigning one iota of catholic truth, might meet dissenters as brethren and hold kindly intercourse with them.' And even in religion, uncompromising churchman as he was, he was ever ready to acknowledge good christian work done by other bodies. 'The exertions of the Wesleyan body have been very great,' 'The Wesleyan body have been the honoured instrument of converting him' —such like remarks are not infrequent in his letters. But none the less does he deeply regret, over and over again, that the church had not been the first in the field; for he held that to be 'the more excellent way.' His desire to deal with social questions accompanied him to Africa. He set himself to combat the besetting sin of the colonists, drunkenness; but he was called to his rest before he could effect much in this direction. He was buried in the cemetery at Grahamstown in the rochet made for him by the Bussage penitents; and after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century his memory still remains fresh in the hearts of his many friends. Few men, in the course of a comparatively short life, have had more and truer. There is a striking heartiness and unanimity in the testimony which numerous correspondents have kindly given to the present writer, to what one of them calls his 'superlative worth;' and few men, without possessing any commanding genius or incurring any unpopularity, have done more thoroughly useful work for the church and for society at large.

[Carter's Memoirs of Bishop Armstrong; information from Archdeacon Hardie, Mrs. Armstrong, H. Woodyer, Esq., Rev. T. Keble, Rev. Erskine Knollys; Bishop Armstrong's Works, passim.] J. H. O.

ARMSTRONG, ROBERT ARCHIBALD, LL.D. (1788–1867), Gaelic lexicographer, was the eldest son of Mr. Robert Armstrong, of Kenmore, Perthshire, by his wife, Mary McKercher. He was born at Kenmore in 1788, and educated partly by his father, and afterwards at Edinburgh and at St. Andrew's University, where he graduated. Coming to London from St. Andrew's with high commendations for his Greek and Latin acquirements, he engaged in tuition, and kept several high-class schools in succession in different parts of the metropolis. He devoted his leisure to the cultivation of literature and science. Of his humorous articles 'The Three Florists,' in 'Fraser' for January 1838, and 'The Dream of Tom Finiarty, the Cab-driver,' in the 'Athenæum,' are notable examples. His scientific papers appeared chiefly in the 'Arcana of Science and Art' (1837 et seq.), and relate to meteorological matters. But his great work was 'A Gaelic Dictionary, in two parts—I. Gaelic and English, II. English and Gaelic—in which the words, in their different acceptations, are illustrated by quotations from the best Gaelic writers.' London, 1825, 4to. This was the first Gaelic dictionary published, as there previously existed only vocabularies of the language like those of Shaw and others. It is a most meritorious work, the affinities of the Celtic words being traced in most of the languages of ancient and modern times. To it is prefixed a Gaelic grammar, and there is a short historical

appendix of ancient names, deduced from the authority of Ossian and other poets. Armstrong's dictionary will always be prized by Gaelic scholars, but it was partially eclipsed, three years after its appearance, by the publication of the still more comprehensive 'Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum,' compiled under the direction of the Highland Society of Scotland (2 vols. 4to, 1828). Mr. Armstrong sank his small fortune in the publication of his three-guinea quarto, and in a pecuniary sense he was a considerable loser by its publication. For about twenty-two years he maintained his family by establishing the South Lambeth Grammar School, and on his retirement from the head-mastership to Richmond in 1852 a representation of his necessitous condition was sent to Lord Palmerston, who obtained for him a civil list pension of 60*l*. This opportune assistance and a grant from the Literary Fund enabled him to recommence his scholastic business, which, though now of small proportions on account of his great age, he continued till he was struck down by paralysis about a week before he died. In 1826 he had been appointed Gaelic lexicographer in ordinary to the king, but the appointment was honorary and no salary was attached to it. He died in Choumert Road, Peckham Rye, Surrey, 25 May 1867. Lord Derby advised her majesty to cheer the last days of the veteran scholar by a grant of 100*l*. from the Royal Bounty Fund; and in 1869 the queen, on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, granted an annual pension of 50*l*. to his widow. Dr. Armstrong married, in 1842, Emma, daughter of Mr. Stephen Dungate, by whom he left issue three daughters.

[Private information; Gent. Mag. ccxxiii. 113.] T. C.

ARMSTRONG, Sir THOMAS (1624?–1684), royalist, and concerned in the Rye House Plot, was the son of an English soldier serving in one of James's Low Country expeditions, and was born at Nimeguen, where his father was quartered, about 1624. He was brought to England young, and served under Charles I; he joined Ormond in Ireland in 1649, and declared for Charles II (Heath's *Chronicle of Civil Wars*, part i. p. 240), for which and similar royalist services he was imprisoned in Lambeth House by Cromwell. There he endured many privations, owing to the inability of his party to provide him with money or help; but he contrived, after a year's imprisonment, to get released. About 1655 he was sent out of England, by the Earl of Oxford and other cavaliers, to Charles, with a considerable sum of money for the use of the exiled prince. He delivered the gift into the prince's own hands, and returning to England was, on the sixth day, imprisoned by Cromwell in the Gatehouse. In 1658, after another interval of liberty and of fidelity to the royal cause, Armstrong suffered a third imprisonment in the Tower; but on the death of the Protector, on 3 Sept. of that year, was released, and married Katharine, a niece of Clarendon's (Oldmixon's *Hist. of the Stuarts*, vol. i. p. 687). He was one of the signatories to the Royalists' Declaration to Monk, April 1660 (Kennet's *Chronicle*, p. 122); and on the Restoration, in the following month, he was knighted by the king for his services, made lieutenant of the first troop of guards, and subsequently gentleman, or captain, of the horse. Shortly afterwards Armstrong became intimate with the Duke of Monmouth; and, according to the testimonies of unfriendly authorities, he 'led a very vitious life' (Burnet's *Hist. of Own Times*, vol. i. p. 577). Sprat says that he 'became a debauch'd Atheistical Bravo' (Sprat's *True Account of the Horrid Conspiracy*, p. 29); he fell, at any rate, into disfavour at court, whence he was dismissed; and having 'distinguish'd himself by murdering Mr. Scroop, a considerable Gentleman, in the Play-house' (Eachard's *Hist. of England*, p. 1027), he left England in 1679 with the Duke of Monmouth for Flanders, to join some English regiments there.

In 1682, Armstrong, who was 'Parliament man' for Stafford (*State Trials*, vol. x.), being back again in England, was frequently a visitor at the house of the disaffected Earl of Shaftesbury in Aldersgate Street (*Copies of the Informations*, 1685, p. 196), and was gradually embroiled in the Rye House plot. He was frequently at Colonel Romsey's house in King's Square, Soho Fields (*Copies of Informations*, p. 28), desiring interviews with Ferguson early in the morning, before Romsey was dressed; he was at West's chambers in the Temple, offering to get admittance to the Duke of York, under the pretence of discovering some plot against him, and then to kill him (*Copies*, p. 61). He was a visitor at all those taverns where the conspirators met, viz. the Fortune at Wapping, the Horse Shoe on Tower Hill, the King's Head in Atheist Alley, the Young Devil Tavern between the two Temple gates (for full list see Sprat's *True Account*, p. 52); he was at Sheppard's house in Abchurch Lane with Lord William Russell and the rest, going thence, with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey, to look into the condition of the king's guards, to see if it were possible to break through them to carry the king away, and returning with

the report that the guards were certainly remiss, and the thing quite feasible (*ibid.* p. 150). Evidence was forthcoming also that, on the failure of the Rye House plot, Armstrong offered still to intercept the king and the duke on their homeward journey, provided money and men could be immediately procured. The king himself declared that when Armstrong had come to him abroad, nearly thirty years before, with the gift of money, he had confessed that he had come, employed by Cromwell, to kill him; and on 28 June 1683, a proclamation was issued for his apprehension. Armstrong, being greatly depressed at this turn of events, went to Romsey (*Copies*, p. 109) one night, in fear for him as well as for himself, 'and did importune me to be gone with the first, and in the meantime to keep close, for that I was mightily hunted after.' He himself, assuming the name of Mr. Henry Lawrence, succeeded in escaping and hiding himself in Leyden. But the reward to seize him was heavy, 'equal to the greatest' (Eachard's *Hist.* p. 1043), and out of it Chudleigh, the king's envoy, offered 5,000 guilders. In May 1684 a spy at Leyden gave the desired information, the States issued the necessary order of acquiescence, and Armstrong (too much surprised to plead his Dutch birth) was carried to Rotterdam, loaded with irons, and placed on board the yacht Catherine. The Catherine anchored at Greenwich 10 June 1684 (Luttrell's MS., *Brief Historical Relations*, All Souls, Oxford); Sydney Godolphin signed a warrant the same day to Captain Richardson, keeper of Newgate, to receive the prisoner; and thither, still in irons, he was conveyed on the morrow, 11 June. He was stripped of anything he had of value; he was searched; a bill of exchange was found in his pocket between one Hayes, a merchant at London, and another merchant at Leyden, and Hayes was at once committed to Newgate for complicity with a traitor. Armstrong was not allowed to see his family and friends except in the presence of his gaolers; and, all money having been taken from him, he was unable to obtain the assistance of counsel (*State Trials for High Treason*, 35 Charles II). In three days, 14 June, he was taken to King's Bench, Guildhall, attended by his daughter, Jane Mathews, another being repulsed. Titus Oates was one of his accusers; Jeffries was his judge. His claim was for a proper trial, under the statute 5 and 6 Edward VI, c. 11. Jeffries denied his right to be heard on the ground that he was an outlaw and a traitor, and sentenced him to death in spite of his protests and his daughter's shrieks. On the 18th his wife and daughters applied in vain for a writ of error to Lord Keeper North, Jeffries himself, and other officials. Armstrong was executed on Friday, 20 June 1684. Huggons (*Remarks on Burnet's Hist.* p. 269) relates: 'I saw that unhappy man go to die; . . . he threw about his arms as far as the rope that tied him would permit . . . he turned about his head, shrugged up his shoulders, with convulsions and distortions of his countenance.' At the scaffold he became so resigned as to astonish those who knew his hot temper. He was met by Tenison, who took charge of a written paper he gave him protesting his innocence.

His body was quartered; his head was fixed at Westminster Hall, between the heads of Bradshaw and Cromwell (Eachard, p. 1043). On 1 July Armstrong's protest was given to the world; a general feeling prevailed, fortified by the legal opinion of Sir John Hawles, Solicitor-General, that a great injustice had been done, since no outlawed person ever was denied his trial before (Oldmixon, *Hist. of Stuarts*, p. 686); and in 1689, after examination of Dame Katharine Armstrong, the widow, and her daughters, a sum of 5,000*l.* was ordered to be paid to them, and the attainder was reversed. Five years elapsed before this was carried out by William and Mary in 1694.

[True Account and Declaration of the Horrid Conspiracy, published by command of James II, 1685; Biographia Britannica, where the Scaffold Paper is *in extenso*; Russell's Life of Lord Russell, p. 257; Clarendon's Hist.; Kennet's Chronicle.] J. H.

ARMSTRONG, WILLIAM (*fl.* 1596), a famous border mosstrooper, was generally known as Kinmont Willie, from his castle of Morton Tower or Kinmont, afterwards called Sark, on the Sark water, in the parish of Canonbie, Dumfriesshire. He is said to have been a near relation of the equally famous John Armstrong, of Gilnockie, and in the 'Register of the Privy Council of Scotland' (iv. 796) he is mentioned as one of the principals of the clan Armstrong. The earliest notice of him is under date 22 Oct. 1569 as entering a pledge for himself and kin (ii. 44), and he again appears, 5 March, 1570, as making submission in respect of feuds between him and the Turnbulls (iii. 169). Will is said to have been of great size and strength —'the starkest man in Teviotdale'—and he and his sons brought together as many as three hundred men, who were the dread of the English border. With his followers he accompanied the Earl of Angus to Stirling in 1585 to displace the Earl of Arran, when it is reported that, not satisfied with emptying

the stables and pillaging the town, they tore off the iron gratings from the windows and carried them away. In 1587 his capture and that of Robert Maxwell, natural brother to Lord Maxwell, formed the object of a royal expedition to Dumfries; but the freebooters succeeded in escaping at Tarras Moss. The conjecture of Sir Walter Scott that Armstrong originally held some connection with the Maxwells, the hereditary enemies of the Scotts of Buccleugh, is fully corroborated by the 'Register of the Privy Council,' which shows that in 1569 Lord Maxwell was his surety (ii. 44), while in 1590 he is mentioned as his landlord (iv. 796). On 14 Aug. of the same year, in a proclamation for the peace of the borders, it is declared that lands debateable within the West Marches shall be 'sett heritablie or in long takkis or rentale' to certain persons; Willie Armstrong among the number (iv. 799). The effect of this arrangement was only temporary. Armstrong, by his continued depredations, so tantalised the English borderers, that his capture came to be regarded as of prime importance. Accordingly, while returning in 1596 from a warden court held by the English and Scotch deputy wardens, he was pursued by 200 English borderers, brought before the English warden, and by him imprisoned in Carlisle Castle. Scott of Buccleugh, the Scotch warden, demanded his release of Lord Scrope, on the ground that the capture was made during a truce, and, receiving no satisfactory reply, arrived on a dark tempestuous night with two hundred men before the castle, and, undermining a postern gate, carried him off unperceived by the guards. Notwithstanding the bloodless character of the daring exploit, it almost led to a rupture between the two kingdoms, and was the subject of a considerable amount of correspondence, which is given in the State Papers. On account of it Buccleugh had for a time to go into ward in England [see Scott, Walter, first Lord of Buccleugh]. The ultimate fate of Armstrong is not known. The only further notice of him is in the list of border clans in 1597 as, along with Krystie Armstrong and John Shynbank, leader of a band of Armstrongs called 'Sandie's Bairns.' The tombstone of a William Armstrong, discovered in an old churchyard at Sark, is stated by W. Scott, who gives an engraving of it in 'Border Exploits' (1832), p. 329, to be that of Kinmont Willie. The tombstone was presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, but, as is pointed out in their 'Proceedings' (new series, viii. 234), the Armstrong to whom it refers, having died in 1658 at the age of 56, must be a different person from this noted border mosstrooper. The rescue of Armstrong from Carlisle Castle is the subject of the ballad of 'Kinmont Willie,' first printed by Sir Walter Scott in his 'Scottish Minstrelsy,' who states that it was preserved by tradition, but has been much mangled by reciters. It is also included in Ayton's 'Ballads of Scotland.'

[Scott, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border; Scot of Satchells, a true history of several honourable families of the name of Scot (1776); Scott, Border Exploits, p. 325–329; Spottiswoode, History of the Church of Scotland, iii. 1–5; Tytler's History of Scotland; Fraser, The Scotts of Buccleugh (1878), i. lxvi, 169, 180–202, 206, 209, 222; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ii. 44, iii. 169, iv. 796, 799, 804, 805, v. 290, 298–9, 300, 323–4, 361, 423, 761.] T. F. H.

ARMSTRONG, WILLIAM (1602?–1658?), known as Christie's Will, a border freebooter, was the son or grandson of the Christie Armstrong referred to in the ballad of 'Johnnie Armstrong' as 'Kristy my son,' and inherited Gilnockie Tower. Having been imprisoned in the Tolbooth, Jedburgh, for stealing two colts during a marauding expedition, he received his release through the interposition of the Earl of Traquair, lord high treasurer, and henceforth became devoted heart and soul to the earl's interests. Some time afterwards a lawsuit, in which the Earl of Traquair was a party, was on for trial in the Court of Session, Edinburgh. The decision, it was supposed, would turn on the opinion of the presiding judge, Lord Durie, who was known to be unfavourable to Lord Traquair. Armstrong, therefore, kidnapped the judge at Leith Sands, where he was taking his usual exercise on horseback, and conveyed him blindfold to an old castle, the tower of Graham, on the Dryfe water, near Moffat. The judge's friends mourned for him as dead, the belief being that his horse had thrown him into the sea; but after the case was settled he was again conveyed blindfold to Leith Sands, whence he made his way home three months later than his horse. As Lord Durie was twice chosen president of the court, namely, for the summer session of 1642, and for the winter session of 1643, his capture must have taken place in one of these years. Armstrong is said also to have been employed by Traquair, during the civil war, in conveying a packet to the king, and on his return to have made his escape at Carlisle from the pursuit of Cromwell's soldiers by springing his horse over the parapet of the bridge that crosses the Eden, which was then in flood. It is not impossible that the tombstone discovered in the churchyard of Sark,

supposed at one time to be that of 'Kinmont Willie,' may really commemorate 'Christie's Will.' The William Armstrong to whom it refers died in 1658 at the age of 56. The ballad of 'Christie's Will,' published by Sir Walter Scott in 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' is, according to Sir Walter, not to be regarded as of genuine and unmixed antiquity.

[Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.]
T. F. H.

ARNALD, RICHARD (1700–1756), a distinguished divine, was born in 1700. He was a native of London, and received his education at Bishop Stortford School, whence he proceeded in 1714 to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. After graduating B.A., he removed to Emmanuel College, where he was elected to a fellowship on 24 June, 1720, and took the degree of M.A. While resident at Emmanuel he printed two copies of Sapphics on the death of George I, and a sermon (on Col. ii. 8) preached at Bishop Stortford school-feast on 3 Aug. 1726. In 1733 he was presented to the living of Thurcaston in Leicestershire, and was afterwards made prebendary of Lincoln. He published in 1746 a sermon on 2 Kings xiv. 8: 'The Parable of the Cedar and the Thistle exemplified in the great Victory at Culloden;' and in 1760, a 'Sermon on Deuteronomy xxviii. 8.' The work by which he is remembered is his critical commentary on the Apocryphal books. This learned and judicious work was published as a continuation of Patrick and Lowth's commentaries. It embraces a commentary on the Book of Wisdom, 1744; on Ecclesiasticus, 1748; on Tobit, Judith, Baruch, History of Susannah, and Bel and the Dragon, with dissertations on the two books of Esdras and Maccabees, with a translation of Calmet's treatise on the Dæmon Asmodeus, 1752. An edition was published in 1822 under the care of M. Pitman. Arnald died on 4 Sept. 1756, and was buried in Thurcaston church. His widow died in 1782.

William Arnald, his son, was fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1767, and head-tutor in 1768. He became chaplain to Bishop Hurd in 1775, and precentor of Lichfield Cathedral. By Hurd's influence he was appointed in 1776 preceptor to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, and was made canon of Windsor. In January 1782 signs of insanity appeared, and he continued insane till his death on 5 Aug. 1802. It was, indeed, an unfortunate family. 'One of his brothers,' says Cole, 'was drowned, and his sisters ill married or worse.' By the directions in his will, a sermon that he had preached before the university (in 1781) was published in the year after his death.

[Nichols's Leicestershire, iii. pt. ii. pp. 1059, 1071; History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1831, p. 456; Cole's MS. Athenæ.]
A. H. B.

ARNALL, WILLIAM (1715?–1741?), political writer, was bred as an attorney, but took to political writing before he was twenty. He was one of the authors in Walpole's pay who replied to the 'Craftsman' and the various attacks of Bolingbroke and Pulteney. He wrote the 'Free Briton' under the signature of Francis Walsingham, and succeeded Concanen in the 'British Journal.' One of his tracts, in which he disputes certain claims of the clergy in regard to tithes, is reprinted in 'The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy shaken.' 'A letter to Dr. Codex [Dr. Gibson] on his modest instructions to the Crown,' and 'Opposition no proof of Patriotism,' upon Rundle's appointment to the see of Londonderry, are attributed to him. The report of the committee of inquiry into Walpole's conduct states that in the years 1731–41 a sum of 50,077*l.* 18*s.* was paid to the authors of newspapers from the secret service money, and from a schedule appended it seems that Arnall received in four years 10,997*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of this sum. It does not appear whether he received any part of this on behalf of others or for printing expenses. Arnall is also said to have received a pension of 400*l.* a year. He is said to have died at the age of twenty-six in 1741, though 'other accounts' say 1736. Pope attacked him in the 'Dunciad' (Bk. ii. 315), where his name was substituted for Welsted's in 1735, and in the epilogue to the 'Satires' (Dialogue ii. 129): 'Spirit of Arnall, aid me whilst I lie!'

[Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; Pope's Dunciad; Maty's Miscellaneous Works of Chesterfield, p. 5.]

ARNE, CECILIA (1711–1789), the eldest daughter of Charles Young, organist of Allhallows, Barking, was a pupil of Geminiani. Her first appearance at Drury Lane took place in 1730, and in 1736 she married Dr. Arne. She took the part of Sabrina at the first performance of her husband's setting of 'Comus' at Drury Lane, 4 March 1738, and she also sang at Clieveden 1 Aug. 1740, when 'Alfred' and the 'Judgment of Paris' were produced before the Prince and Princess of Wales. In 1742 Mrs. Arne accompanied her husband to Dublin, where she sang with great success both in operas and concerts. On her return, 'Alfred' was performed for her benefit at Drury Lane, 20 March 1745. In the same year she was engaged at

Vauxhall Gardens, where she increased her reputation by her admirable singing of her husband's songs and ballads. Soon after this she seems to have given up singing in public, as her place was taken by Dr. Arne's pupils, of whom Miss Brent was the most distinguished. She survived her husband, by whom she was left badly off, and died at the house of Barthelemon at Vauxhall, 6 Oct. 1789. In the judgment of her contemporaries, Cecilia Arne was one of the most pleasing of the English singers of her day. She was often called 'the nightingale of the stage,' and her voice was said to be 'unequalled for melody, fulness, and flexibility.'

[Grove's Dictionary, i. 84; Dibdin's Musical Tour, 1778; Davies's Memoirs of Garrick, ii. p. 171, 1808; Gentleman's Magazine, 1789; Genest's History of the Stage, 1832.] W. B. S.

ARNE, MICHAEL (1741?–1786), musician, the son of Dr. Arne, was born either in 1740 or 1741. His father wished to make him a singer, and his aunt, Mrs. Cibber, brought him on the stage when very young, in the part of the page in Otway's tragedy, 'The Orphan,' but giving evidence of more talent as an instrumentalist than a vocalist he henceforth came before the public principally as a performer on the harpsichord, in which capacity he played at a concert when he was only eleven. His performance of Scarlatti's Lessons and his facility in executing double shakes are noted by his contemporaries. His first published composition was a volume of English songs, 'by Master Arne,' and after producing several similar collections, in 1763 he wrote music for 'The Fairy Tale' and 'Hymen' (performed at Drury Lane). In the following year Michael Arne, in collaboration with Jonathan Battishill, set the opera of 'Almena,' which was produced at Drury Lane 6 Nov. 1764, and was played six times. At this time he was living at 14 Crown Court, Russell Street, Covent Garden. On 20 March 1765 he was elected a member of the Madrigal Society, but in the following year his membership ceased. He was re-elected on 16 Dec. 1767 (*Records of Madrigal Soc.*). On 5 Nov. 1766, he married Miss Elizabeth Wright, who sang in her husband's next work, 'Cymon,' a spectacular drama, written by Garrick, which was successfully produced at Drury Lane 2 Jan. 1767. He was now living 'at Mr. O'Keeffe's, at the Golden Unicorn, near Hanover Street, Long Acre,' but about this time, according to some accounts during a visit to Dublin, he became engrossed in the pursuit of alchemy, and built a laboratory at Chelsea in order to carry on his attempts to discover the philosopher's stone. Ruined and bankrupt, he was before long forced to return to music. In 1770 he was living 'at Mr. Doron's, facing the Vine, near Vauxhall.' He published several volumes of songs, which were sung at Vauxhall Gardens, where his first wife supported him by singing until her death (which occurred before 1775), and he also supplied music for several dramas. In 1779 he obtained an engagement at Dublin, but in 1784 he was once more in London, and died at South Lambeth, 14 Jan. 1786, leaving his second wife in a state of great destitution. Burney (in 'Rees's Cyclopædia') says of Michael Arne that 'he was always in debt, and often in prison; he sung his first wife to death, and starved the second, leaving her in absolute beggary.'

[Grove's Dictionary, i. 83; Rees's Cyclopædia, vol. ii., 1819; British Museum Catalogue; Dibdin's Musical Tour, 1788; European Magazine, vols. vi. and ix.; Garrick's Correspondence in Forster Bequest at South Kensington Museum; Kelly's Reminiscences, 1826.] W. B. S.

ARNE, THOMAS AUGUSTINE (1710–1778), musical composer, was the son of Thomas Arne, an upholsterer, who lived in King Street, Covent Garden, where his shop was known as the 'Crown and Cushion,' or, according to some authorities, as the 'Two Crowns and Cushion.' Thomas Arne is said to have been the upholsterer with whom the 'Indian kings' lodged, as chronicled in the 'Spectator,' No. 50, and the 'Tatler,' No. 171, and some biographers have identified him with one Edward Arne, who was the original of the political upholsterer of Nos. 155, 160, and 178 of the 'Tatler,' although it is sufficiently obvious that the latter do not refer to the same individual as is mentioned in the earlier numbers. Thomas Arne was twice married; by his second wife, Anne Wheeler, to whom he was married at the Mercers' Chapel in April 1707, he had Thomas Augustine, who was born 12 March 1710, Susanna Maria (afterwards celebrated as Mrs. Cibber), and other children. Thomas Augustine was educated at Eton, where he does not seem to have distinguished himself otherwise than as a performer on the flute, and on leaving school was placed by his father in a lawyer's office. During this period of his life, the love of music which had characterised his Eton career speedily developed, although his passion had to be concealed from his father. He privately took lessons on the violin from Michael Festing, and practised the spinet at night on an instrument he had secretly conveyed to his room, the strings of which he muffled with handkerchiefs.

He also devoted himself to the study of harmony and composition, and, disguised in a borrowed livery, used to frequent the opera-house galleries to which servants had free admittance. His musical progress was so marked that he was soon able to lead a chamber band of amateurs, and it was when so engaged that young Arne was one day found by his astonished father. The discovery of his son's musical talents was at first met with a considerable display of wrath on the part of Thomas Arne, but eventually he had the good sense to recognise that the boy was more fitted for a musician than a lawyer, and after some hesitation to allow him to cultivate the talents which he so decidedly displayed. Not content with cultivating his own abilities, Arne henceforward turned his attention to the dormant faculties of his sister and brother, to the former of whom he gave such instruction in singing as to lead to her appearance on the operatic stage in Lampe's opera 'Amelia' in March 1732. Encouraged by the success she achieved, he wrote new music for Addison's opera 'Rosamond,' which was produced at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, on 7 March 1733, with Mrs. Barbier, Miss Arne, Mrs. Jones, Miss Chambers, Leveridge, Corfe, and the composer's younger brother in the principal parts, and was played for ten nights successively. His next work was a version of Fielding's 'Tom Thumb,' altered into 'The Opera of Operas,' a musical burlesque, which was produced at the Haymarket, 31 May 1733, and was acted eleven times. In the same year he produced (19 Dec.) at the same theatre a masque, 'Dido and Æneas,' in which both his brother and sister sang. Early in the following year the Arne family were engaged at Drury Lane, Miss Arne and 'young Master Arne' as singers, and the composer in some capacity which is not recorded, though, from the fact of his having benefits on 29 April and 3 June, he must have already had some recognised post. In April 1734 Susanna Arne married Theophilus Cibber [see CIBBER, MRS.], and in 1736 Arne wrote music for the play of 'Zara,' in which she for the first time appeared as an actress. In the same year Arne married the singer Cecilia Young [see ARNE, CECILIA]. On 4 March 1738 Milton's 'Comus,' with additions and alterations by Dr. Dalton, was produced at Drury Lane, the principal parts being performed by Quin, Milward, Cibber jun., Mills, Beard, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Clive, and Mrs. Arne. For this performance Arne wrote his well-known and charming music, which still retains the freshness and delicacy of its melody. In this work Arne already shows himself a master of the peculiarly English style which is the great charm of his music; he entered thoroughly into the spirit of Milton's masque, his setting of the words of some of the songs showing a degree of poetical and musical insight which is surprising at the period at which he wrote. Considering the beauty of the music and the strength of the cast, it is surprising to find that 'Comus' was played only about eleven times, though it was subsequently frequently revived at both houses, and has kept the stage almost until the present day. Arne's next works were settings of two masques, Congreve's 'Judgment of Paris,' and Thomson and Mallet's 'Alfred.' Both of these were performed on Friday and Saturday, 1 and 2 Aug. 1740, on a stage erected in the gardens of the house of Frederick, Prince of Wales, at Cliveden, Bucks, at a fête given in commemoration of the accession of George I and in honour of the birth of the Princess Augusta. The programme also included 'several scenes out of Mr. Rich's pantomime entertainments' (*Gent. Mag.* 1740, p. 411). This performance is memorable in the annals of English music, for it was for 'Alfred' that Arne composed 'Rule Britannia,' perhaps the finest national song possessed by any nation, and for which alone, even if he had produced nothing else, Arne would deserve a prominent place amongst musicians of all countries. Shortly after this performance, 'The Judgment of Paris' was given at Drury Lane, though 'Alfred' was not produced in London until 30 March 1745, when it was performed at Drury Lane for Mrs. Arne's benefit. In about 1740 or 1741 Arne (who was then living at Craven Buildings, near Drury Lane) obtained a royal grant assuring to him the copyright of his compositions for fourteen years. After producing several minor pieces at Drury Lane—amongst which is the beautiful music to 'As You Like It' and 'Twelfth Night'—Arne and his wife, towards the end of 1742, went to Dublin, where they remained until the end of 1744, both husband and wife winning fresh laurels as musician and singer. On their return from Ireland, Mrs. Arne was re-engaged at Drury Lane, and Arne was appointed composer to the same theatre, a post there is reason to believe he had occupied before; somewhat later he was appointed leader of the band of the theatre. At this time Arne was living 'next door to the Crown' in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, but he seems soon to have removed, first to Charles Street, and eventually to the house in the Piazza, Covent Garden, which

he occupied until his death. In 1745 Mrs. Arne was engaged at Vauxhall Gardens, while Arne was also commissioned to write songs for the concerts held at the same place. For Vauxhall, Marylebone, and Ranelagh he for many years wrote an immense number of detached songs and duets, many of which, though now forgotten, are well worth revival. In 1746 he wrote songs for a performance of 'The Tempest' at Drury Lane, amongst which is the charming setting of 'Where the Bee sucks,' which, after 'Rule Britannia,' is probably now the best remembered of his compositions. Two years later, on the death of Thomson, Mallet determined to remodel 'Alfred;' in its altered form it was produced at Drury Lane in Feb. 1751, on which occasion three additional stanzas were added to 'Rule Britannia;' these extra verses were said to have been written by Bolingbroke a few days before his death (Davies, *Memoirs of Garrick*, London, 1808). About this time Mrs. Arne left off singing in public, her place being henceforth taken by the numerous pupils whom Arne brought before the public. As a teacher he enjoyed a great and deserved reputation, one secret of his success being the great importance he attached to the clear enunciation of the words in singing. His most distinguished pupil was Miss Brent, for whom he composed a number of bravura airs, which, being generally written for the display of her remarkable powers of execution, are of less value than the refined and delicate songs he wrote at an earlier period for his wife. For these occasional songs and airs he received twenty guineas for every collection of eight or nine compositions (*Add. MS.* 28959). On 12 March 1755, he produced his first oratorio, 'Abel;' but neither this nor a subsequent work, 'Judith' (produced at the chapel of the Lock Hospital, Pimlico, on 29 Feb. 1764) achieved any success, mainly, it is said, owing to the inadequacy of the forces at his disposal for the performances. On 6 July 1759, the university of Oxford conferred upon Arne the degree of doctor of music. The relations of Arne with Garrick at this period seem to have become rather strained. Garrick was no musician, and Arne, whose talent was beginning to suffer from overproduction, had written one or two works for Drury Lane (then under Garrick's management) which had been decided failures. It is therefore not surprising to find that in 1760 Arne transferred his services to the rival house of Covent Garden, where, on 28 Nov. 1760, his 'Thomas and Sally' was played with Beard, Mattocks, and Miss Brent in the chief parts. Arne's next venture was a bold one, but, as the result proved, perfectly successful. Determined to give Miss Brent an exceptional opportunity for the display of her powers, he translated the Abbate Metastasio's 'Artaserse,' setting it to music in the florid and artificial style of the Italian opera of the day. The opera was produced at Covent Garden on 2 Feb. 1762, the parts of Mandane, Arbaces, Artabanes, Artaxerxes, Rimenes and Semira being respectively filled by Miss Brent, Tenducci, Beard, Peretti, Mattocks, and Miss Thomas. The work was immediately successful, and long kept the stage, yet Arne, when it was printed, only received from the publisher the trifling sum of sixty guineas for the copyright. 'Artaxerxes' was followed by several works of no great importance, the chief of which were 'Love in a Village,' a successful pasticcio produced in 1762; and a setting, to the original Italian words, of Metastasio's 'Olimpiade,' a work which was produced at the Haymarket in 1764, but was only performed twice. In 1765 Arne was for a short time a member of the Madrigal Society (*Records of the Madrigal Soc.*). In 1769 Garrick, with whom Arne, though never on very good terms, seems to have always kept up some sort of intercourse, commissioned the composer to write music for the ode performed at the Shakespeare jubilee at Stratford-on-Avon. For this setting of Garrick's verses Arne received 63*l.*, and in addition to this a performance of his oratorio 'Judith' at the parish church was somewhat incongruously included in the programme of the festivities in honour of Shakespeare. Arne now remained on tolerably good terms with the managers of both houses, and the record of the rest of his life consists of little more than a chronicle of the production of numerous light operas and incidental music written for different plays. During these years (from 1769 until 1778) he composed and wrote music for the following works: 'The Ladies' Frolic,' 'The Cooper,' 'May Day,' 'The Rose' (said to have been written by 'an Oxford student,' but generally attributed to Arne), 'The Fairy Prince,' 'The Contest of Beauty and Virtue,' 'Phœbe at Court,' 'The Trip to Portsmouth,' and Mason's tragedies of 'Elfrida' and 'Caractacus.' The latter work was published in 1775, with a preface and introduction in which Arne shows a curious insight into the relationship between dramatic poetry and music. He expresses opinions on the subject, the truth of which, though couched in the stilted language of the period, is only beginning to be recognised at the present day. The overture

to the same work is a singular attempt at programme music, and the minute directions as to the constitution of the orchestra and manner of performance almost forestall the similar annotations to be found in the works of Hector Berlioz. During the latter years of Arne's life he achieved but few successes. He was fond of writing his own libretti, which were, unfortunately, anything but good, and the failure of his pupils at one opera-house—particularly if another pupil had been successful at the rival house—caused little bickerings which jarred upon his sensitive nature. In August 1775 he wrote to Garrick, complaining of the latter's neglect: 'These unkind prejudices the Doctor can no other wise account for than as arising from an irresistable Apathy,' a statement to which Garrick replied a few days later: 'How can you imagine that I have an irresistable *Apathy* to you? I suppose you mean *Antipathy*, my dear Doctor, by the construction and general turn of your letter—be assur'd as my nature is very little inclin'd to Apathy, so it is as far from conceiving an Antipathy to you or any genius in this or any other country,' in spite of which polite assurance Garrick wrote in the same year: 'I have read your play and rode your horse, and do not approve of either;' endorsing the pithy note, 'Designed for Dr. Arne, who sold me a horse, a very dull one; and sent me a comic opera, ditto' (Garrick's *Correspondence*, Forster Collection). These few glimpses of Arne's personal characteristics hardly carry out the statement of a contemporary that 'his cheerful and even temper made him endure a precarious pittance' (Dibdin, *Musical Tour*, letter lxv.); yet after his death it seems generally to have been considered that during his lifetime his genius was never sufficiently appreciated, and that as a musical hack, expected to supply music for the ephemeral plays produced at both Covent Garden and Drury Lane, he frittered away the talents which ought to have been devoted to better work. His death took place on 5 March 1778. According to the account of an eye-witness (Joseph Vernon, the singer) he died of a spasmodic complaint (*Gent. Mag.* vol. xlviii.) in the middle of a conversation on some musical matter, with his last breath trying to sing a passage the meaning of which he was too exhausted to explain. He was buried in St. Paul's, Covent Garden. The best portrait extant of Arne is an oil painting by Zoffany, now in the possession of Henry Littleton, Esq., but there is also an engraving of him after Dunkarton, and another (published 10 May 1782) after an original sketch by Bartolozzi. A caricature of Rowlandson's, entitled 'A Musical Doctor and his Pupils,' is also probably meant for Arne. Manuscripts of his music are now rarely found, most of them having been destroyed when Covent Garden theatre was burnt in 1808, but the full autograph score of 'Judith' is preserved in the British Museum (*Add. MSS.* 11515–17).

[Grove's Dictionary of Music, i. 84; Burney's Life of Arne, in Rees's Cyclopædia, vol. ii., 1819, Genest, vols. iii. and iv.; Busby's Concert-room Anecdotes, 1825; Busby's History of Music, 1819, vol. ii.; Registers of Westminster Abbey; Victor's History of the London Theatres, 1761–1771; Parke's Musical Memoirs, vol. i., 1830; the Harmonicon for 1825; Notes and Queries (2nd series), iv. 415, v. 91, 316, 319; and the authorities quoted above.] W. B. S.

ARNISTON, Lords. [See Dundas.]

ARNOLD, BENEDICT (1741–1801), American and afterwards English general, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, 14 Jan. 1740–1. (The date usually given of 1740 seems to have originated from a confusion between the new and old styles.) His family, of respectable station in England, had emigrated from Dorsetshire; his great grandfather had been governor of Rhode Island; his father, a cooper, owned several vessels in the West Indian trade. From his infancy he manifested a mischievous and ungovernable disposition, of which several characteristic traits are recorded. On attaining man's estate he entered into business as a bookseller and druggist at New Haven, Connecticut, married, adventured like his father in the West Indian trade, and acquired considerable property, partly, there is reason to suspect, by smuggling. Upon the outbreak of the dissensions between the colonies and the mother country he took a leading part upon the side of the patriots, and immediately on receiving the news of the battle of Lexington (19 April 1775) put himself at the head of a company of volunteers, seized the arsenal at New Haven, and marched to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where, with true military instinct, he proposed to the committee of public safety an expedition to capture Ticonderoga, on Lake George, and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, the keys to the communications between Canada and New York. The plan was approved, and Arnold was despatched to Western Massachusetts to raise troops. While thus engaged he learned that another expedition, under the direction of Ethan Allen, was proceeding from Vermont with the same design. He hurried to join it, and claimed the command, which was refused him, and he had to be

content with accompanying it as a volunteer. He took part in the successful surprise of Ticonderoga, 11 May, and a few days later, having obtained some troops of his own, anticipated Allen in surprising and capturing St. John's, also on Lake George. Differences with the Massachusetts committee occasioned him to resign his command; but shortly afterwards Washington adopted a plan proposed by him for an expedition against Quebec by way of the river Kennebec and the mountains of Maine, to co-operate with another expedition under Schuyler proceeding by way of the northern lakes. After enduring extreme hardships, aggravated by the desertion of one of his officers who marched back with a part of the commissariat, Arnold brought his troops successfully under the walls of Quebec, but was too weak to attack the city until the arrival of Schuyler's column, now commanded by Montgomery. On 31 Dec. 1775 the two leaders assaulted Quebec, but were disastrously repulsed, Montgomery being killed and Arnold severely wounded. He nevertheless maintained the blockade of Quebec, 'with such a handful of men,' wrote his successor, 'that the story when told hereafter will scarcely be believed.' He subsequently commanded at Montreal, and when at last want of supplies, discontent among the troops, and inferiority of force, compelled the Americans to evacuate Canada, he was literally the last man to leave the country. His next appointment was to the command of a flotilla on Lake Champlain, where, after two desperate actions and one dexterous escape, he was compelled to run his vessels ashore, but saved himself and the men under his command. Shortly afterwards he was, as he conceived, unjustly treated by Congress, which promoted five brigadiers to the rank of major-general over his head. This conduct was probably occasioned by charges then pending against him with reference to the seizure of property at Montreal; and when he was ultimately acquitted, Congress, though consenting to his promotion, refused to restore his seniority. The disgust thus occasioned was probably the first motive to his subsequent treachery. He fought, however, at Ridgefield, where he escaped death as though by miracle; relieved Fort Stanwix, blockaded by Indians; and, placed nominally under Gates's orders, but in reality the life and soul of the American army, took the most conspicuous part in the two battles at Saratoga which occasioned the surrender of Burgoyne (October 1777). Congress now restored him to his precedence; but this was the term of his good fortune. A severe wound received at Saratoga disabled him from active service, and he was appointed governor of Philadelphia. While filling this post he exposed himself to charges of extortion and peculation, the truth of which it is difficult to ascertain. He resigned his command, and claimed an investigation. After vexatious delays he obtained a partial acquittal, but incurred a reprimand which Washington, who had always protected him, administered with evident reluctance (January 1780). Arnold was now thoroughly disgusted; his fortunes were desperate. The second wife he had recently married had strong loyalist sympathies; the sentiment of military honour, apart from military glory, had probably never been a very strong one with him, and he easily allowed himself to be persuaded by British agents that he would serve his country by an act of treachery putting an end to the war. A paper published by Barbé-Marbois, purporting to be addressed to Arnold by Colonel Beverley Robinson, is of doubtful authenticity, but probably represents the nature of the arguments to which, rather than to pecuniary temptation, his fidelity succumbed. In August 1780 he solicited and obtained the command of West Point, the key of communication between the northern and southern states, and the depository of the American stores of gunpowder, with the deliberate intention, it cannot be doubted, of betraying it to the enemy. Negotiations were immediately entered into with the British commander Clinton, being conducted on the latter's part by his adjutant, the gallant and unfortunate Major André. On Sept. 21 Arnold and André had an interview at which the surrender of West Point was arranged, and the latter departed, carrying with him particulars of the defences and other compromising documents. The circumstances of his arrest have been related under his name. The news reached Arnold on the morning of 25 Sept., only one hour before the arrival of Washington. After a hasty interview with his wife, who fell senseless at his feet, he mounted his horse, galloped down to the riverside, called a boat, and found safety on board of the British sloop Vulture, which had brought André on his fatal errand.

On joining the British, Arnold received the rank of brigadier-general. His first act was to publish a vindication of his conduct and an appeal to the American army to imitate his example; but these documents, though ably composed, failed to produce the slightest effect. He subsequently commanded expeditions against Richmond in Virginia and New London in Connecticut;

both succeeded, but were mere marauding forays, without influence on the general course of operations. In 1782 he proceeded to England, where he was consulted by the king on the conduct of the war, and drew up a very able memorandum, but the suggestions it contained obviously came too late. He also obtained upwards of 6,000*l.* as compensation for his losses, and a pension of 500*l.* for his wife. Though much caressed at court, he found it impossible to procure active employment in the British army, and was even obliged to vindicate his honour by fighting a duel with Lord Lauderdale. He again entered into business, first in New Brunswick and afterwards in the West Indies. Though not in actual service, he so distinguished himself at Guadaloupe as to be rewarded by a large grant of land in Canada; he also evinced political prescience in framing a plan for the conquest of the Spanish West Indies, by exciting insurrection among the creoles. His commercial enterprises proved unfortunate, and his latter days were embittered not only by self-reproach for his treason, but by pecuniary embarrassments and the dread of want. He died in London on 14 June 1801. The threatened ruin was averted by the exertions and business ability of his devoted wife. All his four sons by her entered the British service, and one, James Robertson Arnold, an officer of engineers, rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. Descendants of his third son George still exist in England. He had had three sons by his first marriage, whose posterity survive in Canada and the United States.

'It should excite but little surprise that an ambitious, extravagant man, with fiery passions and very little balance of moral principle, should betray his friends and plunge desperately into treason.' This remark of the historian of Arnold's native town leaves little further to be said on the cardinal event of his life. Under provocation and temptation he acted infamously, but his character does not deserve the exceptional infamy with which it has been not unnaturally loaded in America. A civilian soldier, he had imperfectly imbibed the traditions of military honour; and, with his loyalist connections, his desertion may have seemed to him rather a change of party than the betrayal of his country. He was eminent for courage and the strength of domestic affection, and his memoirs contain instances of generosity and humanity which better men might envy. With all these redeeming qualities he was still essentially a bad citizen, turbulent, mercenary, and unscrupulous. Washington's exclamation on hearing of his defection showed that he had no belief in his probity, though he had tolerated his vices in consideration of his military qualities. These were indeed eminent. Arnold's intrepidity, ingenuity, promptitude, sagacity, and resource are even more conspicuous in his miscarriages than in his successes. When his almost total want of military instruction is considered, he deserves to be ranked high upon the list of those who have shown an innate genius for war.

[The principal authorities for Arnold's life are the dry but clear narrative of Jared Sparks in the Library of American Biography, vol. iii., Boston, 1835; and the more copious Biography by Isaac N. Arnold (Chicago, 1880). The latter extenuates everything, the former sets down not a few things in malice, but between the two it is easy to arrive at a just estimate of Arnold's character and actions. See also Miss F. M. Caulkin's History of Norwich, Conn., pp. 409–415; Irving's and Marshall's Lives of Washington; Sargent's Life of André; and the historians of the American war of independence in general.] R. G.

ARNOLD, CORNELIUS (1711–1757?), poetical writer, was born 13 March 1711, and entered Merchant Taylors' School in 1723. The statement that he became one of the ushers in the school is incorrect. In the latter part of his life he was beadle to the Distillers' Company. His works are: 1. 'Distress, a poetical essay,' dedicated to John, Earl of Radnor, London [1750?], 4to. 2. 'Commerce, a poem,' 2nd edit. London, 1751, 4to. 3. 'The Mirror. A Poetical Essay in the manner of Spenser,' dedicated to David Garrick, London, 1755, 4to. 4. 'Osman,' a tragedy. In a volume of poems published in 1757.

[Robinson's Register of Merchant Taylors' School, ii. 61; Baker's Biog. Dram.; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Watt's Bibl. Brit.] T. C.

ARNOLD, JOHN (1736?–1799), an eminent mechanician and one of the first makers of chronometers in this country, was born at Bodmin in 1736, and not in 1744, as is generally given; his tombstone in Chislehurst churchyard positively states that he died in 1799, ætat. 63. He was apprenticed to his father, a watchmaker in Bodmin, but a quarrel with him led to his going to Holland. In that country he is said not only to have acquired most of his knowledge of watchmaking, but to have learned German, a language which was afterwards of much use to him at court. Leaving the Hague, he came to England, and appears to have made a scanty living as an itinerant mechanic. By the help of a gentleman who was struck

with his mechanical powers, he was enabled to set up in business in Devereux Court, Strand, whence he afterwards removed to the Adelphi. He was introduced at court, and received assistance from King George III towards the cost of his experiment. Afterwards he presented the king with a very curious and very small watch, set in a ring. A full account of this ingenious toy is given in Wood's 'Curiosities of Clocks and Watches,' p. 327. The chronometer of Harrison had not long before Arnold's establishment in London been perfected, and had received the reward offered by parliament for a method of ascertaining the longitude at sea; Arnold took up the manufacture of chronometers (first so named by him), and, besides introducing certain improvements in them, he so systematised the arrangements for their production that he was able to reduce very considerably their originally high price. He made chronometers not only for the government, but also for the East India Company, then a still better customer than the government. Without going into technicalities, it would be impossible to describe Arnold's improvements in the chronometer; they are, however, set out very fully in the article on the chronometer in Rees's 'Encyclopædia.' The chief improvements with which he is credited are the expansion balance, the detached escapement, and the cylindrical balance spring. All these, however, have been claimed for Earnshaw, and how much of the credit is due to each of the two rivals cannot be said. After Arnold's death the Board of Longitude, which had granted various sums to him during his life, awarded to his son, J. R. Arnold, and to Earnshaw amounts which, with the former grants, made up 3,000*l.* apiece to each inventor.

[There is a very full account of Arnold in the Biographical Dictionary commenced by the Useful Knowledge Society; a short account of him, with a full list of authorities, is given in Boase and Courtney's Bibliotheca Cornubiensis, iii. 1034; for his improvements in the chronometer see Rees's Cyclopædia, s. v.; Frodsham on the Marine Chronometer; also Arnold's own Works and his two Patent Specifications (No. 1113, A.D. 1775, and No. 1328, A.D. 1782).] H. T. W.

ARNOLD, JOSEPH, M.D. (1782–1818), naturalist, was born 28 Dec. 1782 at Beccles, was apprenticed to a local surgeon named Crowfoot, and graduated M.D. Edin. 1807. In his youth he had directed much attention to botany, and made some communications to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' He entered the British navy as surgeon in 1808, and, the navy being reduced after the war, in January 1815 we find him in medical charge of the Northampton, bound with female convicts to Botany Bay. Returning by way of Batavia in the Indefatigable, of Boston, the ship was burnt by carelessness on 22 Oct. 1815, destroying many of his journals, and his collection of insects from South America, New Holland, and the Straits of Sunda. After some excursions in Java with Sir Stamford Raffles, of which interesting accounts are preserved in the memoir by Mr. Dawson Turner, he returned home in 1816, but, longing for further opportunities of research in travel, he obtained employment as naturalist with Sir Stamford Raffles when he was appointed governor of Sumatra. He prepared himself for research on an extensive scale by study in London. Arriving at Bencoolen 22 March 1818, his second excursion to Passumah produced the discovery of the remarkable plant without stem or leaves named, after the governor and himself, Rafflesia Arnoldi, which is parasitic upon a species of wild vine, and has a huge flower three feet in diameter, and weighing 15lbs. This was described by Robert Brown in Trans. Linn. Soc. xiii. He made a rich collection of shells and fossils, but was cut off by fever at Padang, Sumatra, on one of the last days of July 1818. Sir T. S. Raffles, in recording his death, says: 'It is impossible I can do justice to his memory by any feeble encomiums I may pass upon his character. He was in every respect what he should have been; devoted to science and the acquisition of knowledge, and aiming only at usefulness.' He was elected F.L.S. 1815, and bequeathed his collection of shells and fossils to the Linnean Society.

[Memoir by Dawson Turner, Ipswich, 1849; Memoir of Sir T. S. Raffles, London, 1830; Trans. Linn. Soc. xiii. 201.] G. T. B.

ARNOLD, RICHARD (*d.* 1521?), antiquary and chronicler, was a citizen of London, dwelling in the parish of St. Magnus, London Bridge. It would appear from his own book that he was a merchant trading with Flanders. He was an executor of the will of John Amell the elder, citizen and cutler of London, which was drawn up in 1473, and he is there described as a haberdasher. He was in the habit, for purposes of business, of paying visits to Flanders, and was in 1488 confined in the castle of Sluys on suspicion of being a spy. He was apparently hard pressed by creditors at one period of his life, and sought shelter in the sanctuary at Westminster. He had a wife named Alice and a son Nicholas. The date of his death is uncertain. Douce, who fully investigated the matter, concluded that he

died shortly after the publication of the last edition of his book, in 1520–1.

Arnold's work is merely a commonplace book dealing with London antiquities. It contains the chief charters granted to the city, accounts of its customs, and notes on a variety of topics chiefly but not entirely connected with commerce. Hearne called it a chronicle; but its only claim to that title rests on its opening section, which gives, with occasional historical notes, a list of the names of the 'Balyfs, Custos, Mayers, and Sherefs' of London between 1189 and 1502. The greater part of this list was evidently borrowed direct from a manuscript now in the Cottonian Library at the British Museum. Arnold himself gives the book no name; Douce, its latest editor, christens it the 'Customs of London.' Its most interesting feature is its introduction of the 'Ballade of ye Nottebrowne Mayde,' which occurs, without any explanation, between an account of the tolls payable by English merchants sending merchandise to Antwerp, and a statement of the differences between English and Flemish currencies. No earlier version of the ballad is known, and according to Capel, Warton, Douce, and Collier, it is probable that it had been composed only a few years before Arnold transcribed and printed it. Hearne, however, assigns it to the time of Henry V, and Bishop Percy to the early part of Henry VII's reign. Its authorship is unknown; but Douce assumes, on very just grounds, that it was translated from an old German ballad by some Englishman whom Arnold met at Antwerp. It was frequently reprinted separately in the sixteenth century, and enjoyed very great popularity for many years; interest in it was revived by its republication in the 'Muse's Mercury' for June 1707, where it was first seen by Prior, who paraphrased it in his 'Henry and Emma' about 1718.

From typographical evidence it is clear that Arnold's book was first published at Antwerp in 1502 by John Doesborowe, who published other English books. This edition is without date, place, or printer's name. A second edition, in which the list of the mayors and sheriffs is brought down to 1520—doubtless the date of publication—is ascribed by typographical experts to Peter Treveris, the first printer who set up a press at Southwark. It is also without date, place, or printer's name. A third edition, with introduction by Francis Douce, appeared in 1811. Copies of the two original editions, which are now of excessive rarity, are in the British Museum. Stowe and Holinshed both mention Arnold's compilation among their authorities; Bale and Pits pay it exaggerated respect as an original historical work. But its want of arrangement and heterogeneous contents, in most cases borrowed from readily accessible sources, give it little value for the modern historical writer.

[Douce's edition of Arnold's Customs of London; Corser's Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, i. 54; Collier's Early English Literature, i. 30; Ames's Typog. Antiq., ed. Herbert and Dibdin, iii. 34; Percy's Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall, ii. 174; Percy's Reliques, ed. Wheatley, 1876, ii. 31–47.] S. L. L.

ARNOLD, SAMUEL (1740–1802), musical composer, the son of Thomas Arnold, was born on 10 Aug. 1740. Through the patronage of the Princesses Amelia and Sophia he was admitted to the Chapel Royal, where he was educated under Gates and Nares; he is said also as a boy to have been noticed and advised by Handel. Before 1763 he was engaged by Beard as composer to Covent Garden, where in 1765 he brought out his opera, the 'Maid of the Mill,' the first of the long series of compilations from the works of other composers, which, by a judicious combination with a small amount of original work, sufficed to win him a considerable reputation as an operatic composer. Arnold became a member of the Royal Society of Musicians 4 March 1764 (*Records of Roy. Soc. of Musicians*). In 1767 he set Browne's ode, the 'Cure of Saul,' as an oratorio. This work achieved some success, and was followed by 'Abimelech,' the 'Resurrection,' and the 'Prodigal Son,' which were performed during Lent in 1768, 1773, and 1777 at Covent Garden and the Haymarket. In 1769 he took a lease of Marylebone Gardens, where he produced many operas and burlettas, amongst others Chatterton's 'Revenge;' but, owing to the dishonesty of one of his subordinates, during the three years of his tenancy he lost by the speculation a sum of nearly 10,000*l*. In 1773 the university of Oxford asked Arnold's permission to perform his oratorio, the 'Prodigal Son,' at the installation of Lord North as chancellor, and on the request being granted the honorary degree of Mus. Doc. was offered the composer. This was declined by Arnold, who preferred to take the degree in the ordinary manner, and accordingly composed as an exercise Hughes's ode on the Power of Music. On tendering this composition to the Oxford professor, Dr. Hayes, the latter returned it to Arnold unopened, with the remark that it was unnecessary to scrutinise an exercise composed by the composer of the 'Prodigal Son.' The accumulated degrees were conferred on him on 5 July 1773. In

1783 Arnold succeeded Nares as organist and composer to the Chapels Royal, and in the following year he was one of the sub-directors of the Handel commemoration. In 1786, at the request of George III, he undertook the editing of an issue of Handel's works, an edition which, though both incomplete and inaccurate, was for long the only one accessible to musicians. He was appointed conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music in 1789, and on the death of Stanley joined Linley in carrying on the oratorios at Drury Lane Theatre. On 24 Nov. 1790 'the Graduates' Meeting, a society of musical professors established in London,' was founded at a meeting at Dr. Arnold's house, 480, Strand. In the same year he published his valuable collection of cathedral music, the work by which he is now best remembered. Three years later he succeeded Dr. Cooke as organist to Westminster Abbey. A few years afterwards he fell from his library steps, breaking a tendon of his leg and sustaining internal injuries which eventually resulted in his death, which took place on Friday, 22 Oct. 1802, at his house, 22, Duke Street, Westminster. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on 29 Oct. His grave is in the north aisle, next to that of Purcell, whose leaden coffin was exposed to view at the time of the funeral. Arnold married in 1771 Mary Anne, the daughter of Dr. Archibald Napier, who survived him, and by whom he had a son and two daughters. The son was afterwards well known as the manager of the Lyceum Theatre. The eldest daughter, Caroline Mary, died on 13 Dec. 1795, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; the youngest, Marianne, was married to Mr. William Ayrton, second son of Dr. Ayrton. Dr. Arnold, besides being an industrious musician, wrote several political squibs in the tory papers. His generosity and goodfellowship rendered him very popular in his day, but as a composer his merits were inferior to many of his contemporaries, and little, if any, of his music has survived.

[The Harmonicon for 1830; Busby's Concert-room Anecdotes, 1825; Parke's Musical Memoirs, 1830; Chester's Registers of Westminster Abbey, 1876; Add. MS. 27693.] W. B. S.

ARNOLD, SAMUEL JAMES (1774–1852), dramatist, son of Samuel Arnold, Mus. Doc., was educated for an artist. He produced, however, at the Haymarket, in 1794, 'Auld Robin Gray,' a musical play in two acts; and this was followed by other works of the same class: 'Who pays the Reckoning?' produced at the Haymarket in 1795; the 'Shipwreck,' produced at Drury Lane in 1796; the 'Irish Legacy,' produced at the Haymarket in 1797; and the 'Veteran Tar,' produced at Drury Lane in 1801. 'Foul Deeds will rise,' first played at the Haymarket in 1804, is described by Genest as 'an unnatural mixture of tragedy and farce.' The 'Prior Claim,' produced at Drury Lane in 1805, was a comedy written in conjunction with Henry James Pye, the poet laureate, whose daughter Arnold had married in 1803. 'Man and Wife, or More Secrets than One,' a comedy produced at Drury Lane in 1809, enjoyed some thirty representations. In this year Arnold obtained from the Lord Chamberlain a license to open as an English opera house the Lyceum in the Strand, a building previously devoted to subscription concerts, picture exhibitions, feats of horsemanship, conjuring, &c. Upon the destruction of Drury Lane by fire in the same year, the company moved to the English Opera House, and remained there three seasons. The license had been originally granted in the belief that the house would be open only for four months in the summer, and would become a nursery of singers for the winter theatres. 'Up all Night, or the Smuggler's Cave,' 'Britain's Jubilee,' the 'Maniac, or Swiss Banditti,' 'Plots, or the North Tower,' are the titles of musical plays by Arnold presented by the Drury Lane company during their occupancy of the English Opera House. The theatre was afterwards open under his own management, when his operas of the 'King's Proxy,' the 'Devil's Bridge,' the 'Americans,' 'Frederick the Great,' 'Baron Trenck,' 'Broken Promises,' and dramas entitled 'Two Words,' 'Free and Easy,' &c., &c., were produced in succession. Hazlitt wrote in 1816 of Arnold's 'King's Proxy,' that it was 'the essence of four hundred rejected pieces . . . with all that is threadbare in plot, lifeless in wit, and sickly in sentiment. . . . Mr. Arnold writes with the fewest ideas possible; his meaning is more nicely balanced between sense and nonsense than that of any of his competitors; he succeeds from the perfect insignificance of his pretensions, and fails to offend through downright imbecility.' Arnold's 'Two Words,' however, Hazlitt pronounced 'a delightful little piece. It is a scene with robbers and midnight murder in it; and all such scenes are delightful to the reader or spectator. We can conceive nothing better managed than the plot of this.' In 1812 Arnold had been invited to undertake the direction of Drury Lane Theatre; he resigned his office on the death of Mr. Whitbread by his own hand in 1815. In 1816 the English Opera was reopened by Arnold, having been rebuilt upon an enlarged scale

by Samuel Beazley, the architect, at a cost of 80,000*l*. In 1824 Arnold produced for the first time in England a version of Weber's 'Der Freischütz,' which had been previously refused by the two patent theatres. Other foreign operas of note, the 'Tartare' of Salieri, the 'Freebooters' of Paer, the 'Robber's Bride' of Ferdinand Ries, and Marschner's 'Der Vampyr,' were afterwards produced at the English opera house for the first time in England. In 1830 the theatre was destroyed by fire. In 1833 the present Lyceum, also rebuilt by Samuel Beazley, was opened to the public. The English operas of 'Nourjahad' by Edward Loder, and the 'Mountain Sylph' by John Barnett, were produced under Arnold's management. Arnold was a magistrate and a fellow of the Royal Society.

[Genest's History of the Stage, 1832; The Georgian Era, 1834; Phillip's Musical and Personal Recollections, 1864.] D. C.

ARNOLD, THOMAS (1679–1737), captain in the navy, was descended from a family which had been settled for many generations in Lowestoft, and was, in 1718, first lieutenant of the Superb. He distinguished himself in the battle off Cape Passaro by heading the boarders and carrying the Spanish flagship, the Real Felipe, and in this service he was severely wounded, and lost the use of one arm. His gallantry was rewarded by his promotion, probably by Sir George Byng, to the rank of commander; in 1727 he was advanced to be a captain, appointed to the Fox, and sent to the coast of Carolina, where he was for some time under the orders of Captain Anson. On his return to England he retired from active service and settled at Lowestoft, where he died 31 Aug. 1737. A monument in Lowestoft church still keeps alive his memory, which, throughout the last century, was further distinguished by a local custom now obsolete. 'It is customary,' wrote Gillingwater in 1790, 'at Lowestoft to hang flags across the streets at weddings. The colours belonging to the Royal Philip taken by Lieutenant Arnold have frequently been made use of upon these occasions.'

[Gillingwater's Historical Account of the ancient Town of Lowestoft (1790), pp. 410–15.] J. K. L.

ARNOLD, THOMAS, M.D. (1742–1816), physician and writer on insanity, was born in the town of Leicester, educated at Edinburgh, where he took the degree of M.D., became a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. He practised in Leicester, where he was deservedly popular, and became owner and conductor of a large lunatic asylum there. 'In a word, he was an enlightened ornament of his native town' (*Gent. Mag.*).

His principal works are: 1. 'Observations on the Nature, Kinds, Causes, and Prevention of Insanity, Lunacy, or Madness,' London and Leicester, 1782, 1786. 2. 'A Case of Hydrophobia successfully treated,' 1793. 3. 'Observations on the Management of the Insane,' 1809. In the first of these he examines and compares the opinions of ancient and modern writers on the subject. It is a work of great learning and research, and abounds with interesting cases related from the author's experience. He died at Leicester 2 Sept. 1816.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxvi. pt. ii. p. 378.] G. V. B

ARNOLD, THOMAS (1795–1842), head master of Rugby, was born on 13 June 1795, at East Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, where his family, originally from Suffolk, had been settled for two generations, and where his father was collector of customs. There, as a child, he learned to delight in the sea, to know the flags of half Europe that floated on the Solent during the great war, and to feel something of its stir. When he was hardly six years old his father died suddenly of spasm of the heart, and his education for the next two years was committed by his mother to her sister, Miss Delafield. In 1803 he went to a school at Warminster, and thence in 1807 to Winchester. He appears to have been a shy and retiring boy, somewhat stiff and angular in character and manners, but high-principled and warm-hearted; with remarkable powers of memory; devoted to history, geography, and poetry, especially ballad poetry.

In 1811, at the early age of sixteen, he was elected scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where a small society of picked students, under an easy rule, were left in great measure to educate themselves and one another, the two most prominent members of it at the time being John Keble, the author of the 'Christian Year,' and John Taylor Coleridge, afterwards one of the judges of the court of Queen's Bench, the lifelong friend to whom Arnold loved to say that he 'owed more than to any living man.' Here, in a little Oxford within Oxford, he spent the next three years, his whole nature expanding in an atmosphere of venerable institutions and youthful friendships, of keen study of the great classical authors, especially Thucydides and Aristotle, varied by 'skirmishings' over the surrounding country and discussions in the undergraduates' common room on every variety of

subject—political, literary, and philosophical. In these he is said to have been eager and vehement, but always candid and ingenuous, and 'never showing, even then, a grain of vanity or conceit.' In 1814 he obtained a first class in classics, and the next year a fellowship at Oriel, and he gained the chancellor's prizes for the Latin and English essays in 1815 and 1817. For four years he resided on his fellowship, amidst a group of the ablest men then in the university—Copleston, Davison, Whately, Keble, Hawkins, and Hampden; using this 'golden time' to store his mind and fill many manuscript volumes with the results of wide and independent reading, chiefly of original authorities, in the libraries of the place. In 1818 he was ordained deacon, and in the following year he settled at Laleham, a quiet village on the broad Thames, to take as private pupils a small number of young men preparing for the universities. In 1820 he married Mary Penrose, daughter of the Rev. John Penrose, and sister of one of his earliest friends.

The eight years of active growth at Oxford had traced the general lines of character and opinion which were to be his through life; and these were deepened and developed during the eight quiet years which followed, spent chiefly in continued study, in working and playing with the pupils whom he made part of his peaceful and industrious home, and in assisting in the care of the parish. Here he learned to know the poor, and to feel that sympathy with the humbler classes which afterwards so strongly marked his views of duty, both individual and social. It was during this time that his mind came under an influence by which it was powerfully affected, that of Niebuhr's 'History of Rome,' which not only inspired him with new views of historical criticism, but, by introducing him to German literature, opened to him new realms of thought. And it was now that, under the elevating influence of a happy marriage and increased responsibilities, his religious convictions and feelings were brought, so to speak, to a focus, and he came to be possessed with that vivid sense of the reality of the invisible world, and that personal devotion to Jesus Christ, which formed henceforth the basis of his spiritual life. From this time he became more and more remarkable for that close interpenetration of all parts of his being—spiritual, moral, intellectual, and emotional—which was the key to his character, and reflected itself in all his opinions and habits of thought. Thus—to give a few characteristic instances—the central truth of life to him, not as a dogma accepted from without, but as the satisfaction of a craving within, was the union of the divine and the human in the person of Jesus Christ; to speak of a Christian's body as the temple of the Holy Spirit was hardly a metaphor; the church and the state were one; the natural and the supernatural, things secular and religious, were inextricably blended; every act of a Christian's life was at once secular as done on this earth, and religious as done in the presence of God; and every act was of importance, as affecting the great struggle everywhere and at all times going on between good and evil. This solidarity of the whole nature, 'moving altogether if it move at all,' is not without its drawbacks. There must be a danger that the lower parts, instead of adding strength to the higher, may usurp their place; that sympathies or antipathies may be mistaken for moral judgments, and a hasty temper for righteous indignation. The uncompromising earnestness which belongs to it is apt to give offence; but if it provokes opposition it gives the force necessary for overcoming it; and in Arnold's case, being absolutely free from all taint of self-seeking, it won for him, in a singular degree, the confidence of all with whom he was brought into close contact.

In 1827 the mastership of Rugby fell vacant, and he was urged to be a candidate for it. He hesitated, chiefly from doubt whether he should be free to make such changes as he might find necessary. This doubt removed, at the eleventh hour he sent in his name, and he was elected, chiefly on the strength of a letter from Dr. Hawkins, prophesying that if Mr. Arnold were appointed 'he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England.' In August 1828 he removed to Rugby, where he remained till his death in 1842. He became B.D. and D.D. in 1828.

The humble grammar school of Lawrence Sheriff had before this expanded into a prosperous public school, with ample funds and commodious buildings, including (what was not then usual) a chapel; but it was still, as compared with such foundations as Eton or Winchester, limited in numbers, without marked character or time-honoured traditions, and therefore all the better fitted for the hand of the reformer. And it was no doubt a time when reforms were needed in public schools; but, viewed by the light of the present day, there was nothing startling in those which were introduced by Dr. Arnold, nor was there anything recondite in his system. If, as is now acknowledged, he verified his friend's prediction by regenerating public

school education in England, it was mainly by very simple means—by treating the boys with confidence, and by impressing upon them his own sense of the value of knowledge and the sacredness of duty: in short, it was by the force of his personal character, touched, according to his habitual prayer, by the 'spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.'

As a teacher his aim was not so much to impart information as to awaken thought and stimulate industry. While insisting, somewhat sternly, on a careful preparation of the prescribed lesson, if any difficulty arose in connection with it, instead of giving the explanation at once, he would place himself, so to speak, by the side of his pupils and help them to find it for themselves. Though not what is called a finished scholar, he had a strong turn for philology in its wider aspects, and a rare power of terse and spirited translation; and the ever fresh delight which he took in his favourite authors, such as Homer and Thucydides, Cicero and Virgil, was in itself a lesson to his scholars. While maintaining the old pre-eminence of the classics as the best vehicle for the study of language —a study which seemed to him as if 'given for the very purpose of forming the human mind in youth'—he was the first to add mathematics, modern history, and modern languages to the ordinary school course. Into the classical lessons he put fresh life by constantly directing attention to the general questions, literary, moral, or historical, which they opened up; and perhaps nothing in his method of teaching was more remarkable than the manner in which he habitually made different parts of knowledge illustrate one another. The 'Divinity' lessons, apt in those days to be few and meagre, were with him very frequent, and always marked by special fulness of interest and a peculiar reverence of tone and manner. In these, as well as in the lessons on modern history, it was impossible but that his own views should find some expression; but he made it quite clear to his hearers that they were not desired to accept those views, but to examine and think for themselves.

In his government of the school he was undoubtedly aided by a natural sternness of aspect and manner, which, making all his relations with his pupils rest on a background of awe, gave the greater effect to his perfect frankness and simplicity, his entire freedom alike from 'donnishness' and from suspicion. The quick insight of boys soon discovered that his anger, if easily roused, had nothing in it of personal resentment, and that the severest sense of the sinfulness of an act did not exclude the most fatherly tenderness towards the offender. Sensitively alive to the peculiar evils incident to the free life of public schools, where a low tone may so easily be set by a few bad boys, he felt also their unique advantages if only a good tone could be infused into them. This he sought to do mainly through the medium of the sixth-form boys, with whom he was in hourly contact, and who were entrusted with much authority over the rest; and wherever he saw an evil influence at work—a boy, and still more a knot of boys, doing harm to themselves and others—it was his practice to require their parents to remove them quietly from the school. But as in intellectual so in moral matters, it was to promise rather than to attainment that he looked, and it was by stimulating to good, rather than by repression of evil, that he acted. He made boys feel that each individual was an object of personal interest to him, and they learned to think that he had an insight almost supernatural into their thoughts and feelings. At the same time the manliness, the independence, the buoyant cheerfulness of his own temperament, his hearty interest in the school games, which he looked upon as an integral part of education, put him in sympathy with all that was good, even in the least intellectual of his scholars.

As a moral and religious teacher, the special engine of his influence was the weekly sermon. Written generally with great rapidity, but expressing what was habitually in his mind, and delivered with singular earnestness and feeling, these discourses conveyed to his hearers, with a power exceeding that of the most finished compositions, the spirit that was in him. But more potent perhaps than any sermon was the impression habitually conveyed, with all the force of his powerful character, that in everything that he said or did, whether in the pulpit or out of it, he was seeking to do all to the glory of God.

The result of the new influence at work in the school soon began to attract attention. At the universities many of its scholars attained distinction, while very few (a point to which the head master himself attached even greater importance) failed to pass their examinations. Not in the universities only, but in the army and elsewhere, it came more and more to be observed that Arnold's pupils were, to a degree unusual at that time, 'thoughtful, manly-minded, and conscious of duty and obligation.' For some years, however, the increase in the numbers of the school did not keep pace with the rise in its reputation, being checked by the unpopularity of the head-master's utterances on public matters. In 1829 he published a pamphlet on the 'Chris-

tian Duty of conceding the Roman Catholic Claims,' in the course of which he ruthlessly exposed the incompetence of the clergy as a body to deal with such questions. In 1831 he started a newspaper, chiefly to plead for more generous treatment of the lower classes; and though this paper failed, he continued to write on similar subjects in the same outspoken style, almost to the end of his life. In 1833, when the very existence of the national church seemed to be in peril, he issued, in the 'Principles of Church Reform,' a powerful appeal for comprehension, as at once right in itself, and the only escape from the 'calamity' of disestablishment. And when, in 1836, the dominant party in Oxford attempted to keep Dr. Hampden out of a professorship on the ground of alleged heresy, he assailed them with unmeasured vehemence in the 'Edinburgh Review.'

The first of these publications so irritated the clergy that some years afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury objected to Arnold's preaching Bishop Stanley's consecration sermon, on the ground of the offence that it would give them. For years his principles, tenets, and proceedings at Rugby were the subject, in certain tory papers, of abuse little short of libellous. The article in the 'Edinburgh Review' nearly led to the abrupt termination of his mastership. Disturbed by the stir which it created, the trustees wrote formally to ask whether he was the author; and when he declined to give any answer to the question a motion of censure, which would have led to his resignation, was all but carried. To these annoyances was often added the worse pain of feeling that as to many of the objects nearest to his heart he stood practically alone. With the exception perhaps of Chevalier Bunsen, the eminent Prussian minister, whose friendship, made at Rome in 1827, he counted as one of the chief blessings of his life, he knew no man altogether like-minded. Many who admired his freedom of thought could not understand his firm adherence to the old faith; many who shared his reverent spirit were shocked by his liberal opinions. Thus in labouring to liberalise the national church he displeased alike his liberal friends who wished to destroy it, and his church friends who wished to keep it narrow. Thus, having joined the new university of London, chiefly in the hope of making it an engine of education at once religious and unsectarian, he found that he could get no support in this design, and withdrew in bitter disappointment.

But for all this he found ample solace in his school duties and his literary labours in connection with them, in frank and friendly intercourse with old pupils, in his own happy family circle, and especially in the seclusion of the home which he had made for himself at Fox How, in a beautiful nook among the Westmoreland hills.

At length, about the year 1840, the tide turned. The merits of the schoolmaster, the high character of the man, came to be generally recognised, even where his opinions could find no acceptance. The numbers of the school rose beyond the limit within which he had wished to keep. Nowhere was the change of feeling towards him more marked than at Oxford; and when, in 1841, he was appointed regius professor of history at that university, the delight with which he returned to his old haunts to deliver his inaugural lecture was greatly enhanced by his finding himself treated with cordial respect by those whose alienation he had most deeply regretted. At the same time a change came over his own spirit. Not that he bated one jot of his devotion to 'that great work,' the extension of Christ's church, or of his hostility to everything which seemed to retard it, whether toryism or jacobinism, sectarianism or indifferentism, superstition or unbelief; while to the last he continued to denounce tractarianism as a revival of the very judaizing spirit against which St. Paul fought. But the impatient fervour passed away. It was not only that some of his views on particular subjects underwent modification, but there came a general relaxation of tension, a disposition to trust more to time, and to bring his own immediate efforts and aspirations more within the bounds of what was practicable.

On this more tranquil phase of life he had hardly entered when, in the fulness of life and activity, on 12 June 1842, the last day of his forty-seventh year, he was suddenly cut off by an attack of angina pectoris. A slight previous illness had passed away without causing any alarm; but those nearest and dearest to him remembered afterwards to have observed a 'visible ripening for heaven;' and a touching entry in his private diary, written late on the night of the 11th, seems to indicate something of a foreboding that his work on earth was drawing to a close. He left a widow, who survived him for thirty-one years, and nine children, of whom the eldest son, Matthew, is the distinguished poet and critic, and the eldest daughter is the wife of Mr. W. E. Forster.

Dr. Arnold's chief published works are as follows:—1. An edition of Thucydides, especially valuable for its geographical notes, and for the light thrown on the constitutional history of the period of the Peloponnesian war. The first volume of the first edition

was printed in 1830, and the third and last in 1835; two volumes of the second edition, which was left incomplete, appeared in 1841. (Professor Jowett, in his translation of Thucydides (i. ix.), gives a general estimate of the value of Arnold's edition.) 2. The early history of Rome, in three volumes, of which the two first were mainly based on Niebuhr (London, 1838–43). 3. A history of the later period of the Roman commonwealth, from the end of the second Punic war to the reign of Augustus, with a life of Trajan, published posthumously in 1845, and consisting of reprints of articles that had appeared in the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana.' 4. Lectures on the study of modern history, delivered at Oxford in 1841 and 1842 (Oxford, 1842). 5. A collection of sermons in three volumes published between 1829 and 1834. The third volume was republished separately in 1876, and the whole series, together with other sermons printed separately in Dr. Arnold's lifetime, was issued again in 1878 in six volumes, under the editorship of Mrs. W. E. Forster. Arnold's biographer, Dean Stanley, collected and republished his 'Miscellaneous Works' in 1845, and his 'Travelling Journals, with Extracts from his Life and Letters,' in 1852. But it is chiefly through Stanley's 'Life and Correspondence,' first pubished in two volumes in 1844, and reaching its twelfth edition in 1881, that the 'hero of schoolmasters,' the champion alike of reverent faith and of independent thought, is and will be known to the world.

In person he was a little above the middle height; spare, but vigorous, and healthy without being robust. A slightly projecting underlip, and eyes deep set beneath strongly marked eyebrows, gave to his countenance when at rest a somewhat stern expression, which became formidable when he was moved to anger; but the effect was all the greater when, in the playful or tender moods which were frequent with him, or on meeting in a book or in conversation with a noble sentiment or a striking thought, his eye gleamed, and his whole face lighted up. Simple in his tastes and habits, never idle and never hurried, he made his home a 'temple of industrious peace;' and he rarely left it except to travel occasionally on the continent, with an eye enlightened by lifelong studies in history and geography. He had an intense delight in beautiful scenery, and took pleasure in the fine arts and in some of the natural sciences, but chiefly as bearing on the life and history of man. For science as such, for art as such, he cared comparatively little; for music not at all. 'Flowers,' he used to say, 'are my music,' and his love for them was like that of a child. Walking by the side of his wife's pony—his daily habit during term time—he half forgot the dulness of the flat and featureless country about Rugby in spying them out along the hedgerows and in the copses; and they added to the enjoyment of the rambles over hill and dale which were a marked feature in his life at Fox How. Nothing, perhaps, gives a better idea of the man than the description of 'his delight in those long mountain walks when they would start with their provisions for the day, himself the guide and life of the party, always on the look-out how best to break the ascent by gentle stages, comforting the little ones in their falls, and helping forward those who were tired, himself always keeping with the laggers, that none might strain their strength by trying to be in front with him; and then, when his assistance was not wanted, the liveliest of all—his step so light, his eye so quick in finding flowers to take home to those who were not of the party.' It is by the aid of imagery taken from these walks that the lesson of his life is summed up for us and for posterity by his son in the lines on 'Rugby Chapel,' where he has drawn the striking picture of a strong, hopeful, helpful soul, cheering and supporting his weaker comrades on their upward and onward way.

[Arnold's Life and Correspondence by Stanley; personal knowledge.] T. W.

ARNOLD, THOMAS JAMES (1804?–1877), barrister and man of letters, was the son of Stephen James Arnold, and was born about 1804. He was called to the bar in 1829, was appointed magistrate at the Worship Street police-court in 1847, and transferred to the Westminster court in 1851. He died, still holding this appointment, on 19 May 1877, being then senior London police magistrate. He wrote legal manuals on the law of municipal corporations, the labour laws, and other subjects. As a translator he is known by his versions of Goethe's 'Reineke Fuchs' (1860), of 'Faust' (1877), and of Anacreon (1869). The translation of 'Reineke Fuchs' is a very creditable work; that of 'Faust' is respectable, but inferior to some other recent versions, and, having been published in folio form as an accompaniment to a volume of illustrations, is but little known. The translator of Anacreon has only the alternative of baldness or infidelity, and Mr. Arnold chose the former. He also translated Schiller's 'Song of the Bell,' and wrote an able review of the controversy respecting Mr. Collier's annotated Shakespeare folio in 'Fraser's Maga-

zine' for January 1860. This was to have been continued, but the sequel never appeared. He was a man of great culture and accomplishments, an intimate friend of Shelley's friend, Thomas Love Peacock, and the son-in-law of Shelley's biographer, Thomas Jefferson Hogg.

[Annual Register, 1877; private information.] R. G.

ARNOLD, THOMAS KERCHEVER (1800–1853), voluminous writer of educational works and theologian, was born in 1800. His father, Thomas George Arnold, was a doctor of Stamford. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, was seventh junior optime in the mathematical tripos of 1821, and was elected fellow of his college shortly afterwards. He took his degree of B.A. in the same year, and that of M.A. in 1824. In 1830 he was presented to the living of Lyndon, in Rutlandshire, where his parishioners only numbered one hundred. He at first devoted his ample leisure to theology, and showed himself an obstinate opponent of the views advanced by the leaders of the Oxford movement. From 1838 until his death he applied himself mainly to the preparation of school books, which procured him a very wide reputation. He died at Lyndon Rectory of bronchitis after a few days' illness on 9 March 1853. A writer in the 'Guardian' at the time of his death describes him as 'remarkable for an almost feminine gentleness of manner, and for the unaffected simplicity of his life.'

Arnold began his career as an educational writer with the publication of the 'Essentials of Greek Accidence' in 1838, and this work was followed almost immediately by his 'Practical Introduction to Greek Prose Composition,' which had an unprecedented success, and was 'the keystone of his literary fortunes.' The book reached a fourth edition in 1841, and a seventh in 1849, when its sale had exceeded 20,000 copies. It was at once adopted as a text-book in the higher classes of the chief schools of England. Its leading merit consisted in its author's judicious use of the system and researches of recent German scholars—'in applying the method of Ollendorff to the syntax of Buttmann.' In 1839 Arnold issued a 'Latin Prose Composition' on a similar plan, and it met with a welcome little less warm than that accorded to its forerunner, and in the succeeding years he prepared a whole library of classical school-books, which included translations and adaptations of many German and American works. In association with the Rev. J. E. Riddle he published in 1847 an 'English-Latin Lexicon,' based on a German work by Dr. C. E. Georges, which cost him, he wrote in the preface, 'many years of labour.' Between 1848 and 1853 he edited, in twenty-five volumes, portions of all the chief Latin and Greek authors, and published handbooks of classical antiquities, an 'Anticleptic Gradus,' and similar works. Nor did he confine himself to the classics. He superintended the publication of English, French, German, Italian, and Hebrew grammars, and aided in the preparation of a 'Handbook of Hebrew Antiquities' and a 'Boy's Arithmetic.' Almost all his educational writings bear the distinct impress of German influence. In his classical work he depended largely on Madvig, Krüger, Zumpt, and other less known scholars; his treatment of modern languages was also based on German models, and Arnold was generally ready to acknowledge his obligations to foreign writers.

As a theological writer Arnold was almost equally voluminous. His earliest published work was a sermon on the 'Faith of Abel,' which appeared in the third volume of a collection of 'Family Sermons' in 1833, and four years later he projected and edited a periodical under the title of the 'Churchman's Quarterly Magazine,' which soon perished. Subsequently he made two similar attempts to further the interests of the church of England by means of periodical literature. In January 1844 he published the first number of the 'Churchman's Monthly Companion,' which succumbed to popular indifference eight months later, and in 1851 he started another monthly magazine, entitled the 'Theological Critic,' which lived on until his death in 1853. Arnold's contributions to theological literature also included five pamphlets on ecclesiastical questions raised by the Oxford movement; an abridgment of an American version of Hengstenberg's 'Christology;' two volumes of sermons, one published in 1845, and the other posthumously in 1858; and 'Short Helps to Daily Devotion' (1847). He likewise issued controversial treatises criticising well-known theological works like Taylor's 'Interpretations of the Fathers,' Elliott's 'Horæ Apocalypticæ,' and Dean Close's sermons, in all of which, according to a sympathetic critic in the 'Guardian' of 1853, 'his critical eye discerned unsoundness . . . which, if not exposed, was likely to do extensive mischief.'

Of the value of Arnold's educational writings, by which alone he is now remembered, more than one opinion has been held. The multifarious character of his literary work necessarily rendered it of very unequal

quality, and a very small part of the classical portion of it has alone stood the test of time. In an article in 'Fraser's Magazine' for February 1853, which was afterwards published in pamphlet form, and has been attributed, correctly, as we believe, to Dr. J. W. Donaldson, the author of the 'New Cratylus,' the attempt was made in very forcible language to throw discredit on the whole of Arnold's classical schoolbooks. But the unmeasured vituperation of the criticism, which attracted considerable attention at the time, is only very partially justified. In a temperate reply, written a few weeks before his death, Arnold successfully rebutted some of the more sinister imputations on his character introduced into the article; and he justly remarks, in reference to the multiplicity of his works, that 'regular industry with a careful division of time and employment, carried on, with hardly any exception, for six days in every week, will accomplish a great deal in fifteen years.' The popularity of a few of the books that Donaldson specially denounced has, moreover, survived his fierce attack, and his Latin and Greek 'Prose Compositions,' new editions of which, revised by leading scholars, appeared in 1881, are valued highly at the present day by many teachers of eminence.

[Gent. Mag. (new series), xxxix. 667; Athenæum for 1853, i. 353; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Arnold's Few Words in Answer to the Attack on my Classical School Books (1853).] S. L. L.

ARNOLD, WILLIAM DELAFIELD (1828–1859), Anglo-Indian official and novelist, the second son of Thomas Arnold, D.D., was born at Laleham, 7 April 1828, and was educated at Rugby. He was elected a student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1847, and in the following year proceeded to India as ensign in the 58th regiment of native infantry. He soon became an assistant commissioner in the Punjab, and in 1856 was appointed by Sir John Lawrence director of public instruction. The department was new, and its organisation fell entirely upon Arnold, who, after much invaluable service, was obliged to quit India on sick leave, and died at Gibraltar on his way home, 9 April, 1859. His wife, Frances Anne, daughter of Major-general Hodgson, had died shortly before in India. Their joint memories are celebrated by his brother Matthew in 'A Southern Night,' one of the most beautiful memorial poems in our language. Arnold's name is further perpetuated by an annual distribution of medals, bearing his likeness, to the best pupils in the schools which he founded, provided from a fund subscribed by his fellow-workers in the Punjab. He is the author of 'Oakfield, or Fellowship in the East,' a novel in two volumes, published in 1853 under the pseudonym of 'Punjabee.' It depicts the struggles of a young officer of exceptional culture and seriousness to elevate the low tone of the military society about him, and the trials and problems forced upon him by this peculiar form of quixotism. It is well written and deeply interesting, imbued in every line with the spirit of the author's illustrious father; but, as is usually the case when the ethical element largely predominates, is open to the charge of insufficient sympathy with types of character alien from the writer's own. He also translated Wiese's 'Letters on English Education' (1854), and published in 1855 four lectures, treating respectively of the Palace of Westminster, the English in India, Caste, and the Discovery of America.

[Prospective Review, x. 274–303; information from Miss Frances Arnold.] R. G.

ARNOT, HUGO (1749–1786), historical writer, was son of a merchant at Leith, where he was born 8 Dec. 1749. He changed his name from Pollock to Arnot on succeeding to his mother's property of Balcormo, Fifeshire. He became an advocate 5 Dec. 1772. In 1777 he published a satirical paper, called an 'Essay on Nothing,' read before the Speculative Society, and made himself unpopular by his sarcasms. In 1779 he published his 'History of Edinburgh' (a second edition appeared in 1817), and in 1785 a 'Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland.' Both works were pirated in Ireland. He published the second at his own expense in defiance of the Edinburgh booksellers, and the gross proceeds were 600*l*. His books show reading and shrewdness. He became prematurely old from asthma, and his irritability and caustic language hindered his success at the bar. Many anecdotes are told of his eccentricity. He wrote many papers on local politics, opposed local taxation, and is said to have retarded for ten years the erection of the South Bridge in Edinburgh. He died 20 Nov. 1786, and left eight children. He was a favourite subject with John Kay, the Edinburgh caricaturist, who took full advantage of the extreme slimness of his figure.

[Kay's Edinburgh Portraits, with biographic sketches, Nos. v, viii, lxvi, cxxxii, and pp. 16, 25, 157, 324, ed. 1877; Anderson's Scottish Nation.]

ARNOT, WILLIAM (1808–1875), preacher and theological writer, was born at Scone, where his father was a farmer, 6 Nov. 1808. In early life he was apprenticed to a

gardener; but the deep impression made on his mind by the death of a religiously minded brother led him to study for the ministry. In his university career in Glasgow he gained distinction in spite of his poverty, especially in the Greek classes. He had for classfellows two men, whose biographies he afterwards wrote: James Halley, who died quite early, and James Hamilton, afterwards minister of the National Scotch Church in Regent Square, London. Arnot was of an honest, joyous, unconventional, hearty nature, with a dash of originality almost amounting to eccentricity. Writing to his father he revealed the true secret of his character: 'I love, in a greater or less degree, every person whom I know, and also all that I do not know; and this is one grand source of my happiness.'

Soon after completing his theological studies he was called, in 1838, to be minister of St. Peter's Church in Glasgow, one of the new churches built under the extension scheme of Dr. Chalmers. He soon became one of the most popular ministers of the city. His ministry, which after 1843 was carried on in connection with the Free Church, was marked by an intense love of nature, united with a poetical temperament; by sympathy with young men; by ardent advocacy of temperance, and a strong appreciation of ethical christianity. He strongly sympathised with all movements fitted to advance the welfare of the working class.

In the year 1863, on the appointment of Dr. Rainy to a professorship, Arnot was called to be minister of one of the leading congregations of the Free Church in Edinburgh, where for the last ten years of his life he was a conspicuous figure. During that time he edited a monthly religious magazine, called the 'Family Treasury.' He thrice visited America: in 1845, to render important ministerial service in the dominion of Canada; in 1870 as a delegate from the Free Church of Scotland to congratulate the presbyterian churches in the northern states on their happy reunion; and for the third time, in 1873, as a member of the Evangelical Alliance, to attend its meetings at New York. Having been a steady sympathiser with the northern states and the anti-slavery movement, he was received in the United States with extraordinary cordiality.

The degree of D.D. was virtually offered to Mr. Arnot by the university of Glasgow, and afterwards formally by the university of New York; but for personal reasons he declined to avail himself of it in either case. He died after a short illness at Edinburgh, 3 June 1875.

His chief works were the following: 1. 'Life of James Halley.' 2. 'The Race for Riches, and some of the Pits into which the Runners fall: six lectures applying the Word of God to the traffic of man.' It had a wide circulation both in this country and America, as following up the principles of Chalmers's 'Commercial Discourses.' 3. 'The Drunkard's Progress, being a panorama of the overland route from the station of Drouth to the general terminus in the Dead Sea, in a series of thirteen views, drawn and engraved by John Adam, the descriptions given by John Bunyan, junior.' 4. 'Laws from Heaven for Life on Earth; Illustrations of the Book of Proverbs.' 2 vols. This was one of his most characteristic and successful books, treating of the maxims of Hebrew wisdom viewed from a christian standpoint in the nineteenth century. 5. 'Roots and Fruits of the Christian Life.' 6. 'The Parables of our Lord.' 7. 'Life of James Hamilton, D.D.' 8. 'This Present World.' Some thoughts on the adaptation of man's home to the tenant. 9. A posthumous volume of sermons.

[Autobiography, with Memoir by his daughter, 1877.] W. G. B.

ARNOTT, GEORGE ARNOTT WALKER (1799–1868), botanist, was born at Edinburgh, 6 Feb. 1799. His early years were spent at Edenshead and Arlary, on the borders of Fife and Kinross; in 1807 he went to Edinburgh, entering the university in 1813, where he took his A.M. degree in 1818. He studied for the law, and was admitted to the faculty of advocates in 1821; but the profession was uninteresting to him, and he soon abandoned it. His attention some three or four years previously had been turned to botany, and to this study he now devoted himself, becoming acquainted with Wight and Greville, and a little later with Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Hooker. In 1821 he went to France, where he worked in the Paris herbaria, and published two papers on mosses. He afterwards visited Spain and Russia, and, on his return to Scotland, married in 1831 Miss Mary Hay Barclay, of Paris, Perthshire. From 1830 to 1840 he was engaged with Sir William Hooker upon an account of the plants collected in Captain Beechey's voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, which formed a quarto volume published in 1841. During these ten years he was very active in publishing descriptions of new plants from South America, India, and Senegambia, in various periodicals; he co-operated with Wight in his 'Illustrations of Indian Botany,' and in the 'Prodromus Floræ peninsulæ Indiæ Orientalis.' In 1839 he temporarily took Dr.

Hooker's place as botanical lecturer at Glasgow, and in 1845 was appointed professor of botany in that university, leaving Arlary in 1846, and taking up his residence in Glasgow. In 1850 he was associated with Sir William Hooker in the sixth edition of the 'British Flora.' About this time he took up the study of Diatoms, of which he formed a large and valuable collection, publishing several memoirs on the subject. In 1868 his health, which had previously begun to fail, gave way, and the delivery of his university course had to be abandoned. Jaundice set in, and he died on 17 April 1868, and was buried in the Lighthill cemetery, Glasgow. He left three sons and five daughters. His large collections subsequently became the property of the university of Glasgow. He was a good correspondent, an esteemed professor, an accurate observer, and a zealous worker.

[Trans. Bot. Soc. Edinburgh, ix. 414–26.]

J. B.

ARNOTT, NEIL (1788–1874), physician and natural philosopher, was born at Arbroath, in Scotland, where his father held a valuable farm. His father had become a catholic in early life; and his mother, Ann, daughter of Maclean of Boteray, was of the same faith. Misfortunes compelled the father to give up his farm and settle first at Blair and afterwards in Aberdeen. Neil was taught by his mother and at the parish school of Lunan, and in November 1798 entered Aberdeen grammar school. In 1801 he was entered as a student in the Marischal College, with a small bursary, where he remained during four sessions, and was especially interested by the lectures of Patrick Copland on natural philosophy. He graduated M.A. in 1805, and at once commenced the study of medicine in Aberdeen. He supported himself partly by acting as shop-assistant to a chemist. In September 1806, he went to London, and became a student at St. George's Hospital, under Sir Everard Home. A year later Home's favour obtained him an appointment as surgeon in the East India Company's service, and he sailed for China in April 1807. During the long and stormy voyage he appears to have made a number of physical and meteorological observations regarding ocean currents, tides, winds, and other atmospheric phenomena, waves, &c., many of which are recorded in his 'Elements of Physics.' He learned languages and gave lectures to the captain and officers. He also turned his attention to sanitary matters, clothing, and ventilation. In 1809, he returned to England, and in the following year made a second voyage to China. He performed a novel operation for stricture, which saved the life of the captain, and devised new modes of ventilating the ship.

On his return to London, in 1811, he commenced practice in Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, in partnership with a friend named Darling, and he soon afterwards began a course of lectures on Natural Science applied to Medicine at the Philomathic Institution, which, in 1827, were published under the title of 'Elements of Physics.' In 1813 he obtained the diploma of the College of Surgeons, and in 1814 the university of Aberdeen conferred upon him the degree of M.D. He continued to practise as a physician till the year 1855, and enjoyed a large and lucrative practice.

Arnott's catholic connections and knowledge of languages helped him in his profession. Many foreigners consulted him. In 1816 he became physician to the French, and some time afterwards to the Spanish embassy. In the same year he dissolved his partnership with Darling, who had married, and took up his residence in a large house, No. 38 Bedford Square, where he remained to the end of his professional life—more than forty succeeding years. During the next seven or eight years but few changes appear to have taken place in his career.

About 1823 he began to prepare his 'Physics.' Sir David Barry was at this time propagating his views concerning the circulation of blood through the capillary tubes and the veins; and he attributed this to atmospheric pressure. The view was opposed by Dr. Armstrong, who begged Arnott to take up his cause. This led to the delivery of lectures on medical physics in 1825 in Arnott's house. Professor Bain says: 'The lectures made a great impression, and there was a strong desire expressed that he should repeat them.'

The first volume of Arnott's 'Physics' appeared in 1827, and it was received with enthusiasm. A second edition was printed in the same year, a third in 1828, and a fourth, together with Part I. of the second volume, in 1829. In 1833 appeared a fifth edition of the first volume, with a second of vol. ii. Part I. It was speedily translated into Spanish, French, Dutch, and German. The book went out of print, and Arnott spent much time upon a sixth edition, half of which appeared in 1864, and a second half, with new chapters, in 1865; a seventh edition has appeared since his death.

About the year 1855, he gave up his practice, and turned his attention more especially to scientific and sanitary matters. His name

had become well known many years earlier in connection with the invention of a smokeless grate, known as 'Arnott's Stove,' which combined economy of fuel and consumption of the smoke with uniformity of combustion. For this he was awarded the Rumford medal of the Royal Society in 1854. He devised the water-bed in 1832, and in 1838 he published an important essay on 'Warming and Ventilation,' in which both his stove and ventilator are fully described. He declined to patent any of his inventions, and was never more happy than when he could devise or apply any means of lessening human suffering, or extending man's dominion over nature. For his various inventions he was awarded a gold medal by the jurors of the Paris Exhibition of 1855, and Napoleon III. gave him the cross of the Legion of Honour. He was one of the founders of the university of London in 1836, and an original member of the senate. In the following year he was appointed one of the physicians extraordinary to the queen; in 1838 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1854 a member of the Medical Council. In 1861, he published a 'Survey of Human Progress,' which reached a second edition in 1862. It was well received, though criticised as representing a 'narrow utilitarianism.' In 1867 he wrote a small tract on arithmetic, and in 1870 a pamphlet on national education.

To a great age Dr. Arnott retained clear faculties, and his old spirit of inventiveness never forsook him. Among his last devices was a chair-bed for preventing sea-sickness. Having a large circle of scientific friends, and being a prominent member of the Royal Institution, he lived much in the society of the most progressive men of science in London. His benefactions were widely spread. In 1869 he gave 2,000*l.* to the university of London, and 1,000*l.* to the universities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and St. Andrews. In 1865 Mrs. Arnott gave 1,000*l.* to each of two ladies' colleges in London, and after her husband's death carried out his wishes by giving 1,000*l.* to each of the four Scotch universities.

In 1859 he caught cold, which brought on a deafness, gradually increasing, and ultimately limiting greatly his sociable habits. A fall in 1871 produced a concussion of the brain and weakened his mind. He died 22 March 1874, and was buried in Edinburgh. His wife, whom he married in 1856, survived him two years. She was the widow of one of his oldest friends, Mr. Knight, and the daughter of Mr. G. H. Holley, of Blickling, in Norfolk.

Dr. Arnott was physically a very strong man. He was perfectly sound in health, and for more than sixty years he lived in the heart of London, and rarely sought or required a holiday. In many manual exercises, such as handicraft and games, drawing, and playing upon musical instruments, he excelled. He possessed a great aptitude for languages—wrote English elegantly, and gave fluent speech to Italian, Spanish, and French. When his 'Physics' was translated into German, he began the study of that language. His intellect was very versatile. It widely embraced both languages and science. As an inventor he possessed many resources. He was a very sociable man, was extremely amiable, and always full of philanthropic aims and objects. There is a crayon drawing of Arnott by Mrs. W. Carpenter in the Royal Society, and a portrait by Partridge in Marischal College, Aberdeen.

[Obituary notice of Dr. Neil Arnott, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. xxv. 1877; Bain's Biographical Memoir of Dr. Neil Arnott, read before the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, 1881.] G. F. R.

ARNOUL or **ARNULF.** [See ERNULF.]

ARNWAY, JOHN (1601–1653), royalist divine, was of a Shropshire family and heir to a considerable estate. He was a commoner of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, and in 1635 rector of Hodnet and Ightfield. (For difficulties connected with these appointments see *State Papers*, Dom. 1634–5.) His abounding charity and devoted loyalty were conspicuous. When he repaired to the king at Oxford in 1642, the parliament garrison at Wem plundered his house so completely that (according to his own account) they left him neither bible, nor money, nor clothes. He was promoted to be archdeacon of Lichfield and Coventry and prebendary of Woolvey. Resuming his activity in the royal service, his estate was sequestrated and he imprisoned till after the king's death. He was then exiled, and took refuge at the Hague, where (in 1650) he published two pamphlets, (1) the 'Tablet,' a vindication of the king against Milton's 'Eikonoclastes,' and (2) 'An Alarum to the Subjects of England,' an account of the oppressions which he and others had suffered. He was compelled by poverty to accept an invitation to exercise his function among the English in Virginia, where he died, it is supposed in 1653. Both his tracts were reprinted in 1661 by William Rider of Merton College.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 307: Fasti, i. 397, 415.] R. C. B.

ARRAN, EARLS OF. [See HAMILTON and STEWART.]

ARROWSMITH, AARON (1750–1823), geographer, the head of a well-known family of cartographers, was born in Winston, Durham, 14 July 1750. His father dying while he was young, his mother married again, the stepfather being a dissipated man, who soon wasted the children's patrimony. Young Arrowsmith was thus early in life thrown on his own resources for a livelihood. The only instruction he ever received beyond the mere elements of reading and writing was in mathematics, from the eccentric Emerson [see EMERSON, WILLIAM], who was so taken by the boy's anxiety to learn that he taught him for one winter.

Arrowsmith came to London about 1770. One authority states that he commenced his career under W. Faden, but of this there is no evidence extant; another authority, apparently better informed from private sources, states that he first found employment with John Cary, for whose county maps Arrowsmith made all the pedometer measurements and drawings. We find him in 1790 established in Castle Street, Long Acre, where, at great cost and labour, he brought out his first effort in map-making, 'A Chart of the World upon *Mercator's* Projection, showing all the New Discoveries, . . . with the Tracts [*sic*] of the most distinguished Navigators since 1700.' This chart, now rare, was published 1 April 1790. There is a copy preserved in 'Brit. Mus. Gren. Lib. 20273.' In 1794 he published his large 'Map of the World' on the *Globular* projection, on the same scale as the Mercator chart, viz. five equatorial degrees to one inch. With the map of 1794 he published a 'Companion' in quarto, from which we learn that these two maps were published 'in order to exhibit the contrast between the two best projections upon which general maps of the world can be constructed.' The materials used in the second map were mainly the collections of A. Dalrymple and the manuscripts of the Hudson's Bay Company, which last were used to much greater advantage in his 'Map of North America,' published in 1796. In 1802 Arrowsmith appears to have removed westward to Rathbone Place, where, we learn from the London directories of the period, he remained until 1808. In 1807 he brought out his 'Map of Scotland, constructed from original materials obtained by the authority of the Parliamentary Commissioners for Making Roads and Bridges in the Highlands,' engraved on four sheets, on the scale of four miles to one inch. The valuable 'Memoir' for this map was published in 1809. The 'original materials' referred to were mainly the large manuscript 'Military Survey of Scotland,' on the scale of 1000 yards to an inch, executed at the instance of the Duke of Cumberland, 1745–55, by the engineers under the command of General Watson. The greater part of the hill-shading was done by Paul Sandby, the well-known landscape draughtsman. This Survey, but little known, is preserved in the King's Library, British Museum. In 1814 Arrowsmith removed to Soho Square, where he carried on his business of map publishing until his death. Up to this period all our maps of India had been based upon route surveys only. In 1822 Arrowsmith produced his 'Atlas of Southern India,' on the scale of four miles to one inch, in eighteen sheets, which was based upon the triangulations of Colonel Lampton and the 'Madras Survey Maps.' This was his last important work, which became the model for the well-known 'Indian Atlas,' afterwards issued by the directors of the East India Company in 1827.

Arrowsmith died at his house in Soho Square, 23 April 1823, aged 73 years. After his decease the business was carried on by his two sons, Aaron and Samuel. A fairly complete list of the maps and charts made and published by the elder Arrowsmith might be compiled from the newly-printed catalogue of maps in the British Museum, and the catalogue of the map-room of the Royal Geographical Society, 1882. Considering the period at which they were published, it is remarkable that sufficient patronage should have been found for such large and costly maps and charts. They were evidently remunerative, as they obtained a high reputation throughout Europe for their correctness, distinctness, and good engraving. Although Arrowsmith never received the scientific training of a Berghaus or a Ritter, his work never deserved the adverse comments bestowed upon it by Klaproth, than whom a more fanciful geographer never made a map. Arrowsmith's merits were rather those of a well-trained map-maker than a scientific geographer. He understood the projection of maps in all its branches thoroughly, which enabled him to utilise, in a way peculiarly his own, all the vast store of information and material placed at his disposal by his friends Dalrymple and Rennell, and the Directors of the Hudson's Bay and the East India Companies. His elephantine maps, as compared with those of to-day, will always remain monuments of his untiring industry and unshaken faith in honest work. The maps published after his death bearing his name are either new editions corrected to date, or new ones made by his son Aaron, who with his brother Samuel

carried on the business until the death of the latter in 1839. To this period may be assigned the 'Geometrical Construction of Maps and Globes,' 1825, 4to. The Atlas to accompany the 'Edinburgh Dictionary of Geography,' 6 vols. 8vo, 1827; 'Atlas of Ancient Geography,' 1829, 8vo; 'Atlas of Modern Geography,' 1830, 8vo; and the 'Bible Atlas,' by Samuel, 1835, 4to.

[Dict. Biog. S. D. U. K.; Ocean Highways, 1873–4, p. 124; Markham's Indian Surveys, 2nd ed. 1878.] C. H. C.

ARROWSMITH, EDMUND (1585–1628), Jesuit, sometimes known as Bradshaw and Rigby, was born in 1585 at Haddock, in the parish of Winwick, near Warrington, Lancashire. His father was Robert Arrowsmith, a yeoman, and his mother Margery was a lady of the ancient family of Gerard. Both his parents were catholics, and great sufferers for their religion, as were also their fathers before them. He was baptised as Brian, but took the christian name of Edmund at confirmation, and used it exclusively afterwards. Crossing the seas in 1605 he was received into the English college at Douay; was ordained priest in 1612; and sent back upon the English mission in 1613. He pursued his missionary labours in his native county of Lancaster with great zeal and success. In 1624 he entered the Society of Jesus. Previously to this he had been apprehended, probably in 1622, and imprisoned at Lancaster, but he was released afterwards upon pardon, with divers others. His second apprehension took place a little before the summer assizes of 1628, at which he was tried before Sir Henry Yelverton, on a charge of having taken the order of priesthood beyond the seas in disobedience to the king's laws. He was found guilty, and suffered at Lancaster, 28 Aug. 1628. He was drawn to the place of execution on a hurdle, and after having been hanged, his body was cut down, dismembered, embowelled, and quartered. His head was also cut off, and with the quarters boiled in the cauldron; the blood, mixed with sand and earth, was scraped up and cast into the fire. Lastly, his head, as the sentence directed, was set up upon a pole amongst the pinnacles of Lancaster castle, and the quarters were hung on four several quarters of the building. The incidents of the trial and the repulsive particulars of the execution are given in 'A True and Exact Relation of the Death of Two Catholicks, who suffered for their Religion at the Summer Assizes, held at Lancaster in the year 1628. Republished with some additions, on account of a wonderful Cure wrought by the Intercession of one of them, F. Edmund Arrowsmith, a Priest of the Society of Jesus, in the Person of Thomas Hawarden, son of Caryl Hawarden of Appleton, within Widness in Lancashire. The death of the generous Layman, Richard Herst, was not to be omitted, that the happy Cause, which united them in their Sufferings, may jointly preserve their Memories.' Lond. 1737. This octavo volume contains two excellent portraits of the martyrs, the second of whom, Richard Herst, a farmer, suffered the day after Father Arrowsmith. Most probably its compiler was Father Cornelius Morphy.

The miraculous cure is alleged to have been wrought by Father Arrowsmith's intercession, through the application of the famous relic, the martyr's hand, which is now preserved in the catholic church of St. Oswald at Ashton, Newton-le-Willows. Attestations respecting another miracle said to have been wrought by means of this relic are printed in Foley's 'Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus.' That the relic is still an object of popular veneration is obvious from the following intimation relating to the church at Ashton, given in the 'Catholic Directory,' published in 1883, *permissu superiorum*:—'Those who wish to visit "the Holy Hand" will have an opportunity of satisfying their devotion on Sunday after the Masses, and after service; on week-days after Mass, and on Friday at 1.30.'

[Relation of the Death of Two Catholicks (1737); Tanner, Societas Jesu usque ad Sanguinis et Vitæ profusionem militans, 99–101; Morus, Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Soc. Jesu, 462–465; Recit veritable de la cruauté et Tyranie faicte en Angleterre a l'endroit du Pere Edmond Arosmith de la compagnie de Jesus (Paris, 1629); Foley's Records, ii. 24–74, viii. 18; Challoner's Memoirs of Missionary Priests (1803), ii. 66. MS. note by Isabel Burton in copy of Challoner's Memoirs in Brit. Mus. (edit. 1742), between pp. 140, 141; Oliver's Collectanea S. J., 46; Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 80; Notes and Qu. 4th ser. ix. 436, 452, 455, x. 177, 257, 5th ser. xi. 94, 318; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, ii. 383; Catholic Directory (1883), 161; Roby's Traditions of Lancashire, 5th edit. (1872); Baines's Hist. of Lancashire, iii. 638.] T. C.

ARROWSMITH, JOHN, D.D. (1602–1659), puritan divine, was born near Newcastle-on-Tyne on 29 March 1602. In 1616 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and graduated B.A. in 1619, and M.A. in 1623. In 1623 he became fellow of St. Catherine's Hall. He married in 1631, and became incumbent in the same year of St. Nicholas Chapel, King's Lynn. He was nominated on 25 April 1642 one of the two Norfolk

divines to be consulted on church affairs. He sat as a member of the Westminster Assembly in 1643. In 1644 he was made D.D. and regius professor of divinity at Cambridge; and master of St. Catherine's Hall, in the room of Dr. Beale, removed by the Earl of Manchester. On the sequestration of the Rev. Edward Sparke, D.D. (author of 'Scintilla Altaris'), Arrowsmith obtained the rectory of St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane, in 1645, and became a member of the Sixth London Classis, as soon as the presbyterian form of government was set up. In 1647 he was vice-chancellor of Cambridge University, and in 1649 became master of Trinity. His writings are sternly puritanical, but candid and clear. He must have had rich and endearing qualities and some breadth to secure for him at Cambridge the deep attachment of Whichcote, who speaks of him as 'my friend of choice, a companion of my special delight, whom in former years I have acquainted with all my heart,' and further bears testimony to 'the sweetness of his spirit and the amiableness of his conversation.' He died in February 1659, being buried 24 Feb. He published sermons: 1. 'Covenant-avenging Sword brandished,' 1643. 2. 'England's Ebenezer,' 1645. 3. 'A great Wonder in Heaven,' 1647 (all preached before parliament). Also (4) 'Tactica Sacra; sive, de milite spirituali pugnante, vincente et triumphante Dissertatio. Accesserunt Orationes aliquot anti-Weigelianæ,' 1657; and (5) 'Armilla Catechetica: a Chain of Principles . . . wherein the chief heads of Christian Religion are asserted,' 1659. Posthumously appeared his (6) Θεάνθρωπος· or God-man; being an exposition of John i. 1–18,' 1660.

[Coles' MS. Athenæ Cantab. in Brit. Mus.; Tulloch's Rat. Theol. and Christ. Philos. in England in the Seventeenth Century, 1872, ii. 76–7.]
A. G.

ARROWSMITH, JOHN (1790–1873), geographer, nephew of the elder Aaron Arrowsmith, came to London in February 1810, and for many years, with his cousins Aaron and Samuel, aided his uncle in the construction of his large collection of maps and charts. After his uncle's death in 1823 he commenced business on his own account in Essex Street, Strand, but finally succeeded to the honours of the house in Soho Square on the death of his cousin Samuel. His first publication was the well-known 'London Atlas' in 1834, fol., which has passed through three editions, thus reverting to the practice of Ortelius and Mercator of the sixteenth century. In constructing the sixty-eight maps for the latest edition of his 'Atlas' in 1858, he informs us in the preface that 'he examined more than 10,000 sheets of private maps, charts and plans, thereby rectifying all the labours of his predecessors.' His large maps and charts are:—India, in twenty sheets; England and Wales, in eighteen; Spain, twelve; World, ten; Pacific, nine; Atlantic, British Channel, Canada, and Ceylon, each in eight sheets; America, Australia, France, Germany, Wilkinson's Thebes, each in six sheets; Africa, America, Asia, Bolivia, East Indies, West Indies, and Italy, each in four sheets. To these may be added numerous smaller maps, illustrating expeditions in various parts of the globe, many of which are to be found in books of travel and the Royal Geographical Society's Journals. He retired from the more active pursuit of publication of his maps in 1861, but devoted some of his time to the improvement of his old maps, or to the illustration of other geographical work. Among the maps left unpublished at his death were some very fine ones of each of the Australian colonies, of Ceylon, and of other countries. Arrowsmith's last labour was a small map of Central Asia, on the scale of about ninety geographical miles to the inch, upon which he was working at the India Office up to the last week of his life. Arrowsmith died at his house in Hereford Square, South Kensington, 1 May 1873, aged 83. He was one of the fellows who aided in founding the Royal Geographical Society in 1830, and for many years was one of the council, and in 1863 he received the patron's gold medal for the important services he had rendered to geographical science.

By an order of the Court of Chancery the vast collections of the Arrowsmiths, consisting of maps, plates and manuscripts, were dispersed by public auction on 28 July 1874, and have since fallen into the hands of one of our most eminent map publishers.

[Authorities as under Aaron Arrowsmith.]
C. H. C.

ARSDEKIN, RICHARD. [See Archdekin, Richard.]

ARTAUD, WILLIAM (*fl.* 1776–1822), portrait painter, was the son of a jeweller. In 1776 he gained a premium from the Society of Arts; in 1780 exhibited his first work, a 'St. John,' in the Academy; in 1784 and 1786 he sent portraits in oil to the same place. He gained the gold medal of the Academy for a picture from 'Paradise Lost,' and (in 1795) the travelling studentship. In 1822 his name appears as an exhibitor at the Academy for the last time. He painted portraits of Bartolozzi, Samuel Parr, Priest-

ley, and other well-known characters. Nagler gives a list of engravings after his paintings. The date of his death is not known. 'His portraits were cleverly drawn, and painted with great power. They have individuality of character, but want expression.'

[Nagler, 2nd ed.; Redgrave's Dict. of Eng. Painters.] E. R.

ARTHUR, the real or fabulous king of Britain, and a favourite hero of romantic literature from the middle ages down to our own days, is not mentioned by any contemporary writer; unless, indeed, we accept as contemporary with him certain anonymous Welsh poems in which his name occurs. It is probable that all these pieces are of a much later date. The earliest writing in which Arthur is spoken of at any length is the 'Historia Britonum' assigned to Nennius, and probably written in the eighth century. He is incidentally mentioned in the 'Annales Cambriæ,' a compilation of the tenth century. The story as told by Nennius was taken up and enlarged by the addition of a mass of fabulous material from the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Gruffydd ap Arthur), whose 'Historia Britonum,' in which this expanded history of Arthur occurs, was written in 1147. Geoffrey professed to have gathered his materials in Brittany. Whether he really did so, or adopted Welsh traditions which were current in his day, or whether he simply invented the fabulous details which he inserted, may be matter of dispute. Few have now any doubt that his account is worthless for any historical purpose. And though it is by no means a settled question whether Arthur is to be regarded as a purely mythical or as fundamentally an historical personage, it is pretty generally agreed that if there be any historical element in his biography this element is confined almost entirely to what we learn from Nennius. In adopting the second of these two theories and treating Arthur as originally an historical personage, we must not be thought to prejudge the matter in dispute, for it is only upon this second supposition that Arthur can be entitled to a place in this Dictionary.

Arthur was probably born towards the end of the fifth century, and, according to the most generally accepted theory, the scene of his actions lay generally in South Britain. At this time the Saxons were, with all the power they could muster, pushing their victorious arms towards the west. In their endeavours the principal resistance they met with seems to have come from that section of their opponents which was composed of men either really of Roman descent or deeply imbued with Roman civilisation. At the head of this body stood Ambrosius Aurelianus, who is spoken of as long waging a doubtful war against the Saxons, obtaining frequent successes over them, but, owing to the ever increasing hordes by which the invaders were recruited, unable to draw much profit from his victories. Ambrosius claimed descent from Constantine the Tyrant, the last Roman who ever wore the purple in Britain. The later histories of Arthur represent him as the nephew of this Ambrosius, and the son of Ambrosius's brother, Uther Pendragon. Uther is certainly a mythical personage, and there is no reason to suppose a nearer connection between Arthur and Ambrosius than that Arthur succeeded to the command of the same body of Britons and in the same part of Britain as had been formerly held by Ambrosius. If we adopt an ingenious identification first proposed by Carte and supported by Dr. Guest (*Origines Celticæ*, ii. 181 seq.), Ambrosius died in A.D. 508. It may have been that Arthur thereupon obtained the command of the British army. The date generally given for that event is 516. That he owed this elevation not to blood but to merit is clearly stated by Nennius in the first mention of Arthur which occurs in any extant historical document: 'Then it was that the warlike Arthur with all the kings and military force of Britain fought against the Saxons. Albeit there were many more noble than himself, yet was he twelve times chosen their commander, and was as often victorious' (Vat. MS.)

Nennius then enumerates Arthur's twelve victories, which are as follows:—1. At the mouth of the river Glein. 2, 3, 4, 5. On a river called by the Britons Dugblas [Duglas] in the region of Linnuis (Geoffrey of Monmouth converts this Linnuis into Lincolnshire, and most writers have followed his lead in determining the locality). 6. On the river Bassas (according to the Harleian MS., according to the Vatican MS. Lusas). 7. In the wood Celidon, 'which is called in British cat coit Celidon' (that is to say, Cat Celidon is the British for 'the wood of Celidon'). 8. At Guinnion Castle, 'where Arthur bore the image of the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God, upon his shoulder, and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Mary put the Saxons to flight and pursued them the whole day with great slaughter. 9. At the city of Leogis (or 'legionis,' of the legion), which is called Kairleon (Caerleon on the Usk, says Geoffrey. Chester would answer to the name quite as well, and in fact many other places would do so, Kairleon simply meaning 'Camp of the Legion').

10. At the river Tribruit (Treuroit). 11. At the mountain Agnet, which is also called cat Bregion (or Breguoin. Here, again, 'cat' is simply wood. The wood of Breguoin or Bregion). A marginal gloss says that this was in Somersetshire. 12. The twelfth was the hardest fight of all, in which Arthur penetrated to the hill Badon. In this contest 960 (940 other MSS.) fell by his hand alone, no one but the Lord giving him aid.

The battle of Mons Badonicus is the only one of these mentioned by Gildas (*Hist.* c. 26), though he nowhere connects Arthur with the victory. In the 'Annales Cambriæ' it is again mentioned, and, whatever may be thought about the other eleven battles, there can be little doubt that this one is historical. Historians are not agreed with what place this Mons Badonicus is to be identified. In a gloss to Gildas it is said to be upon the Severn, and by Geoffrey of Monmouth and all who follow him it has been identified with Bath. This theory is almost irreconcilable with other ascertained facts of the Saxon conquests in the south, which show that they could not possibly have penetrated so far at this date. Carte suggested Baydon Hill, on the road between Silchester and Chichester; Dr. Guest suggests Badbury in Dorsetshire. Roger of Wendover assigned 520 as the date of this battle, which would thus be one year after that in which, according to the Saxon chronicle, Cerdic and Cynric assumed the kingship among the West Saxons. Other writers give 516 as the date. Arthur by his later biographers is always placed as the opponent of Cerdic (Cheldric: Geoffrey).

These are really all the facts of Arthur's life for which we have any distinct historical authority. We shall speak presently of new attempts to identify the sites of Arthur's twelve battles. The first difficulty must be to reconcile the account of Nennius with the complete silence of Gildas upon the deeds of Arthur. And it must be acknowledged at once that there is much to be said for the view which would make Arthur a purely mythical personage, possibly an ancient divinity among the Britons. The large number of places connected with the name of Arthur and scattered over all the most Celtic portions of the country tells in favour of this theory. Such localities are to be found in Wales, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and in Scotland, as well as in Brittany. Even Nennius's account, though on the whole strongly marked with signs of sobriety and trustworthiness, is not quite above suspicion. In especial the number *twelve* for the number of Arthur's victories, taken in connection with the twelve knights of the round table, the twelve paladins of Charlemagne, is rather suspiciously appropriate. None of these objections can be considered conclusive. The likeliest theory in support of Arthur's historical character is that he was in the eyes of his contemporaries in a far less conspicuous position than that to which he was afterwards raised by the *vox populi* of myth and ballad. In this respect his case would be only parallel to that of two other famous epic heroes, whom we are by no means bound to look upon as purely mythical creations. Could we have had accounts written by the contemporaries of Achilles, there is every reason to believe that in their eyes he would have appeared only as a petty chieftain in command of an insignificant band of auxiliaries. Something the same is actually the impression given us by the only contemporary mention of Roland, the popular hero of the 'Chansons de Geste.' Later generations would invent for Achilles his divine descent and for Roland his kinship with Charlemagne, just as for Arthur they invented the half-miraculous descent from Uther and Igerna, and the kinship to Ambrosius Aurelianus.

Gildas is our witness that after the battle of Badon Hill a long peace was established between the Saxons and the Britons, and in the 'Polychronicon' we read the additional statement that Arthur 'made peace with Cerdic and gave him Hampshire and Somersetshire, which was called Wessex' (*Polychr.* cap. 6). Dr. Guest, acting upon this hint, has tried with great ingenuity and considerable success to define the limits of the tw kingdoms, and thus to show the actual region over which Arthur's power extended (*Or. Celt.* ii.).

Nennius has nothing further to tell us of Arthur except the fact of his death at the battle of Camlan; and the 'Annales Cambriæ' tell us just as much, but no more. It is in the period following the battle of Badon Hill that the later biographers introduce the most extravagant portions of the Arthurian legend, the conquests of Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Gaul, Spain, and finally of the armies of the (long defunct) *Roman Republic* itself. What we learn from Gildas is more to the point, namely, that the Britons, after enjoying peaceably for some time the benefits of this 'unhoped-for succour,' did presently again break out into civil war, which raged as fiercely as if there were no external foe at their gates.

This last picture is at all events not inconsistent with what all the biographers represent as the final act in the Arthurian drama. By these accounts the king, just

when his arms had been crowned by the completest success abroad, found himself beset by treachery at home. His nephew Mordred seduced Arthur's queen Guenevere and raised a rebellion against him. Arthur thereupon turned homewards, and at his approach Guenevere fled from Mordred and hid herself in a convent; while Mordred, after being long chased from place to place, was at length brought to bay at Camlan (Cambula) 'in Cornwall' (Geoffrey).

Then took place that last and fatal battle of Camlan, which has left its echo in all the subsequent Arthurian romance. The later writers imagined the field, in the words of Malory, 'upon a down beside Salisbury not far from the seaside.' And the story went on to tell how Arthur, finding himself wounded to death, gave his sword Excalibur to Sir Bedevere, and bade him throw it into the water. And when he threw it 'there came an arm and a hand out of the water and met it and caught it, and so shook it thrice and brandished. And then the hand vanished away.' Anon came 'a little barge with many fair ladies in it, and among them a queen.' The barge came to take Arthur to the vale of Avalion, where men said that he still waited and (as they said of Charlemagne and of Frederick Barbarossa) would one day return, would once more place himself at the head of his countrymen, and lead them to victory. Avalion, once the mythical paradise of the Celts, came to be identified with Glastonbury, and in the middle ages men showed the inscription which had stood over the place where Arthur lay, and which expressed the history and the hope which in popular belief attached to his name —

> Hic jacet Arthurus,
> Rex quondam, rexque futurus.

We have here given the generally accepted and what may be called the orthodox theory of the historic Arthur. It is impossible to give the variants upon this which the speculations of different writers have suggested. One very important theory must not, however, remain unmentioned. According to this view Arthur was not a king in South Britain, or rather South Wales, as later writers, from Geoffrey downwards, have always supposed, but a king of the North Britons of southern Scotland and of Cumbria. The sites of all his battles, say these theorists, can be identified with places which lie in the region which now forms the south of Scotland and the English border. Thus Glein, they say, is Glen in Ayrshire (or it may be in Tweeddale). Dubglas, in Linnuis, far from being, as Geoffrey imagined, in Lincolnshire, is Douglas in Lennox, a stream which falls into Loch Lomond; Coit Celidon is a wood on the banks of the Carron in Upper Tweeddale; Castle Guinnion is found in Wedale; Leogis, instead of being Caerleon, is (they say) at Dumbarton, that is to say, upon the Leven which flows from Loch Lomond into the Clyde. Treuroit may be identified with a place on the banks of the Forth near Stirling, where, we remember, Arthur's round table is still preserved. Agnet, or Mynyd Agnet, is a name for Edinburgh; and, finally, Badon Hill is not Bath on the English Avon, nor yet Badbury in Dorset, but Bowdon Hill, in Linlithgow, on the Scottish Avon. The history of Nennius, it is urged, is almost exclusively concerned with the doings of the invaders in the north of the island; his account ends with the accession of Ida to the Northumbrian throne.

The arguments by which this theory is supported may be studied to best advantage in Mr. W. F. Skene's 'Four Ancient Books of Wales,' and in Mr. Stuart Glennie's 'Arthurian Localities.'

If this theory should ever be established, the life of Arthur would form part of an epoch in history of which the memory has now been almost completely lost. For it must be noticed that the foes against whom the British king fought were Angles and not Saxons; and, in fact, the Angles did not come into Northumbria until after the death of Arthur. The armies over which Arthur gained his victories, then, supposing these victories to have lain in the north, were not those of the ultimate founders of the Northumbrian kingdom, but an earlier body of Saxon or Frisian invaders, whose very existence was at one time unsuspected by historians. Among the few traces which these Frisians have left behind them is Dumfries, the fort of the Frisians, as opposed to Dumbarton, the fort of the Britons. We have seen that, according to Mr. Skene, one of Arthur's victories was gained at Dumbarton.

[The bibliography of the historic Arthur is small, but that of the mythic Arthur is almost infinite. Among Welsh poems of uncertain date he is mentioned by several anonymous ones published in the 'Myvyrian Archaiology,' as well as in the 'Historic Triads.' Gildas, in his 'Historia,' as we have seen, without mentioning the name of Arthur, refers to one or two events which are connected with his history. Nennius's 'Historia Britonum' is our one authority who possesses any degree of trustworthiness, save, perhaps, the 'Annales Cambriæ,' where Arthur is only twice spoken of. The mythical history of Arthur begins (in literature) with the 'Historia Britonum' of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose contemporary, William of Malmesbury, adds one or two minor

details not given by Geoffrey. In rhyme the history was repeated about the same time by Wace and Gaimar in Anglo-Norman, and by Layamon in English. In the course of the next century several new narratives were incorporated with the history of Arthur by Walter Mapes, Geoffrey de Borron, &c., until the romantic history acquired the completeness which we find in Sir T. Malory's 'Mort d'Arthure.' Of the development of the same myth in French romantic literature it is impossible to speak here. See Guest, Origines Celticæ; Skene, The Four Ancient Books of Wales, introd., The Dean of Lismore's Book, introd., and Celtic Scotland; Glennie, Arthurian Localities; Burton, Hist. of Scotland, i. ch. 5; Probert, The Ancient Laws of Cambria (for a translation of the Historical Triads). Lady Guest's 'Mabinogion' is a translation of the Red Book of Hergest, also published by Mr. Skene in his 'Four Ancient Books of Wales.' De Villemarqué has published numerous Breton ballads upon Arthur, which are of doubtful authenticity.] C. F. K.

ARTHUR, duke or count of Brittany (1187–1203), for whose death King John was responsible, was the son and heir of Geoffrey, third son of Henry II, who was killed in a tournament at Paris 19 Aug. 1186. His mother was Constance, daughter and heiress of Conan le Petit, count of Brittany. He was born after his father's death, on 29 March 1189. The Bretons hailed his birth with enthusiasm, and the bestowal upon him of the name of their national hero excited in them new hopes of independence, which was at the time seriously threatened by the ambitious designs of the kings of France and England.

The death of his grandfather, Henry II, in 1189 gave the infant Arthur a momentous political position. The principle of strictly hereditary succession made him the heir presumptive of his uncle, Richard I, to the exclusion of John, Henry II's fourth son. In order to repress John's dangerous ambition, Richard was anxious to assert Arthur's claim. In October 1190 he opened negotiations for the young prince's marriage with a daughter of Tancred of Sicily, and in a letter to Pope Clement III, dated 11 Nov. 1190, he distinctly declared his nephew his heir in case he should die childless. From that date John, who was plotting to supplant Richard I, viewed Arthur as his most dangerous enemy, and, according to one account, in 1191 entered into alliance with Philip II of France, who was willing to employ any means to injure English influence in France, to dispossess Arthur of all his rights (*Annales Monastici*, iii. 26). But this scheme proved for the present abortive; in March of the same year Philip agreed that Arthur should do homage to Richard as duke of Normandy, and, so as to gain a more effectual control over him later, for the five years following abstained from molesting him. In April 1196 the king of France had obtained sufficient influence with the prince and his mother to insure their open support in one of his constantly recurring quarrels with Richard, and the Breton nobles aided his policy by refusing to acknowledge the king of England as Arthur's guardian. But in August 1198 Richard contrived to reverse the position of affairs, and Arthur entered into an agreement with him to follow his guidance in his relations with France.

Eight months later Richard died, and Arthur was left face to face with John, who was resolved to succeed his brother in both France and England, and was crowned king of England 27 May 1199. The nobles of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine immediately declared for Arthur, as the son of Geoffrey, John's elder brother. Constance sent the boy to Philip II, who placed him at Paris under the care of his eldest son Lewis, a lad of exactly Arthur's age. At the same time Philip took possession of several castles, forming part of the dominions claimed by Arthur, on the plea of protecting them from John. He shortly afterwards knighted Arthur, and formally invested him with Brittany and with all Richard's French dominions—Anjou, Poitou, Maine, Touraine, and Normandy. John arrived in Normandy without delay, and with an army endeavoured to establish his power in France. A conference between Philip and himself took place on 16 and 17 Aug., but no terms were made, and in the hostilities that followed in October the French king's forces were driven from Maine. But Philip's high-handed treatment of those who acknowledged Arthur's sovereignty occasioned a breach between himself and the Bretons, and William des Roches, the leader of Arthur's forces, arranged a pacification between John and his nephew. This step was an unhappy one. John is said to have imprisoned Arthur, and to have so ill-used him and his mother that they fled from him with all haste to Angers, a town already in Arthur's possession. On 22 May 1200, while the dispute was still unsettled, Philip and John met at Vernon, and Arthur did homage to his uncle for Brittany and other lands, which do not appear to have been specified; but he remained in Philip's keeping, and took part in the tournament held at the time to celebrate the betrothal of Prince Lewis to Blanche of Castile. For the greater part of the year John was in England, and Arthur was at peace, but Philip was busy preparing an attack on Normandy. In 1201

Arthur's mother died; in 1202 Philip affianced him to his daughter Marie, who was not six years old; and before many months had passed Arthur found himself forced by Philip to reopen the strife with John. The nobles of Poitou had risen in insurrection against the king of England, and Arthur was set at their head. John arrived in France and summoned his nephew, who had just been knighted for a second time by Philip, to do him homage at Argentan. He replied by marching with an army from Poitou to besiege the castle of Mirabel, where Eleanor, his grandmother, who had persistently supported John, was staying. On 1 Aug. 1202 John suddenly surprised the attacking force by night and captured Arthur. The prince was placed in the custody of William de Braose at Falaise, who treated him kindly. In the following year Braose is said to have delivered him 'safe in life and limb' to John, who removed him to Rouen. There, in the seventeenth year of his age, he was murdered, on 3 April 1203. His sister Eleanor, known as the Maid of Brittany, had also fallen into John's hands, and she was kept by him in close confinement in England.

Great uncertainty exists as to the manner in which Arthur met his death. We learn from an itinerary of the reign that John was at Rouen on 3 April 1203 (*Archæologia*, xxii. 126). There is therefore every probability, when this fact is combined with the current rumours of the time, that he was immediately responsible for the murder, but whether, as many writers have asserted, it was the work of his own hands, is doubtful. Of the contemporary chroniclers of the event, the author of the 'Annales Margam,' who alone gives the exact date of the occurrence, states that John, in a fit of frenzy, struck Arthur dead with a huge stone, and flung his body into the Seine, that it was recovered by fishermen, and subsequently buried secretly at the priory of Ste Marie des Prez, near Bec. Walter of Coventry, in his 'Memoriale,' says that Arthur suddenly disappeared, and that his burial-place is unknown. According to the circumstantial account of Ralph, abbot of Coggeshall, who wrote his 'Chronicon Anglicanum' soon after the death of John, Hubert de Burgh was ordered by the king, with the consent of his council, to put out Arthur's eyes and otherwise mutilate him, in order to incapacitate him for succeeding to the throne. Hubert, however, yielding to his appeal, spared the prince, although he announced to his master not only his death, but his burial at the Cistercian abbey of St. André de Gouffen. Later, the fact that Arthur was still living in concealment reached John, who apparently, so far as the chronicler knew, took no steps to authenticate it. Matthew Paris and Thomas Wikes both assert that John had Arthur murdered. Early French annalists and Breton historians have no hesitation in attributing the crime immediately to the king of England, and state that fifteen days after its commission the Bretons assembled in force at Vannes, and sent Peter, bishop of Rennes, to ask Philip II to summon John before his peers to take his trial on the charge. All mediæval historians are agreed that Philip acceded to this request; that John refused to appear, was pronounced by an assembly of his peers guilty of the murder, and that all his lands in France were declared forfeited. It was after this declaration that Philip invaded and conquered Normandy. In the proclamation made by Prince Lewis on his arrival in England in 1216 the murder of Arthur, for which John, it is there said, was tried and condemned by his peers, is reckoned among his chief offences. This is the only direct reference to the fact in a document of state (Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 140).

Later historians between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries have added a few unauthenticated details to the old stories of Arthur's death, most of which have been adopted by Holinshed. The account given by the abbot of Coggeshall forms the groundwork of Holinshed's, as of all the later narratives. It seems, therefore, uncertain whether Hubert de Burgh, whom the abbot alone connects with John's murderous project, was in any way concerned with it. The differences in detail which characterise the evidence we have cited from contemporary writers, lead to no more definite conclusion than that in April 1203 Arthur suddenly disappeared, and that his disappearance was contrived by John. Shakespeare, in his play of 'King John,' has closely followed Holinshed in his treatment of Arthur, with a few unhistorical variations, in which he followed an older and anonymous drama on the same subject. It should be noted that Shakespeare erroneously represents Arthur at the time of his death as a very young child, although he was actually in his seventeenth year, and makes him claim of John not only the English dominions in France, but the crown of England itself, to which Arthur himself never asserted his right.

[Roger of Hoveden's Chronica, ed. Stubbs; Walter of Coventry's Memoriale, ed. Stubbs, with introduction to vol. ii.; Ralph of Coggeshall's Chronicon Anglicanum, ed. Stevenson, pp. 137–142; Annales de Margam in Annales Monastici,

i. 27; Thomas Wikes in Annales Monastici, ed. Luard, iv. 51; Bouquet's Historiens de la France, vols. xvii. xviii.; Sismondi's Histoire de France, vi. 211; Martin's Histoire, iii. 524, 550, 558, 573, 578; Le Baud's Histoire de Bretagne, p. 210; Daru's Histoire de Bretagne, i. 377; Courtenay's Commentaries on Shakespeare's Historical Plays, vol. i.] S. L. L.

ARTHUR (1486-1502), the eldest son of Henry VII, was born at Winchester on 19 Sept. 1486. His mother was Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV, whom his father, after he obtained the crown, had married in fulfilment of a promise that he had made in exile. The marriage was intended to have the effect of putting an end to the wars of the Roses by uniting the rival houses of York and Lancaster, and the firstborn was naturally an object of great solicitude. He was baptised in Winchester Cathedral the Sunday after his birth, and was named Arthur after the famous British hero whose fabulous exploits fill the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth. His descent was traced by industrious genealogists from Cadwallader and the ancient British kings; so that while on the mother's side he was the undoubted heir of the house of York, the defects of his father's title were compensated by a pedigree carried back to the fabled Brutus. In 1489, when only three years old, he was created knight of the Bath. His education was looked to with peculiar care. His first master after he had learned the elements of letters was one John Rede, who, it seems, was also his chaplain (Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, i. 3); but after a time—apparently when he was in his tenth year—he was placed under the tuition of the blind poet laureate, Bernard André, who gives a glowing account of his proficiency. Before he was sixteen he had not only studied the leading grammarians, but was familiar with all the best Greek and Latin authors, whose names the enraptured tutor proudly enumerates in his life of Henry VII.

But the interest of his brief life turns altogether upon the story of his marriage with Katharine of Arragon. Negotiations had already taken place with a view to that marriage as early as 1488, when he was not yet two years old, Ferdinand and Isabella perceiving that, notwithstanding the uncertainty of the succession in England created by the recent civil wars, Henry might be a valuable ally against France, and one that it was desirable to win, while on the other hand the friendship of a recently united Spain was an equally important object to secure on the part of England. The marriage project, of course, was no more at first than a prospective link between the two kingdoms in a comparatively remote future; but, as Lord Bacon remarks, 'the very treaty itself gave abroad in the world a reputation of a strait conjunction and amity between them, which served on both sides to many purposes that their several affairs required, and yet they continued still free.' Ferdinand was too great a politician to conclude the arrangement definitely till he was sure that no future Simnels or Warbecks could do much to shake Henry's throne. Henry, on the other hand, was continually on his guard lest by virtue of the treaty he should make himself a mere catspaw to carry out the designs of Ferdinand. At length, however, all difficulties were removed. Katharine landed at Plymouth on 2 Oct. 1501, and was married to Arthur, at St. Paul's, on 14 Nov. following. Three times had the prince gone through a form of marriage with her already before her arrival in England, the Spanish ambassador acting as her proxy—all to satisfy the doubts of Ferdinand lest there should be some evasion on the part of England. Now all was secure; and though Arthur was weak and sickly, and the English council objected to the cohabitation of the young couple on this account (Arthur having only just completed his fifteenth year), Henry wrote to Ferdinand that he had risked his son's health for the love he bore to Katharine. The prince and his bride were sent down to the borders of Wales to keep court at Ludlow, where, in less than five months, the bridegroom died on 2 April 1502. A touching account is given by a contemporary pen of the manner in which the news was received by his bereaved father and mother.

[Gairdner's Memorials of Henry VII; Bergenroth's Spanish Calendar, vol. i. and supp. to vols. i. and ii.; Leland's Collectanea, iv. 204, 250–7, v. 373–4; Somers Tracts, i. 26–31; Letter of Henry VII to Ferdinand and Isabella in the Duke of Manchester's Court and Society, i. 59.] J. G.

ARTHUR, ARCHIBALD (1744–1797), librarian and professor of moral philosophy at the university of Glasgow, was the eldest son of Andrew Arthur, a considerable farmer, and was born at Abbot's Inch, in Renfrew, 6 Sept. 1744. He entered the university of Glasgow in his thirteenth or fourteenth year, and in due course took his degree of M.A. Both before and after his appointment to a professorship he lectured with success in logic, botany, humanity, and church history. In October 1767 he received from the presbytery of Paisley his preacher's

license, not, however, without some opposition on the ground of want of orthodoxy in the doctrines of the church of Scotland. He was soon afterwards appointed chaplain to the university of Glasgow, and assistant minister with Dr. Craig of that city. He was also chosen librarian to the university, and held the office until nearly the close of his life. For some years he was usefully employed in compiling a complete catalogue of the books, arranged in two parts, one under an alphabet of authors, and the other according to the position of the volumes on the shelves. The catalogue was printed in 1791, and described 20,000 volumes. It gave much satisfaction. Arthur was appointed assistant professor in moral philosophy through the influence of Dr. Thomas Reid, who was obliged to give up his full professorial duties on account of increasing years. This took place in May 1780, and Arthur taught the class for fifteen years in return for part of the salary. On the death of Reid he was elected full professor, but held the office only for one session, dying on 14 June, 1797. He never married, and died worth a considerable sum of money, which he left to his brothers and sisters. They devoted part of it to the publication of his posthumous 'Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects,' which were edited, with a pompous memoir, by his friend William Richardson. The theological discourses include one on the argument for the existence of God, another on the goodness of God, and others on objections to David Hume, and similar topics; among the literary discourses are two upon theories of beauty, one on the arrangement of ancient and modern languages, and others on the study of ancient languages as a necessary branch of liberal education. They are fairly well-written and well-reasoned essays. Arthur had a shy and hesitating manner, but possessed liberal opinions to which he always had the courage to hold firm. A. F. Tytler (*Life of Lord Kames*, iii. 89), in a note upon a letter of Dr. Reid, remarks: 'Mr. Arthur, a man of learning, abilities, and worth, filled the chair of moral philosophy . . . with a reputation which did not disappoint the hopes of his respectable predecessor.' The Discourses 'give a very favourable idea of his talents, the justness of his taste, and the rectitude of his moral and religious principles.'

His works are:—1. 'Catalogus impressorum Librorum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Glasguensis, secundum literarum ordinem dispositus. Impensis Academiæ, labore et studio A. Arthur,' Glasguæ, 1791, 2 vols. folio. 2. 'Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects, by the late Rev. A. Arthur, with an account of some particulars in his life and character, by William Richardson, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow,' Glasgow Univ. Press, 1803, 8vo.

[Memoir by Richardson, prefixed to Discourses; Edinburgh Review, iv. 168; Reid's Works, by Sir W. Hamilton, 1846.] H. R. T.

ARTHUR, Sir GEORGE, baronet (1784–1854), lieutenant-general, the youngest son of John Arthur, of Norley House, Plymouth, entered the army in the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders on 25 Aug. 1804. Having been promoted to a lieutenancy in the 35th foot, he served with that regiment in Sir James Craig's expedition to Italy in 1806, and in the following year proceeding to Egypt with the force under the command of General Fraser, he was engaged in the attack upon Rosetta, and was severely wounded. In 1808 he served as a captain in Sicily under Sir James Kempt, and in 1809 in the expedition to Walcheren, where, in command of the light company of his regiment, he was employed in the attack upon Flushing, and was again wounded, he with his single company taking prisoners five officers and three hundred men. For his services on this occasion Captain Arthur was thanked in general orders, and was appointed on the field deputy assistant adjutant-general. On his return to England he received the freedom of the city of London and a sword. A similar distinction was conferred upon him by his native town of Plymouth. He subsequently served as military secretary to Sir George Don, the governor of Jersey, and having obtained his majority in the 7th West India regiment in 1812 joined that regiment in Jamaica, and was shortly afterwards appointed assistant quartermaster-general of the forces in that island. Major Arthur was subsequently appointed, in 1814, lieutenant-governor of British Honduras, which office he held with the rank of colonel on the staff, exercising the military command, as well as the civil government, until 1822. During this period Colonel Arthur suppressed a serious revolt of the slave population of Honduras. His despatches on the subject of slavery in the West Indies attracted the attention of Mr. Wilberforce, and of Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Stephen. Returning to England on leave of absence in 1822 for the purpose of furnishing the government with further information on the subject of emancipation, Colonel Arthur was appointed, in 1823, to the lieutenant-governorship of Van Diemen's Land, together with the command of the military forces in that colony, then our principal penal settlement. The ill-regulated

system of transportation which was in force had led to terrible abuses, and the object of Colonel Arthur's appointment was the introduction of an improved system. His strong good sense and humanity indicated the possibility of a middle course between the extreme severity of the system which would make transportation simply deterrent, and the over-indulgence of the system which aimed at reforming the convict by gentle treatment. He held that it was possible to make transportation a punishment much dreaded by criminals, whilst offering every facility for reform to those who were not hardened in crime; but he entertained no quixotic expectations of frequent reformation. His plans were never allowed a fair trial. The colonists and their friends in England were bent on putting an end to the transportation system, and their views ultimately prevailed. Colonel Arthur's administration of Van Diemen's Land lasted for twelve years, and was marked throughout by a rare combination of humanity with firmness and courage, and, above all, by a shrewd common sense and practical judgment, which secured for him alike the respect of the colonists abroad and the confidence of statesmen at home. While holding this government Colonel Arthur discerned the advantage which would accrue to the Australian colonies from adopting a system of confederation. It is believed that he was the first person to suggest this important colonial reform.

On his return to England in March 1837 Colonel Arthur received the Hanoverian order, and at the end of that year was sent to Upper Canada as lieutenant-governor, with the military rank and command of a major-general on the staff. The state of Canada at that time was such as to demand the services of a firm and judicious administrator. Both the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had recently been the scene of attempts to subvert the authority of the British crown. These had been suppressed, but Lord Durham's mission and the lenity with which the rebels were treated, had caused much dissatisfaction among the loyal section of the population in both provinces, and especially among the militia in Upper Canada. On the eve of Lord Durham's departure a fresh revolutionary attempt had been made in Lower Canada, and shortly after Sir George Arthur had taken charge of his government, Upper Canada was invaded by bands of American sympathisers. Sir George Arthur's arrangements for the defence of the colony were well planned, and were perfectly successful; but his difficulties were great. 'I much fear,' he wrote, 'from the discontent prevailing among many of the militia, that even the most loyal of them will feel a reluctance to come forward until the very hour of emergency, and when it may be too late to prevent a great deal of mischief.'

In 1841 the two provinces were united under a governor-general, in the person of Lord Sydenham, at whose special request Sir George Arthur continued for a time to conduct the administration of Upper Canada as deputy governor, but upon his own express stipulation that he should receive no emolument or remuneration whatever for that duty. Sir George Arthur's services in Canada were rewarded with a baronetcy, which was conferred upon him shortly after his return to England in the summer of 1841. The general election, which resulted in Sir Robert Peel's return to power, was then in progress, and Sir George Arthur received from two constituencies offers to return him to parliament free of expense; but he declined both these offers, and shortly afterwards entered upon an entirely new sphere of duty, having been appointed governor of the Indian presidency of Bombay, which office he assumed on 8 June 1842. Reference has already been made in the memoir of Sir George Anderson [see Anderson, Sir George, K.C.B.] to the critical position of affairs in India at the time when Sir George Arthur entered upon his new duties, and to the responsibilities which devolved upon the government of Bombay in connection with our military forces in Afghanistan, Beluchistan, and Sind. A few years previously, under the provisions of the East India Company's charter act of 1833, a material change had been made in the relations of the minor governments of Madras and Bombay with the supreme government of India. Previous to the passing of that enactment, although in all matters of imperial policy the governor-general was supreme, the two minor governments had retained a large share of administrative independence. The increase in the statutory powers of the governor-general and his council was speedily followed by minute interference on the part of the supreme government with administrative details which had been previously left to the discretion of the governments of Madras and Bombay. The result was frequent and constantly increasing friction between the supreme and local administrations. These difficulties were experienced in an intensified form by Sir George Arthur, succeeding, as he did, at a crisis which required considerable power of independent judgment and yet loyal obedience by the local governments to the final decisions of the governor-general. Moreover, the unavoidable difficul-

ties of the situation were greatly increased by the individuality of Lord Ellenborough, who had recently assumed the governor-generalship. Lord Ellenborough had studied Indian questions as president of the board of control, and had formed an exaggerated view of the weakness and defects of the company's government. Arriving in India at a juncture when the Indian administration seemed stunned and paralysed by the loss of the greater portion of the army in Afghanistan, he found himself in hopeless discord with many a time-honoured institution and recognised principle of Indian administration. Sir George Arthur had before his appointment to Bombay won the confidence of Lord Ellenborough, which he never afterwards lost. Still, to avoid friction with the government of India under such circumstances was not easy, and it is much to Sir George Arthur's credit that during that brief but eventful period he succeeded in retaining the esteem of the court of directors and of his own colleagues in the government of Bombay, as well as that of Lord Ellenborough, who recorded the name of Sir George Arthur upon a monument which he erected in England to those who had best seconded his efforts for the maintenance and extension of the British empire in India.

It would be beyond the scope of this memoir to discuss the policy of Lord Ellenborough in connection with Afghanistan. Sir George Arthur was entirely opposed to the measure, at one time contemplated by the governor-general, of withdrawing the garrisons from Candahar and Jellalabad without striking a blow for the rescue of the prisoners in the hands of the Afghans, or for the re-establishment of our military reputation. Eventually the beleaguered garrison of Jellalabad was relieved, Cabul was reoccupied, the captives were released, and conclusive proof was afforded that it was not owing to want of power that we evacuated Afghanistan and allowed Dost Mahomed to return as ruler to the realm from which he had been driven.

The withdrawal of the troops from Candahar involved the return of the Bombay portion of the Candahar garrison through Sind, and was followed in the course of a few months by the annexation of that country and the deposition of its rulers, the Talpur amirs. Sir Charles Napier, then commanding a division of the Bombay army, had been selected by the governor-general to command the troops in Sind. He arrived in that country greatly prejudiced against the amirs. Nearly the whole of the troops in Sind belonged to the Bombay army, the general commanding was a major-general on the staff of that army, and up to that time the troops in Sind had been practically as well as theoretically under the orders of the government of Bombay; but from the date of Sir Charles Napier's appointment to the Sind command the governor-general departed from the established practice of sending orders through the government of Bombay, and entered into a direct correspondence with Sir Charles Napier. Such a state of things could hardly have failed under any circumstances to produce official and departmental friction, even if the policy of the governor-general and of the general commanding in Sind had been in accordance with the views of the Bombay authorities and of the court of directors. But the reverse was the fact, and the antagonism was intensified by the differences which arose between Sir Charles Napier and Major (afterwards Sir James) Outram. Throughout this embarrassing juncture Sir George Arthur kept himself studiously aloof from all personal partisanship, and, ignoring the irregularity of Lord Ellenborough's proceedings, rendered a loyal obedience to the decisions of the governor-general and a cordial and energetic support to Sir Charles Napier in his difficult task of establishing British rule in Sind; whilst he retained the respect and esteem of Outram and of the many other Indian officials who regarded the annexation of Sind as an unjustifiable act.

The military operations against Gwalior, which took place not long before the close of Lord Ellenborough's government, indirectly affected the presidency of Bombay by leading to an outbreak of hostilities in Kolapur, a small southern Mahratta state, the head of which was closely connected by marriage with Gwalior. The suppression of this insurrection, which, but for Sir George Arthur's judicious and prompt measures, might have assumed serious proportions, and that at a time when so large a portion of the Bombay army was employed in Sind, was by no means an easy task.

Lord Ellenborough, having been recalled by the court of directors, was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge, upon whom it devolved in the succeeding year to repel the invasion of British India by the Sikhs. The arduous struggle which then took place, when the governor-general deemed it his duty to offer his services to the commander-in-chief as second in command, led Sir H. Hardinge to recommend to the home authorities the appointment of a provisional governor-general. His choice fell upon Sir George Arthur, and, the recommendation having been approved by the court of directors and the ministry,

Sir George Arthur received in due course his appointment as provisional governor-general in the event of the death or departure from India of Sir Henry Hardinge. But he was not destined to assume the office for which he was thus selected, being compelled by ill-health to leave India before Sir Henry (then Lord) Hardinge vacated the governor-generalship.

The principal measures of internal administration which engaged Sir George Arthur's attention at Bombay were the Deccan survey, the object of which was to equalise and lighten the pressure of the land assessment upon the cultivators of the Deccan, and the improvement of the communications and means of irrigation. The first of these measures had been commenced before the arrival of Sir George Arthur at Bombay; but it was during his administration that the plan which has since been carried out was elaborated, and the rules which relieved the cultivators from arbitrary and excessive taxation were fixed.

The hindrances which the want of roads and of means of irrigation offered to the commerce and industry of Western India had attracted the notice of Sir George Arthur's predecessor, Sir Robert Grant; but little progress had been made when Sir George Arthur arrived and took up the subject with characteristic energy. The project of a line of railway from Bombay to Callian, which was to be extended in the direction of Calcutta and through Central India to Hindustan, was suggested by Mr. G. T. Clark, a trusted assistant of Brunel, and received the cordial support of Sir George Arthur. This line may be regarded as the germ of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. Other engineering questions, upon which the same engineer was employed by Sir George Arthur, were the improvement of the manufacture of salt by mechanical appliances, and the drainage and sanitary improvement of Bombay, both of which important works have since been carried out. Mr. Clark's report on the conservancy of Bombay was not only the starting point of such improvements in that city and in other cities in India, but was not without its influence on the sanitary improvement of our English towns, which about the same time was first taken up in earnest in this country.

Another material improvement, first projected during Sir George Arthur's administration, was the reclamation of the foreshore of the island of Bombay. Sir George Arthur also took a great interest in promoting the education of the natives, which at that time, under the impulse given to it some years previously by Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, was somewhat more advanced in Bombay than in other parts of India.

Sir George Arthur retired from the Bombay government in 1846, and on his return to England was made a privy councillor and was honoured by the university of Oxford with the honorary degree of D.C.L. He received the colonelcy of the 50th Queen's Own regiment in 1853, and died in the following year. Sir George Arthur married in 1814 Eliza Orde Usher, second daughter of Lieutenant-general Sir John Frederick Sigismund Smith, K.C.B., and had five daughters and seven sons, of whom five survived him.

The career of Sir George Arthur is at once remarkable and instructive. Entering the army as a young man with little or no interest to push him on, he speedily established a reputation for bravery and sound judgment, which led to his being selected at a comparatively early age for civil employment. This he continued to hold until within a few years of his death, rising without solicitation from post to post, and in every position which he filled justifying by his administrative ability and capacity for government the confidence which had been reposed in him. Ultimately he was officially recognised as the fittest man to succeed at a time of difficulty and danger to the high and responsible office of governor-general of India, a post which he only failed to fill in consequence of his failing health. He was an eminently unselfish man, imbued with a deep sense of religion, and as much respected for his unswerving integrity in private as in public life.

[Hart's Army List; Annual Register for 1838 and 1854; United Service Gazette, 30 Sept. 1854; Parliamentary Papers on Afghanistan, Sind, and the Southern Mahratta Country; Family papers.]

A. J. A.

ARTHUR, JAMES (*d.* 1670?), divine, was born at Limerick, and professed himself a Dominican friar in the abbey of St. Stephen, Salamanca. He was professor of divinity at Salamanca University for many years. He went thence to Coimbra, but after the separation of Portugal from Spain in 1640 was expelled for refusing an oath imposed upon all the professors to defend the immaculate conception of the Virgin. In 1642 he retired to the convent of St. Dominic in Lisbon, and there, according to Quetif and Echard, died on 1 Feb. 1644. Ware says that he survived till about 1670, referring to Nicolas Antonio, who, in the 'Bibliotheca Hispana Nova' (1672), says that he died 'non dudum.' The first volume of a commentary by Arthur upon the first part of Aquinas's 'Summa' was printed in 1655; another volume had been completed,

but seems never to have been printed. Arthur was also preparing at the time of his death a commentary on the whole of Aquinas's work in ten volumes.

[Ware's Writers of Ireland, ed. Harris, p. 160; Quetif and Echard's Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum, ii. 536 *b*; N. Antonius, Bibliotheca Hispana, (1672) ii. 358, (edition of 1688) ii. 368.]

ARTHUR, THOMAS (*d.* 1532), divine and dramatist, a native of Norfolk, was educated at Cambridge, probably in Trinity Hall, and imbibed protestant opinions from his fellow-countryman, Thomas Bilney. He was admitted a fellow of St. John's College in February 1517–8, being then a master of arts, and in 1518 he occurs as principal of St. Mary's Hostel. In 1526 he and Bilney were charged with heresy, and compelled to take an oath abjuring Luther's opinions. In November 1527 they were brought as relapsed heretics before Cardinal Wolsey and other bishops in the chapter-house at Westminster. Both of them recanted and did penance, though Bilney afterwards had the courage of his opinions and suffered for them at the stake. Arthur died at Walsingham in 1532.

He wrote: 1. 'Microcosmus,' a tragedy. 2. 'Mundus plumbeus,' a tragedy. 3. 'In quosdam Psalmos.' 4. 'Homeliæ Christianæ.' 5. A translation of Erasmus, 'De Milite Christiano.'

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Fox's Acts and Monuments; Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, i. 325; Baker's Hist. of St. John's Coll. Camb. ed. Mayor, i. 282; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 46.] T. C.

ARTHUR, THOMAS, M.D. (1593–1666?), Irish catholic physician, was born of an ancient family settled at Limerick, many members of which had filled municipal offices in that city in early times. His father's name being William, he often styled himself Thomas Arthur Fitz-William. He was educated at Bordeaux, and afterwards studied medicine at Paris. In May 1619, having returned to his native country, he began a successful practice in Limerick, and soon gained the reputation of a skilful physician. In April 1624, on the invitation, as he himself tells us, of persons of influence, he opened practice in Dublin, where he spent the greater part of his time, but still attended patients in Limerick during occasional visits. In 1630, however, he moved his household to the capital. His manuscript entry-book (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 31885) contains a complete list of his patients and fees from 1619 to 1666, the last date being probably the year of his death. Among the various cases which he treated the most important one, or at least the one in which he took most pride, was that of Archbishop Usher, 'pseudo-primas Ardmachanus,' whose complaint had baffled the English physicians. Arthur effected a cure in 1626, and received a fee of 51*l.* His success brought him the patronage of the lord deputy, Viscount Falkland. His entry-book also contains an exact record of his gradual accumulation of landed property, and also a few pieces in ponderous Latin verse. Among the latter is an 'Anagramma physiognomicum in nomen Thomæ Wentworth, Proregis Hiberniæ, truculenti et nefarii hominis.' But his greatest literary effort is a genealogical account, 'Edylium genealogicum,' of the family of Arthur, in Latin elegiacs, in which, besides the glory of his ancestors, he gives some particulars of his own life.

[Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 31885; Lenihan's History of Limerick.] E. M. T.

ARTLETT, RICHARD AUSTIN (1807–1873), engraver, was born 9 Nov. 1807. He was a pupil of Robert Cooper, and afterwards of James Thomson. He engraved in the dotted manner a few figure-subjects, including 'Boulogne in 1805' and 'Boulogne in 1855,' after Absolon, and several portraits, among which are those of Lord Ashburton, after Sir Thomas Lawrence; Lord Lyndhurst, after A. E. Chalon; the Right Hon. Henry Goulburn and Sir James Emerson Tennent, after George Richmond; George Macdonald, after George Reid; Lady Clementina Villiers, after F. Winterhalter; and Mrs. Gladstone, after W. Say. He was, however, most distinguished as an engraver of sculpture, his plates of which in the 'Art Journal' are executed with great taste and delicacy. Among them may be mentioned 'The Fawn,' a statue by C. B. Birch; 'The Virgin Mother,' a group by Carrier-Belleuse; 'The Leopard-Hunter,' a statue by Jerichau; 'The Day-Dream,' a statue by P. MacDowell; 'The Veiled Vestal,' a statue by R. Monti; 'Boadicea,' a group by J. Thomas; the equestrian statue of Viscount Hardinge, and 'Asia,' one of the groups of the Albert Memorial, by J. H. Foley; 'Christ giving sight to the Blind Man,' a group by J. D. Crittenden; and 'Perdita and Florizel' and 'The Siren and the drowned Leander,' groups by J. Durham. He died 1 Sept. 1873.

[Art Journ. 1873, p. 377.] R. E. G.

ARUNDALE, FRANCIS (1807–1853), architect, born in London 9 Aug. 1807, was a pupil of Augustus Pugin; he accompanied his master to Normandy, and helped him with his 'Architectural Antiquities of

Normandy.' With Pugin he stayed seven years. In 1831 he went to Egypt, and in 1833 with Mr. Catherwood and Mr. Bonomi to Palestine. He was nine years in the East, and then travelled in Greece, Sicily, Italy, and France. In Rome he spent several winters. He never actually practised as an architect, but he painted some large pictures from his oriental studies, and published a number of books, amongst which may be mentioned the 'Edifices of Palladio' in folio, 1832; 'Illustrations of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai,' 4to, 1837; and, in conjunction with Mr. Bonomi, 'Selections from the Gallery of Antiquities in the British Museum,' 4to, 1842.

Arundale married a daughter of Mr. Pickersgill, R.A., and had six children. He died at Brighton on 9 Sept. 1853.

[Nagler's Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon, ed. 1878; Art Journal, 1851, p. 50; Redgrave's Dictionary of English Painters.] E. R.

ARUNDEL, Earls of. [See Albini, Fitzalan, and Howard.]

ARUNDEL, THOMAS (1353–1414), archbishop of Canterbury, was the third son of Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, the title of his father being, according to a very common custom, used as a family surname. His mother was Eleanor, daughter of Henry Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster, and was his father's second wife. The Fitzalans were an old Norman family whose ancestor Alan, the son of Fleald, came in with the Conqueror. The earldom of Arundel had come to them by marriage in the reign of Henry III. The influence they possessed is shown by the singularly early age at which young Thomas Arundel attained high preferment in the church. He was archdeacon of Taunton in 1373, was promoted by papal bull to the bishopric of Ely on 13 Aug. in the same year, was consecrated in April following, and received full possession of the temporalities on 5 May 1374, when he was only in his twenty-second year. On 24 Jan. 1376 he lost his father (Dugdale, i. 318), and Richard, the elder of his two brothers, succeeded to the title of Earl of Arundel. With the subsequent career of this brother, who became a leading actor in the turbulent times of Richard II, a considerable part of his own life is very closely connected.

The first occasion on which we find him taking a prominent part in public affairs is in the year 1386, when parliament demanded of Richard II the dismissal of the chancellor Michael De la Pole, duke of Suffolk. The king at first replied that he would not at their request discharge the meanest servant of his kitchen. Nevertheless he afterwards lowered his tone, and was willing to hear the complaints of the commons if forty members of the lower house were sent to represent them. It was then agreed between lords and commons that the king's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Ely (Arundel) should go to him at Eltham, and persuade him to come to Westminster. Richard accordingly came to the parliament, when he presently found himself compelled to dismiss Suffolk and make Arundel chancellor in his room (24 Oct.—Rymer, vii. 548). On 20 Feb. following an assignment was made to him of the towns and parishes of Hackney and Leyton for the support of his household as chancellor (*ib.* 553).

This was the beginning of that first great struggle between Richard and his parliament for which, in the latter part of his reign, he so unwisely revenged himself. A council of regency was appointed, consisting of eleven lords, of whom the Earl of Arundel, the new chancellor's brother, was one of the most prominent. Next year Richard took counsel with his judges at Nottingham as to the validity of what had been done in parliament, and obtained from them a unanimous opinion that the commission of regency was invalid, the statutes unconstitutional, and those who had procured them guilty of treason. The result was that five confederate lords marched up to London at the head of 40,000 men, and brought accusations against Richard's councillors, which they offered to prove by single combat. By the advice of Bishop Arundel and the Earl of Northumberland Richard again put himself into the hands of those whom he distrusted, and the councillors who had hitherto supported him took to flight. This paved the way for the Wonderful parliament, in which the fugitives were pronounced guilty of treason. Among these was Archbishop Nevill of York, who, being a churchman, could not be put to death. Application, however, was made to Rome for his translation to St. Andrew's, by which he was in effect deprived of any benefice whatever, as Scotland adhered to the schismatic pope, Clement VII, and did not acknowledge the bulls of Urban VI. The see of York being thus vacated, Arundel was made archbishop in Nevill's place by a bull procured from Pope Urban on 3 April 1388 (Rymer, vii. 573).

Next year the king declared himself of age, and finally dismissed the council of regency. Arundel was required to give up the great seal (3 May), and William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, was made chancellor in his room next day (Rymer, vii. 616).

But the king exercised his new powers with moderation for some years, and in 1391 (when William of Wykeham resigned) actually made Arundel chancellor again on 27 Sept. (*ib.* 707). Next year, on 30 March, an order was issued by him as chancellor for the removal of the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer from London to York (*ib.* 713). This was perhaps either the cause or the effect of the disaffection shown towards the king by the city of London that year; and it appears to have been attributed by some to Archbishop Arundel's desire to promote the interest of his own cathedral city. London, however, was reconciled to the king in the course of the following summer, and after Christmas justice returned to its old haunts. In 1394, after the king had gone over to Ireland, the archbishop, along with the Bishop of London and others, was sent over to him on behalf of the clergy to request his speedy return, in order that they might better withstand the attacks of the Lollards, who aimed at the complete disendowment of the church; and their remonstrances were so effectual that the king returned from Ireland after Easter.

In 1396 Arundel was promoted to Canterbury, on the death of Archbishop Courtney, by a papal bull dated 25 Sept. It was in anticipation of this promotion (for the bull was only received at Lambeth on 10 Jan. following, and published at Canterbury next day) that he on 27 Sept. resigned the great seal once more (Rymer, vii. 840). He received the pall from William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, on 10 Feb. 1397, and was enthroned at Canterbury on the 19th. The very next day, if we may trust the date in the register, he presided over a synod in London, which had assembled the day before, and received an address from the faculty of law at Oxford, requesting him to vindicate his right of visitation against their chancellor, who had procured from the reigning pope, Boniface IX, a bull of exemption for the university. Arundel was nowise reluctant, and, backed by a letter from the king, endeavoured to enforce his right next year. Nevertheless, the dispute seems only to have terminated fifteen years later by the archbishop obtaining another bull from Pope John XXIII recalling that of Boniface (Wood's *Antiq. Oxf.* i. 365-6).

In the London synod above referred to, the Oxford doctors also took action against the Wycliffites, and asked for the formal condemnation of a number of their opinions. In this matter too it might reasonably be supposed they had Arundel's hearty sympathy; for in no character is he better known (at least in later days) than that of an opponent of the Lollards. But he adjourned the synod till next day, and we have no record of its further proceedings. Soon after he made new statutes for the court of Arches, and proceeded to an almost complete visitation of his province, hearing appeals everywhere from the judgment of his suffragans, whose jurisdiction he seems to have set aside to an extent altogether unusual by delegating causes to his own commissaries. He also issued two monitions to the citizens of London against withholding of tithes and other offerings, renewing an old constitution of Roger Niger, bishop of London in the days of Henry III, which appears to have fallen into neglect.

At this time, if we may trust some French accounts (and the incident might have occurred during the archbishop's visitation of his province), a new conspiracy against Richard II was hatched at Arundel by the king's turbulent uncle, Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, to whom the archbishop administered the sacrament to secure their fidelity to each other. The story has been generally discredited—perhaps on insufficient grounds—because no reference to any such conspiracy is made in the proceedings soon afterwards taken in parliament against the earl and archbishop. But, whatever may have been the occasion, it is clear that there was a new outbreak of distrust on the king's part as regards the three noblemen in question. The surrender of Brest to the Duke of Brittany, and Richard's recent marriage to the daughter of the King of France, were little relished by perhaps the majority of Englishmen, least of all by the Duke of Gloucester. What the archbishop's sentiments about them were we do not know; but he himself had performed the marriage ceremony at Calais (1 Nov. 1396), and been present at the conferences with the French king which immediately preceded it. And, whether he deserved the king's confidence or not, there was no appearance that it had yet been withdrawn from him. But a sudden storm in the political world changed the position of matters for him as for others. The king, suspecting the designs of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, invited these three noblemen to dine with him on 10 July. Gloucester excused himself on the ground of ill health; Arundel thought it best to remain in his castle of Reigate, which was strongly fortified; Warwick alone accepted Richard's hospitality. He was agreeably entertained, and quite thrown off his guard; but after the banquet he was arrested by the king's orders.

That same night Richard urged the archbishop to endeavour to persuade his brother, the Earl of Arundel, to come to him of his own accord, swearing by St. John the Baptist (his usual oath) that no injury should be done to him if he would only come peacefully. The earl at first hesitated, but the archbishop, trusting to the king's oath, induced him to put himself in Richard's power; on which he was apprehended and sent to the Isle of Wight until the meeting of parliament in September. That done, the king, procuring a body of men from the mayor of London, and taking with him also some of the noblemen of his court, paid an unexpected visit to his uncle Gloucester at Pleshy, in Essex, and caused him also to be arrested and sent over to Calais, where he was some little time afterwards murdered.

The archbishop never saw his brother again. He took his place beside the king in the parliament which met in September, and was appointed one of the triers of petitions; but on 20 Sept. 1397—almost exactly a year after the date of the bull appointing him archbishop, but only seven months since he had begun really to exercise an archbishop's functions—he was impeached by the House of Commons. The charge against him was that he, being then chancellor, had assisted in procuring the commission of regency eleven years before in derogation of the king's authority. He was about to reply, but the king, with a motion of his hand, caused him to be silent and sit down, and made answer to the commons himself that, as the matter touched so high a person, he would take counsel upon the subject apart. Meanwhile he privately encouraged the archbishop to believe that the cloud would soon disperse. But next day the archbishop's brother, the earl, was brought into the House of Peers in the custody of the constable of the Tower, and an appeal of treason was lodged against him. The charges against him likewise had reference to acts done many years before, and he had since obtained the king's pardon, but it was disallowed. For the king had explicitly demanded of the assembled peers whether charters of pardon granted under compulsion might not be revoked, and all but the archbishop himself agreed that they might be. The earl was therefore summarily condemned and executed the same day. On the 24th the earl marshal, who was to have produced his prisoner, the Duke of Gloucester, before the peers, reported that he had died in prison at Calais. On the 25th the commons prayed judgment on the archbishop, when the king related that he had examined him in the presence of some other lords, and that he had confessed his offence. Sentence of banishment was then pronounced against him, six weeks being allowed him from Michaelmas day during which to take his passage from Dover into France.

These occurrences were the beginning of the despotism of Richard's later days. He had obtained a subservient parliament, but he had already lost the hearts of many of his subjects. The Earl of Arundel was looked upon as a martyr. The archbishop, undisturbed by his sentence, seems to have continued at least part of the time allowed him in the vigorous discharge of his functions; and on 14 Oct. issued an order from Lambeth in confirmation of one he had already issued in August defining the rights and duties of two officials in the court of Arches (Wilkins, iii. 233). At last he left England and fled to Rome, where he sought the intercession of Boniface IX with the king his master. But Richard wrote in strong terms to his holiness of his seditious and intriguing character; and the pope, though he had favoured him at first, consented, at Richard's request, to deprive him of his see by translating him to St. Andrew's, as his predecessor Urban had translated Archbishop Nevill of York.

It is said by one authority that he absolutely refused to go abroad till the king assured him privately that he would soon be recalled, and that no one else should be archbishop while he lived; on which he told the king that before his departure he had something to say to him, and proceeded to deliver a long denunciation of the luxury and avarice of the court (*Eulogium*, iii. 376–7). To this account we may attach what weight we think proper; but it shows, at all events, the opinion entertained by many of his independence of character. The pope, at the king's request, not only translated him to St. Andrew's, where the authority of Boniface was not respected, but filled up the vacancy in the see of Canterbury by the appointment of Roger Walden, at that time dean of York, who had the temporalities restored to him on 21 Jan. 1398, and kept possession of the see during the brief remainder of Richard's reign.

There is no record—nor is the thing at all probable in itself—that Arundel returned to England, in spite of the decree of banishment, before he came back with Henry of Lancaster in 1399. Yet we are told most minutely by Froissart that just before that occasion he was sent over to Henry in France by the Londoners to represent to him the gross misgovernment of Richard, and to invite him to come and assume the crown;

that he embarked in the Thames at London, passed through Sluys, Aardenborg, Ghent, Oudenarde, and various other places in the Low Countries, and at length, disguised as a monk going on a pilgrimage, came to Henry in the outskirts of Paris. The story, however, requires but a slight correction to bring it into harmony with the statements of other writers. The archbishop's nephew and namesake, Thomas, now Earl of Arundel, eager to avenge his father's death, escaped from the custody of his guardian, John Holland, duke of Exeter, and with the aid of a London merchant fled abroad to join his uncle at Cologne. It was he, in all probability, whose itinerary is given in Froissart, and who conveyed through his uncle the message of the city of London to Henry of Lancaster. There is no doubt, at all events, that the archbishop and the young earl were together with Henry abroad, and landed with him at Ravenspur. The archbishop accompanied Henry to the siege of Bristol, and afterwards into Wales, to intercept Richard's return from Ireland; and it was alleged that Richard's first offer to resign the crown was made to him and the Earl of Northumberland at Conway. Such was the statement of the archbishop himself in Henry's first parliament, and it must be owned it has rather the look of a political fiction, like the other assertion, made at the same time, touching Richard's formal abdication in the Tower, that it was an act done with perfect willingness and with a cheerful countenance. It is certain that the archbishop had no interview with Richard at Conway, though he had one afterwards at Flint. At Conway it was still possible for the unhappy king to escape by sea, and the archbishop, instead of receiving from him then an offer to resign the crown, was plotting with Henry how to lure Richard into the power of the invader and cut off his retreat.

Soon after his return Arundel took possession again of his see of Canterbury, Roger Walden being regarded as an intruder. He took his place at once in parliament as archbishop, and was one of the lords who witnessed the abdication of Richard in the Tower. This being reported next day to the assembled peers, and Henry having challenged the crown as his right, he took the new king by the right hand, and led him to the throne; then, after he was seated, delivered a sermon in parliament on the text 'Vir dominabitur populo' (1 Samuel ix. 17).

Henry was crowned by Arundel at Westminster on 13 Oct. At the feast in Westminster Hall the same day he sat on the king's right hand, and the Archbishop of York upon his left (Fabyan). For a few days he continued to discharge the duties of chancellor, which seem to have been again imposed upon him from the time that Richard fell into Henry's hands; but he presently resigned the great seal to John de Scarle, master of the rolls, afterwards archdeacon of Lincoln. He was lord chancellor again for the fourth time 1407, and for a fifth time in 1412. But his life after the accession of Henry IV is comparatively uneventful, being chiefly remarkable for two things: first, for his successful opposition to the demand of the Lacklearning parliament (1404) and the parliament of 1410 for a general disendowment of the church; and second, his proceedings against the Lollards. He seems also to have been sent on an embassy abroad in the year 1411, but of the particulars of this mission we have no information. The great business of his later life was to resist the tide of Lollardy. In 1401 he passed sentence of degradation upon Sawtree, and handed him over to the secular arm, when he was burned under the new statute against heresy. In 1408 he summoned a provincial council at Oxford, in which certain constitutions against the Lollards were drawn up, but not immediately published. In 1410 another heretic was brought before him, Badby, a tailor of Evesham, who denied transubstantiation, and, as he could not be induced to recant, was committed to the flames. In 1411 the old question arose again about the visitation of the university, and was settled in the manner we have already shown. In 1413, just after the accession of Henry V, arose the more important case of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, whom the archbishop examined at great length, and finally condemned as a heretic, though he was not brought to the flames till some years after the archbishop's death. For Arundel died on 19 Feb. following of a sudden attack of some complaint in the throat. He was buried in his own cathedral, where he had caused a tomb to be erected in his lifetime, but it has been since destroyed.

It is difficult fully to appreciate the character and motives of any leading actor in those turbulent times. But we may well believe that Arundel's conduct throughout life was governed by a standard of duty which, though we may not always approve it, was in accordance with the general feeling and the principles of his own day. Nor does it appear that he was by any means unmerciful in his treatment of the unhappy heretics brought before him, whose ultimate doom, indeed, did not rest with him. His inhibitions of unlicensed preachers displeased

even the reputed orthodox of another generation; and Dr. Gascoigne tells us how he was struck dumb, unable to speak or swallow for days before his death, which was believed to be a judgment on him for having tied up the word of God in the mouths of preachers (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 34, 61). It does not appear that Arundel's own bigotry was of this narrow description. He was a man of princely tastes, built fine edifices for himself at Ely and Canterbury, and was a munificent benefactor of the churches in which he had any interest.

[Walsingham; Annales Ricardi II, ed. Riley (with Trokelowe); Monk of Evesham; Knighton; Froissart; Gower's Tripartite Chronicle; Eulogium, ed. Haydon, iii. 376 sq.; Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux, ed. Williams; Rolls of Parliament, iii. 423, 435; Parker, De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ; Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. iv.] J. G.

ARUNDELL OF CORNWALL. The Arundells are amongst the few Cornish families of Norman origin, and there are still fewer of French extraction who have for so long a period as at least five or six centuries been, like them, traceable in that county. It will be convenient, before referring to the more celebrated members of the family, to briefly sketch the history of the three principal stems —viz. the Arundells of Lanherne, Trerice, and Tolverne—and to add a few words about the minor Arundells.

The ARUNDELLS OF LANHERNE—'the Great Arundells' as they were styled—appear to have settled in Cornwall, about the middle of the thirteenth century, at the place so called (now the site of a nunnery), situated on the western slope of a wooded valley, lying between St. Columb Major and the sea; or possibly before that time at a place in the adjoining parish of St. Ervan, named Trembleath (*Journal of Royal Institution of Cornwall*, September 1876, pp. 285–93). A very early member of the family, Roger, was marshal of England; and according to the Exeter Cathedral 'Martyrologium,' William de Arundell, who died in 1246, was a canon of that cathedral; about the same time a Roger Arundell lived opposite St. Stephen's church in that city. In 1260 a Sir Ralph Arundell was sheriff of Cornwall; and a few years later we find a John Arundell holding lands at Efford, near Bude, and other Arundells were landowners in the eastern part of the county. Of the Sir John Arundell, the story of whose expedition against the Duke of Brittany in 1379 is recorded by the chroniclers, a separate and fuller account is given below. His grandson, Sir John Arundell, K.B., 'the Magnificent,' was a great church benefactor (notably to the celebrated lost church of St. Piran-in-the-Sands —Perranzabulæ), and, according to his will, dated 18 April 1433, possessed no less than fifty-two complete suits of cloth of gold (cf. *Harl. MSS.* 1074, art. 203, fo. 322*b*). He was a naval commander, and was sheriff of Cornwall four times, and M.P. for the county in 1422–3. The Arundells intermarried with most of the old Cornish families—nearly all of them now extinct—thus adding considerably to their vast possessions, until at length, in the twenty-ninth year of Henry VI, John Arundell, born about 1421, had become the largest free tenant in Cornwall, his estates being of the value of 2,000*l.* per annum. He was sheriff and admiral of Cornwall, and a general for Henry VI in his French wars, but was attainted in 1483. The Arundells acquired Lanherne by marriage with the heiress of that family; and they also formed, at different periods, alliances with the Carminows, the Grenvilles, the Bevils, the Lambournes, the Carews, the Trevanions, the Erisys, and other Cornish families. Another John Arundell was bishop of Exeter (1502–4); and of him too, as well as of another member of the Lanherne family, who became bishop of Chichester in 1458, fuller accounts will appear below. A grandson of the above-named admiral—also a Sir John Arundell—was made knight-banneret on the field of Therouenne, died in 1545, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Wolnoth, Lombard Street. He was the father of the erudite Mary Arundell. Another Sir John Arundell, who died in 1589—or, according to the Isleworth Register (OLIVER'S *Collections*), in 1591—at Isleworth, was converted to catholicism, as Dodd tells us in his 'Church History,' by Father Cornelius (a native of the neighbouring town of Bodmin). In defence of Cornelius Sir John Arundell lost his own liberty, and was confined for nine years in Ely Palace, Holborn (cf. MORRIS'S *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 1875; SIMPSON'S *Edmund Campion*, 1867; and CHALLONER'S *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, 1803). The next prominent members of the Lanherne family are Sir Thomas (*d.*1552) and Humphry Arundell (1513–1549–50), of both of whom accounts are given below. From Sir John Arundell, the knight-banneret of Therouenne, descended the Arundells of Wardour Castle; and by the marriage of Mary Arundell, in 1739, to Henry, seventh Baron Arundell of Wardour, the Lanherne and Wardour branches of the family were, after a separation of more than two centuries, reunited.

The ARUNDELLS OF TRERICE were seated in the parish of Newlyn, about five miles

south of Lanherne; and some fine portions remain of their mansion of the sixteenth century. At an early period they had another residence at Allerford in West Somerset, but they were seated at Trerice at least as early as the reign of Edward III. At first they bore different arms from the Lanherne Arundells, apparently owing to a difference of opinion as to which was the elder branch; but ultimately they adopted the same, viz. sable, six swallows argent. However this may be, 'precisely to rip up the whole pedigree,' as Richard Carew, the Cornish historian, who married into the Tolverne branch of the family, observes, 'were more tedious than behooveful.' The earliest Trerice Arundell of note seems to have been a Sir John, vice-admiral of Cornwall early in the fifteenth century. When sheriff of Cornwall he was sent by King Edward IV to retake St. Michael's Mount, which had been seized by the Earl of Oxford. Sir John had removed from Efford, by the seaside, to Trerice (an inland abode), owing, it is said, to a prophecy (Hals) that 'he would be slain in the sands.' Yet he did not avert his fate; for, on the strand near Marazion, he lost his life in 1471 in a skirmish; and his remains lie in the chapel of St. Michael's Mount (cf. Carew, 1811, p. 281). The Arundells of Trerice evidently continued in royal favour, for one of them received an autograph letter from the queen of Henry VII, announcing to him the birth of a prince, her son. Henry VIII appointed another Sir John Arundell (grand-nephew of him who was killed at the Mount) his esquire of the body. He was known as 'Jack of Tilbury.' He is noticed below, as well as his grandson, 'John Game to the Toes'—'John for the King'—and his great-grandson, Richard Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Trerice. Carew is full of information as to this branch of the family. The male line of the family became extinct by the death of the fourth baron, John, in 1768; and Trerice ultimately passed into the hands of its present possessor, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart. An uncle of the last baron, the Hon. Richard Arundell, who died in 1759 without issue, was M.P. for Knaresborough, clerk of the pipe, surveyor of works, master and warden of the mint, and a commissioner of the treasury. Amongst the legal representatives of the Arundells of Trerice in 1829, was the Hon. Ada Byron, daughter of the poet (*Gent. Mag.* xcix. pt. ii. p. 215).

The Arundells of Tolverne were seated at a very early date at the place on the left bank of the Fal which gives them their distinctive name; but no trace remains of their abode, though in Carew's time (about three hundred years ago) 'amongst all of the houses on that side of the river, Tolverne, for pleasant prospect, large scope, and other housekeeping commodities, challengeth the pre-eminence.' They seem to have separated from the main stem of Lanherne at an earlier date than the Arundells of Trerice, and to have settled at Tolverne in the reign of Edward I, in consequence of Sir John Arundell of Trembleath (son of Sir Ralph Arundell of Lanherne, who was sheriff of Cornwall in 1260) marrying Joan le Soor of Tolverne. Sir Thomas Arundell, who died in 1443, is another of the early Arundells who appears upon the scene. Like the Arundells of Lanherne and Trerice, the Arundells of Tolverne intermarried with good Cornish blood, but this branch chose generally the western families for their alliances, such as Reskymer, Trefusis, St. Aubyn, Godolphin, and Trelawny. The grandson of Thomas Arundell, who died in 1552 (who was also called Thomas, and who was knighted by James I), having seriously impaired his fortune by endeavouring to discover an imaginary island in America, called 'Old Brazil,' sold Tolverne, and afterwards lived at Truthall in the parish of Sithney. John Arundell, son of Sir Thomas, one of the Truthall Arundells, was a colonel of horse for Charles II, and a deputy governor of Pendennis Castle, in 1665, under his relative Richard, Baron Arundell of Trerice; he died in 1671.

Of the Minor Arundells, the branch which settled at Menadarva, in the parish of Illogan, appears to have been founded by one Robert Arundell, a natural son of 'Jack of Tilbury.' Hals has, as usual, some odd gossip about him (*Harl. MSS.* 433, art. 651). One of his descendants (a great-grandson ?), Francis Arundell of Trengwainton near Penzance, was born about the year 1620, and died in 1697. He followed that unusual course amongst the Cornish gentry of taking up arms for the parliament, holding the rank of captain. The Arundells sold Menadarva in 1755 to the Bassets of Tehidy.

Another branch settled at Trevithick, about two miles west of St. Columb Major.

Various others of the minor Arundells appear from time to time (but fallen from their high estate) in the church registers in the eastern part of Cornwall: one of the line, William, more than two centuries ago, married Dorothy, a descendant of that Theodoro Palæologus who was buried at Landulph in 1637. She is described in the parish register as being 'ex stirpe imperatorum;' so that there probably still flows in the veins of many a rustic in the neighbourhood of Callington and Saltash the mingled blood of those Arun-

dells who came over to England with the Conqueror, and that of the Byzantine emperors of the East (*Notes and Queries*, 4th series, vols. iii. and iv.)

[Col. Vivian's annotated edition of Heralds' Visitations to Cornwall; Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus.; Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, vols. i., iii., iv., and vi.; Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 5524, fol. 160.] W. H. T.

ARUNDELL, Lady BLANCHE (1583–1649), defender of Wardour Castle, was daughter of Edward, earl of Worcester, and Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, earl of Hungerford. She married Thomas, second Lord Arundell, of Wardour, Wilts. She is chiefly remembered for her gallant defence of Wardour Castle against Sir Edward Hungerford and Colonel Strode, commanders for the parliament. Though her husband was at Oxford, and she had but twenty-five men against thirteen hundred, she replied to the summons to surrender the castle that she had a command from her lord to keep it, and she would obey his command. Quarter being offered for the women and children only, she refused it, and held out from Tuesday, 2 May 1643, till Wednesday of the next week. The battery of the besiegers played on the castle night and day, and the maidservants loaded the muskets for the garrison, who were worn out for want of sleep. Resistance ceased when two mines were sprung beneath the fortress, but honourable terms were obtained. All were admitted to quarter; but the stipulation against plunder was shamelessly broken. Outbuildings were burnt, deer killed, ponds cut, fish sold, fruit trees rooted up, and the leaden pipes, two miles long, supplying the castle with water, were sold at 6*d.* a yard. When to this was added the damage to choice pictures and books, the total loss was estimated at 100,000*l.* The castle was occupied by Ludlow, but recovered (after a siege from September to March 1644) by the son of Lady Blanche [see Arundell, Henry]. Lady Arundell, on leaving the castle, 'had not a bed to lie on, nor means to provide herself a house or furniture' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, v. 89). She went to Salisbury, where she was provided with a lodging by the charity of Lord Hertford. Thence she petitioned the parliament for protection. She died at Winchester 28 Oct. 1649, and was buried with her husband at Tisbury.

[Mercurius Britannicus; Ludlow's Memoirs (1751); Sir R. C. Hoare's Wiltshire.] R. C. B.

ARUNDELL, FRANCIS VYVYAN JAGO (1780–1846), antiquary and oriental traveller, was born at Launceston in July 1780, being the only son of Thomas Jago, a solicitor in that town, who married Catherine, a daughter of Mr. Bolt, a surgeon at Launceston. He was educated at Liskeard grammar school and at Exeter College, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1809, and after having been ordained in the English church he took a curacy at East Antony in his native county. From youth to old age Mr. Jago was imbued with a love of antiquarian study, and after his institution in 1805 to the rectory of Landulph on the banks of the Tamar, he threw himself with avidity into the history of Cornwall. When Nicholas Condy, an artist at Plymouth, published a series of views of Cotehele, the ancient seat of Lord Mount Edgcumbe, Mr. Jago supplied the description of the house which accompanied them. In the church of Landulph is a brass to the memory of Theodoro Palæologus, descended from the last of the christian emperors of Greece, who died on 21 Jan. 1636–7, and an account of this inscription, and of the person whom it commemorated, was printed by Mr. Jago in the volume of the 'Archæologia' for 1817, and reprinted in Davies Gilbert's 'Cornwall' (iii. 365). This paper was afterwards amplified into 'Some Notice of the Church of Landulph,' which was published in 1840, and a reprint of which, with additions by Mr. Polsue of Bodmin, was announced some years ago. One of Mr. Jago's ancestors married a co-heiress of John Arundell of Trevarnoe, and Mr. Jago assumed that name in addition to his own on 25 Feb. 1815. Next year (17 Oct.) he married Anna Maria, second daughter of Isaac Morier, consul-general at Constantinople, and sister of James Morier, the author of 'Hajji Baba.' After this marriage Mr. Arundell turned his thoughts towards the East, and became in 1822 the chaplain to the British factory at Smyrna, where he remained for fourteen years. With characteristic energy he began, very soon after settling at Smyrna, to arrange a tour of exploration in Asia Minor. The months from March to September 1826 were spent in a pilgrimage to the seven churches of Asia and an excursion into Pisidia, a narrative of which was issued in 1828. This book was very favourably received, and with this encouragement he ventured in 1833 upon another tour of 1,000 miles through districts the greater part of which had hitherto been undescribed by any European traveller, when he made an especial study of the ruins of Antioch in Pisidia. Two volumes describing these discoveries were published in 1834. Although he made a third tour in 1835 and 1836 through Palestine, no account of his

travels was published. Whilst residing at Smyrna Mr. Arundell made large collections of antiquities, coins, and manuscripts; on his return to England the coins were sold to the British Museum. He gave great assistance to the brothers Lysons in their history of Cornwall, and at one time contemplated the publication of a history of that county on his own account. It has even been said that some plates were engraved for it. The materials which he collected for histories of Smyrna and of his native town of Launceston were never used, and are probably lost. He died at Landulph on 5 Dec. 1846, and was buried in its church, not far from the tomb of Palæologus. His widow died in Osnaburgh Street, London, on 2 June 1869, aged 80.

[Gent. Mag. vol. lxxxvi. pt. ii. 462 (1816), 27 N. S. 206–8 (1847); C. S. Gilbert's Cornwall, ii. 4, 162, 446–7; Bibliotheca Cornub. i. 7–8, iii. 1037.] W. P. C.

ARUNDELL, HENRY (1606?–1694), third Lord Arundell of Wardour, was the only son of Thomas, second Lord Arundell of Wardour, by his wife, Lady Blanche [q. v.]. On the death of his father (19 May 1643) he succeeded to his estates and to his titles, which included that of Count of the Holy Roman Empire. Throughout his life a devoted catholic, he fought on the side of Charles I in the civil wars. In May 1643 the parliamentarians wrested the family castle of Wardour, in Wiltshire, from his mother, who bravely defended it. In the following September Arundell laid siege to the castle and its new occupiers. By springing a mine and ruining the building, he finally dislodged the enemy under General Ludlow in March 1643–4 (Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs* (1751), pp. 23, 38). Early in life he had married Cecily, daughter of Sir Henry Compton, knight, of Brambletye, Sussex, and widow of Sir John Fermor, and in 1652 he acted as one of the seconds of his wife's brother, Henry Compton, in a duel with Lord Chandos. Compton was slain, and a warrant was issued by the council of state to arrest Arundell, with others who had taken part in the engagement. In 1653 Arundell appears to have petitioned Cromwell for pardon, and in 1656 to have received permission to take refuge in France. At the restoration of Charles II, Arundell, on paying 35,000*l.*, was confirmed in all his family estates, many of which had been sold by the Commonwealth to one Humphrey Weld. On 7 March 1662–3 he was nominated master of the horse to the queen-mother, Henrietta Maria. In January 1668–9 he was summoned by Charles II, with other Roman catholic peers, to a secret council, and was commissioned to proceed to France to inform Louis XIV of the English king's desire to be reconciled to Roman catholicism, and of his want of ready money. In June 1669 Arundell returned with Louis's assent to a secret treaty with Charles, which was signed in the following year, and is known as the treaty of Dover. In 1678 Titus Oates and his associates announced that Arundell was a chief mover in the popish plot against Charles II, which they professed to have discovered. According to the evidence of these informers, attempts had been made by the catholics of England, in league with Louis XIV, to raise an army of 50,000, which was to be placed under the command of Lords Arundell, Powis, and Belasyse. Some of the witnesses asserted that the pope had issued a commission to Arundell to be lord chancellor as soon as the present ministers had been removed, and that Arundell had for many years been actively employed in arranging the details of the plot. On 25 Oct. 1678 Arundell was arrested at the instance of the House of Commons and committed to the Tower, with Lords Stafford, Powis, Petre, and Belasyse. On 1 Nov. the House of Commons resolved to proceed by impeachment against 'the five popish lords.' On 23 Nov. all Arundell's papers were seized and examined by the lords' committee; on 3 Dec. the Middlesex grand jury found the five peers guilty of high treason; and on 5 Dec. the lower house announced that they were ready to impeach Arundell. A month later parliament was dissolved, and the proceedings were interrupted. After some discussion, in March 1678–9, it was resolved by both houses that the dissolution had not invalidated the motions for the impeachment. On 10 April 1679 Arundell and three of his companions (Belasyse was too ill to attend) were brought to the House of Lords to put in pleas against the articles of impeachment. Arundell complained of the uncertainty of the charges brought against him, and implored the peers to have them 'reduced to competent certainty.' But this plea was on 24 April voted irregular, and on 26 April the prisoners were again brought to the House of Lords and ordered to amend their pleas. Arundell replied by briefly declaring himself not guilty. The trial of the five lords was soon afterwards fixed for 13 May; but a quarrel between the two houses as to points of procedure, and as to the legality of admitting the bishops to a capital trial, followed by a dissolution, delayed its commencement till 30 Nov. 1680. On that day

it was decided to proceed first against Lord Stafford, who was condemned to death on 7 Dec. and beheaded on 23 Dec. On 30 Dec. the evidence against Arundell and his three fellow-prisoners was ordered to be in readiness, but there public proceedings stopped. Petre died in the Tower in 1683. His companions remained there till 12 Feb. 1683–4 (i.e. for five years and nearly four months), when an appeal to the court of Queen's Bench to release them on bail was successful. On 21 May 1685 Arundell, Powis, and Belasyse came to the House of Lords to present petitions for the annulling of the charges against them, and on the following day the petitions were granted. On 1 June 1685 their liberty was formally assured them on the ground that the witnesses against them had perjured themselves, and on 4 June the bill of attainder against Stafford was reversed.

After the death of Charles II, his successor, James II, admitted Arundell, although a catholic, to the privy council 17 Aug. 1686, and appointed him keeper of the privy seal in place of Lord Clarendon in March 1687. By royal dispensation he was relieved of the necessity of taking the customary oaths on accepting office (Sir John Bramston's *Autobiog.* (Camden Soc.), p. 283). In the following June Arundell presented an address to the king on behalf of the Roman catholics, thanking him for the declaration of indulgence, but, although evincing as a rule little tact, he strongly opposed the admission of the unpopular Jesuit, Father Petre, to the privy council (Burnet, *History*, iii. 218 *n.*). He received, on 24 June 1687, a 'bounty' of 250*l.* from the king for secret service (*Secret Services of Charles II and James II* (Camden Soc.), p. 156). On the abdication of James, Arundell retired to his house at Breamore, Hampshire, and took no further part in public life. He received a legacy of 1,000 crowns from Cardinal Howard in July 1694, and died at Breamore 28 Dec. 1694, at the age of eighty-eight. He was buried with his ancestors at Tisbury. His wife had died in 1675, but three children survived him. The elder son, Thomas, became the fourth Lord Arundell of Wardour, was in the retinue of Lord Castlemaine on his visit to Pope Innocent XI as James II's ambassador, and died 10 Feb. 1711–12. Lord Arundell's only daughter, Cecily, entered 'the order of Poor Clares of Rouen' in 1662, and died at Rouen 13 June 1717, at the age of eighty-two.

During his imprisonment in 1679 Arundell wrote five short religious poems, published in a single folio sheet in 1679, and reissued in 'A Collection of Eighty-six Loyal Poems' in 1685. His piety and generosity to poor catholics are commended in 'The Liturgicall Discourse' of Richard Mason (*Angelus à Sancto Francisco*), and in the 'Divine Pedagogue,' by F. Welldon (cf. extracts from these books in G. Oliver's *Catholic Religion in Cornwall, Devon, &c.*, pp. 82–3). He was a noted gambler and sportsman, and kept at Breamore a celebrated pack of hounds, which became the property of the Earl of Castlehaven, and subsequently of Hugo Meynell. From them the Quorn pack is descended. Portraits of Lord Arundell, of his wife, and of his daughter are preserved in the dining-room of the modern Wardour Castle.

[Hoare's Wiltshire, s. 'Dunworth Hundred,' pp. 178 et seq.; G. Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall and Western Counties, pp. 81–6; State Trials, vii. 1294 et seq.; Luttrell's Brief Relation, passim; Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, iii. 325; Burnet's History, ed. 1826, ii. 94, 154, iii. 218; Macaulay's History, vol. i.; Ranke's History (Oxford translation), iii. 496, iv. 283, 343; Cal. Domest. State Papers for 1652, 1653, 1656, 1660, 1662–3; Burke's Peerage; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

ARUNDELL, HUMPHRY (1513–1550), rebel, was the son of Roger Arundell of Lanherne by Johanna, daughter and heir of Humphry Calwodeley, both of whom belonged to the principal Cornish families of the time. He was born in 1513, and on the death of his parents in 1536 came into possession of extensive estates in his native county. On the dissolution of the priory of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall in 1539 he received a grant of its revenues, and its government was placed in his hands. In June 1549 a serious insurrection broke out in Cornwall and Devon, partly through the indignation of the poor at the numerous enclosures of common-lands, but more especially through their sympathy with the Roman catholic religion. Humphry Arundell was the chief Cornishman who sided with the insurgents, and he became their leader. Unfortunately for the ultimate success of his cause, which was at first triumphant, he stopped to besiege Exeter, in the belief that it would soon capitulate. Contrary to his expectation the city held out bravely, and Lord Russell had time to collect the royal forces. For two days (4 and 5 Aug.) a fierce battle raged round St. Mary Clyst, when the insurgents were beaten. The contest was resumed with the same result at Sampford Courtenay, when Arundell fled to Launceston. In compliance with the directions of the council, he was seized and sent to London, and, after having being tried at Westminster, was executed at Tyburn on 27 Jan. 1550. Spirited narra-

tives of the rebellion of 1549 are printed in Froude's 'History' (v. 169–200), and in Cotton and Woollcombe's 'Gleanings from Records of Exeter.' Arundell's estates were forfeited and granted to others; his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Fulford of Devon, subsequently married Thomas Cary of the same county.

[Maclean's Trigg Minor, ii. 9, 39; Hals's Hist. of Cornwall in Davies Gilbert's Hist. ii. 191–8; Bibliotheca Cornub. iii. 1037, 1468, col. 1.]
W. P. C.

ARUNDELL, Sir JOHN, of Lanherne (*d.* 1379), naval commander, whose descent illustrates the great difficulties in genealogies of the earlier Arundells, is celebrated for his repulse of the French fleet off the coast of Cornwall in 1379, when he commanded an expedition fitted out by King Richard II in aid of the Duke of Bretagne. Having, according to Thomas Walsingham's story, profaned a convent at or near Southampton, and carried off '*vi vel sponte*' many of its occupants, the fleet was pursued by a violent tempest, when the wretched nuns who had been carried off were thrown overboard to lighten the ships. The vessels were, however, wrecked on the Irish coast, according to some authorities near Scariff, but according to others at Cape Clear. Sir John Arundell, together with his esquires, and other men of high birth, were drowned, and twenty-five ships were lost with most of their crews. Froissart's account of the event differs essentially from Walsingham's, in the omission of the story of the desecration of the convent.

[Walsingham's Historia Anglicana (Riley's ed. Rolls Series), pp. 418–25.]
W. H. T.

ARUNDELL, JOHN (*d.* 1477), bishop of Chichester, was a native of Cornwall, and probably a member of the Lanherne family. For rather more than nine years, from the summer of 1421 to the autumn of 1430, he enjoyed a fellowship at Exeter College, Oxford, and in 1426 he was proctor to the university. Several members of this college were closely connected with the Lancastrian party; Arundell himself was domestic chaplain and confessor to Henry VI, and from a passage in Johnson's 'Life of Linacre' (p. 164), it appears that he was one of the three physicians entrusted with the care of their king's health. He held at various dates prebendal stalls at Wells, Lichfield, Lincoln, Hereford, York, and St. Paul's, the archdeaconry of Richmond in Yorkshire, and the deanery of Windsor. The king pressed the claims of this fortunate pluralist for the see of Durham, but his elevation to the episcopal bench was delayed until his consecration in 1458 as bishop of Chichester. He died 18 Oct. 1477, and was buried in his cathedral church of Chichester. At his cost there was erected in that edifice the shrine or oratory which until 1860 used to stand between the eastern-most piers of the nave.

[Boase's Exeter Coll. p. 17; Stephens's See of Chichester, pp. 166–8; Bibliotheca Cornub. iii. 1038.]
W. P. C.

ARUNDELL, JOHN (*d.* 1504), successively bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and of Exeter, was the younger son of Humphry Arundell of Lanherne, by Joanna, sister and heir of Sir John Coleshill of Tremoderet. After having enjoyed 'the first taste of the liberal arts and sciences' in a college of Augustine monks at St. Columb, Cornwall, he remained at Exeter College, Oxford, until he took the degree of M.A., when he was immediately presented by his father to the rich rectory of St. Columb, and during his residence there built a parsonage house and moated it round with rivers and fish-ponds. A variety of preferments quickly followed his presentation to this family living. He became rector of Duloe in Cornwall in 1474, and of Sutton Courtney about 1479. In the latter year he was appointed to a canonry at Windsor, and a few years later prebendal stalls at York and Salisbury were conferred upon him. From 1483 to 1496 he held the deanery of Exeter, when he vacated it to become bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, a bishopric which he resigned for that of Exeter in 1502. His death took place in the episcopal palace within the parish of St. Clement Danes, London, on 15 March 1504, and he was buried on the south side of the altar of the parish church, under a tomb of marble inlaid with brass. A fragment of the inscription to his memory is printed in Weever's 'Ancient Funeral Monuments' (p. 444). Bishop Arundell is said to have been conspicuous for his love of learning and his hospitality towards the poor.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (ed. Bliss), ii. 692–3; Oliver's Bishops of Exeter, pp. 116–17; Bibliotheca Cornub. iii. 1038.]
W. P. C.

ARUNDELL, Sir JOHN, of Trerice (1495–1561), knight, twice sheriff of Cornwall, and vice-admiral of the west under Henry VII and Henry VIII, was esquire of the body to the latter king, and known as 'Jack of Tilbury.' He was knighted at the battle of Spurs in 1513; and in 1520 the king entrusted him with the preparations for the reception of the emperor at Canterbury. In 1523 he captured, after a long sea

fight, a notorious Scotch pirate, Duncan Campbell, who had for some time scourged our coasts. The Duke of Norfolk wrote shortly afterwards to Sir John Arundell, requesting him to bring his prisoner to the king's presence, and thanking him in the king's name for his 'valiant courage and bolde enterprise in the premises.' It was apparently to the same Sir John Arundell that Henry VIII wrote in 1544 requesting his attendance in the wars against the French king—an order which was, however, countermanded in order that Arundell 'with his servants, tenants, and others within his rooms and offices, especially horsemen,' might be held in readiness for other services. In the following reign he was vice-admiral of the king's ships in the west seas; and in 1553, when he was sheriff of Cornwall, Queen Mary wrote requiring that he, with his friends and neighbours, 'should see the Prince of Spain most honourably entertained, if he fortuned to land in Cornwall.' By his first wife, a coheir of Bevil, he had two children, Roger, who married a Dinham, and Katherine, who married a Prideaux. By his second wife, an Erisy, he had a son John, who succeeded him at Trerice, and was, like him, sheriff of Cornwall, 'whose due commendation' Carew desired not to give 'because another might better deliver than myself, who touch him as nearly as Tacitus did Agricola.' Sir John Arundell was born in 1495, died in 1561, and is buried at Stratton Church, Cornwall, where there is a monument to his memory.

[Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, iv. 172; Archæological Journal, viii. 94 (1851).]

W. H. T.

ARUNDELL, Sir JOHN, of Trerice, (1576–1656?), 'Jack for the King,' was grandson of Henry VIII's 'Jack of Tilbury,' and was born about 1576. He was the son of John Arundell of Trerice by Gertrude Dennys of Holcombe in Devon; Richard Carew, the historian of Cornwall, married his half-sister Julian. He was amongst the Cornish gentry present in 1623 at the battle of Braddock Down, near Lostwithiel, when the king's army obtained so decided a victory over the forces of the parliament. He was at different times M.P. for Cornwall, for Bodmin, for Tregony, and for Michell, a now disfranchised borough situated within their manor of Medeshole (Michell?), which the Arundells had held at least as early as the time of Edward I. About 1643 he was appointed governor of Pendennis Castle, which, with St. Mawes Castle, commands the entrance of Falmouth harbour, then a place of much greater national and strategic importance than it is at present. He succeeded in office Sir Nicholas Slanning; and at Pendennis in 1644 he harboured for a night or two Queen Henrietta Maria on her flight from Exeter into France, and also Charles II in February 1646. The story of Fairfax's five months' siege of Pendennis Castle and its gallant defence by old Sir John Arundell and his colleagues is told in Clarendon, and in greater detail by Captain Oliver, R.A., in his 'Pendennis and St. Mawes, an Historical Sketch of two Cornish Castles.' Sir John Arundell's reply (dated 18 May 1646) to Fairfax's summons to surrender within two hours (preserved among the Clarendon State Papers) closes thus: 'And, having taken less than two minutes' resolution, I resolve that I will here bury myself before I deliver up this castle to such as fight against his majesty, and that nothing you can threaten is formidable to me in respect of the loss of loyalty and conscience.' On the 16th of the following August, however, Pendennis was starved out, and became the last castle but one (Raglan) to surrender to the parliament. The surrender was conducted with the full honours of war (Original Articles of Surrender, *Egerton MSS.* Brit. Mus. 1048, fol. 86). Sir John Arundell did not live to see the Restoration and reap his well-earned honours. The fall of Pendennis and the defeat of the king's cause ruined his estates, and probably hastened his death; he was even reduced to the necessity of suing Cromwell himself for assistance, urging that the Trerice Arundells 'had once the honour to stand in some friendship, or even kinship, with your noble family' (*Tanner MSS.* Bod. Lib. 54, fol. 18). He was buried at Duloe in Cornwall; and Richard, his second son, who, like many other members of his family, was a staunch royalist, was ennobled in 1664, partly in recognition of the loyalty and sufferings of his father [see Arundell, Richard].

[Forster's Life of Eliot (1872), ii. 388, 396; Cary's Memorials of the Civil War (1842), ii. 258; Carlyle's Cromwell, iii. App. 20.]

W. H. T.

ARUNDELL, MARY (*d.* 1691), daughter of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, knight-banneret of Therouenne, and his second wife Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Grenville of Stow, was one of the learned ladies of her time, and is included in George Ballard's 'Celebrated British Ladies' (ed. 1775, p. 85). She is chiefly known by her translations from the Latin, especially of the 'Sayings and Doings of the Emperor Severus,' dedicated to her father, and the 'Select Sentences of the Seven Wise Men of Greece' (*King's*

MSS. Brit. Mus. 12 A. iii. and iv.). Some of her MSS. are preserved in the royal collections at Windsor. She married, first, Robert Radcliff, earl of Essex, and, secondly, Henry, seventeenth earl of Arundel. She is buried at the east end of the south aisle of Newlyn Church, Cornwall, in the vault of the Trerice Arundells; and, according to Davies Gilbert (*Parochial History of Cornwall*), it was through her that the Trerice estates passed into the hands of their present possessor, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart.

[King's MSS. Brit. Mus. 12 A. iii. and iv.] W. H. T.

ARUNDELL, RICHARD (*d.* 1687), first Baron Arundell of Trerice, Clarendon's 'Dear Dick,' was the second son of Sir John Arundell of Trerice, the defender of Pendennis Castle; and was also present at that siege, as well as at the battles of Edgehill and Lansdowne. He was M.P. for Lostwithiel in 1639, but was expelled for putting into execution the commission of array in 1642. He was a colonel in the king's army, and Clarendon describes him as 'a stout and diligent officer.' His estates, much impoverished during the civil war, were confiscated by the parliament in 1647, but on the Restoration were recovered by him, and on 23 March 1664 he was created a baron. Charles I, writing from Oxford in January 1643, had promised William Killigrew that Richard Arundell should succeed his father in the government of Pendennis Castle, and accordingly in 1662 Charles II redeemed his father's promise. He died 7 Sept. 1687.

[Cf. Harl. MSS. 1079, art. 9, and 3319, art. 22; Ashmolean MSS. (Bod. Lib.) 838, art. 51; Tanner MSS. (Bod. Lib.) 59, fol. 193.] W. H. T.

ARUNDELL, Sir THOMAS (*d.* 1552), alleged conspirator, was the second son of Sir John Arundell, knight-banneret of Lanherne. He was sheriff of Dorsetshire 1531–2, gentleman of the privy chamber to Cardinal Wolsey, and was knighted at the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533. He was appointed in 1535, with Sir John Tregonwell and others, as a commissioner for the suppression of religious houses. The reception which he met with at Exeter may be read in Dr. Oliver's 'Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis,' p. 116. In 1545 Henry VIII granted to him a church at Trescoe, one of the Scilly islands, and addressed to him a remarkable letter concerning the papists in Cornwall (*MS.* Westminster Abbey and *Stowe MSS. Cat.* 1849). In January 1549–50, the year in which he was made receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall, he and his elder brother John (vice-admiral of the king's ships in the west seas, and sheriff of Cornwall) were committed to the Tower on suspicion of being implicated with their cousin, Humphry Arundell, in the Cornish rising in favour of 'the old religion.' Sir Thomas, although released in October 1551, was again committed to the Tower in the same month for being concerned in the Duke of Somerset's 'conspiracy,' wherein, Bishop Pouet says, 'Arundell conspired with that ambitious and subtil Alcibiades, the Earl of Warwick, after Duke of Northumberland, to pull down the good Duke of Somerset, King Edward's uncle and protector;' but, as Mr. Doyne Bell has pointed out, in his history of the church of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower (1877), pp. 149–153, if this be correct it is singular that Arundell should have afterwards been re-arrested on 28 Jan. 1551–2 for conspiring with Somerset against Northumberland. Nevertheless, this change of sides may have been the price of his release. It is, however, possible that there were two contemporaries of the same name, one of the Lanherne (a Roman catholic), the other of the Trerice (a protestant) branch. Sir Thomas was brought to trial with Sir Ralph Vane on the day following his arrest; when Machyn records that 'the quest qwytt ym of tresun, and cast hym of felonye, to be hanged.' The less degrading death by beheading was, however, ultimately allotted to him; and the sentence was carried into effect on Tower Hill on 26 Feb. The writer of the 'Chronicon ex registro Fratrum Minorum Londiniæ,' as given in Mr. Richard Howlett's 'Monumenta Franciscana,' vol. ii., records that Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Stanhope were executed at the same time; and declares that 'theis iiii knyghtes confessyd that the war neuer gylte for soche thynges as was layd vn-to their charge, and dyde in that same oppinioun.' The commission for seizing on the possessions of Sir Thomas Arundell, 'rebel and traitor,' is in Harl. MS. 433, art. 557; and an interesting catalogue of his plate, together with a list of that portion which was returned to his widow Margaret (a sister of Queen Katharine Howard), will be found in the Add. MS. 5751, fol. 209. Richard Carew, the historian of Cornwall, says of him that 'he was in Edward VI's time made a privy counsellor; but cleaving to the Duke of Somerset, he *lost his head* with him.'

[Cf. also Fourth Report of Dep. Keeper of Public Records (1843), pp. 231–2; and Hutchins's Dorset (the new edition), iii. 556.] W. H. T.

ARUNDELL, THOMAS, first Lord Arundell of Wardour (1560–1639), was

a grandson of Sir John Arundell, the friend of Father Cornelius. When about thirty-five years of age, he was made count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1595 by the Emperor Rudolph II, for his valour in the wars against the Turks in Hungary; on one occasion he captured the enemy's banner with his own hand, whilst forcing the water-tower at Gran or Esztergom. He was a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who recommended him to the emperor in an autograph Latin letter, said to be still preserved at Wardour Castle. He was made first Baron Arundell of Wardour by James I in 1605. His eldest son, Thomas, second Baron of Wardour (born 1584), was (according to Clarendon, iv. 125, ed. 1826) amongst the royalists of Cornish extraction who were present at the bloody battle of Lansdowne near Bath on 5 July 1643, where he was wounded. But this statement seems to be erroneous, for his monument in Tisbury Church, Wilts, records that he died at Oxford on 19 May 1643, probably of wounds received in some other engagement during the civil war. Lady Blanche Arundell, whose gallant defence of Wardour Castle against the parliament is a familiar matter of history, was the wife of the second baron.

[See ante, sub Arundells of Lanherne.]

W. H. T.

ASBURY, FRANCIS (1745–1816), Wesleyan bishop, was born 20 or 21 Aug. 1745, at Hamstead Bridge, in the parish of Handsworth, Staffordshire, four miles from Birmingham. He was the only son of Joseph Asbury and Eliza Rogers, both methodists. He began to preach, as a local preacher, at the age of eighteen, and was admitted as an itinerant preacher at the age of twenty-one. In August 1771, when preachers were wanted by the Bristol conference to go to America, Asbury offered himself; he embarked in September, and landed at Philadelphia 27 Oct. 1771. The American methodists, especially after the war of independence, were troubled by the want of the sacraments and of confirmation. Wesley, then in his eighty-second year, with the Revs. Thomas Coke, D.C.L., and James Creighton, ordained at Bristol, in 1784, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as presbyters for America; subsequently Wesley, by himself, ordained Coke as superintendent, explaining his views in a mandate dated 10 Sept. 1784. Following its terms, Coke and Asbury were elected joint superintendents by the Baltimore conference at Christmas, 1784. Coke and the two presbyters ordained Asbury deacon and elder on Christmas day; and superintendent, with the further assistance of the Rev. William Philip Otterbein, a Lutheran clergyman, on 27 Dec. Coke suggested the use of the title of bishop, and the conference agreed to constitute the 'Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America.' The remainder of Asbury's life was spent in organising and extending the church thus formed. Its germ had been planted by the emigration of Philip Embury and Paul and Barbara Heck from Ireland to New York. Its existing constitution dates from 1786, its form of discipline from 1787; its two superintendents have since grown to thirteen bishops. Asbury's 'Journal' shows him to have been a man of simple and winning character, administrative power, and pithy expression; his piety is both frank and deep. He died unmarried, 31 March 1816.

[Asbury's Journal, N.Y., 1852; Janes's Character and Career of Francis Asbury, N.Y., 1872, with portrait; Larrabee's Asbury and his Coadjutors, Cincinnati, 1854; Strickland's Pioneer Bishop, London, 1860, with portrait; Briggs's Bishop Asbury, London, 1874, with portrait.]

A. G.

ASCHAM, ANTHONY (*fl.* 1553), astrologer, studied at Cambridge, became M.B. in 1540, and in 1553 was presented by Edward VI to the vicarage of Burneston, Yorkshire. He is probably to be identified with Anthony, the brother of Roger Ascham (cf. Grant's *Vita Aschami* in Ascham's *Works*, ed. Giles, iv. 307). His works are as follows: 1. 'A Little Herbal,' by Ant. Askam, 1550. 2. 'Anthonie Ascham his Treatise of Astronomie, declaring what Herbs and all Kinde of Medicines are appropriate, and also under the influence of the Planets, Signs, & Constellations,' 1550. 3. 'A Treatise of Astronomy, declaring the Leap Year and what is the Cause thereof; and how to know St. Matthis Day for ever, with the marvellous motion of the Sun both in his proper circle, and by the moving that he hath of the 10th, 9th, and 8th sphere,' London, 1552, 8vo. 4. 'A Prognostication and an Almanack made for the Year of our Lord God, 1550.' 5. 'An Almanacke or Prognostication,' &c., for 1552. 6. The like for 1555. 7. The like for 1557. 8. 'Treatise made 1547 of the State and Disposition of the World, with the alteration and changing thereof through the highest planets, called Maxima, Major, Media, and Minor, declaring the very time of the day, houre, and minute that God created the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and the places where they were first set in the Heavens and the beginning of their movings,

and so continued to this day, &c.,' London, 1558.

[Tanner, 51; Heming's Chartularius Ecclesiæ Vigornensis, by Hearne, ii. App. 647; Pulteney's Botan. Sketches, i. 50; Ames, ed. Herbert and Dibdin, iii. 284; Hazlitt's Handbook to Popular Literature, p. 15.]

ASCHAM, ANTONY (*d.* 1650), parliamentarian ambassador at Madrid, was 'born of a genteel family, educated in Eton school, and thence elected into King's College, Cambridge, 1638.' He took the parliament side in the civil war, and was appointed tutor to James, duke of York. In 1648 he published his 'Discourse of what is lawful during confusions and revolutions of government,' a treatise determining within what time allegiance might be transferred from a sovereign to those who had conquered him. It was answered by Dr. Sanderson (whose tract on the subject was formerly printed with Walton's 'Lives'), and republished in 1689 without the author's name. In August 1649 Ascham was the Hamburg agent of the republic, and in the following June he was appointed resident at Madrid, at a salary of 800*l.* a year. Clarendon (then Sir Edward Hyde and ambassador for Charles II) sneers at his rival's incompetence; but Milton, some years after, recommending Marvell to Bradshaw, thinks it sufficient commendation to say that 'Mr. Marvell will do as good service as Mr. Ascham.' The dignity of the new resident was jealously guarded by a formal introduction to the Spanish ambassador, and by a special commission under the great seal. At Madrid Hyde was assured that no embassy was in question; it was only that a gentleman had come with letters from the parliament to the king. The letters were never delivered, for the day after his arrival Ascham and his interpreter, De Rivas, were murdered at their inn by John Guillim and William Spark, who, with their four accomplices (Henry and Valentine Progers, John Halsal, and William Arnet), took sanctuary immediately afterwards. The parliament not only demanded their punishment, but ordered that six persons, who had been in arms for the king and had not been admitted to compound, should be at once seized and tried by the high court of justice, an order repeated in November. The Spaniards, to save appearances, took the assassins out of the church, tried, condemned, and restored them to sanctuary, where they were maintained by the contributions of 'persons of quality' till they all had opportunity to escape. Spark, the only protestant among them, was alone recaptured and executed. In 1652 the murderers were excepted from the act of oblivion, and provision was made for Ascham's relations, and so late as 1655 the topic of the murder is urged in Cromwell's declaration against Spain. The pleadings for the punishment of the murderers, translated from the Spanish, were published in 1651, and are reprinted in the 'Harleian Miscellany' (iv. 280, ed. Park).

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 628, 750; Clarendon's Hist.; Thurloe's State Papers; Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1649–55.] R. C. B.

ASCHAM, ROGER (1515–1568), author, was born in 1515 at Kirby Wiske, near Northallerton. His family appears to have been of considerable antiquity, and to have taken its name from the villages known as East and West Askham, near York. A Roger de Askham is mentioned as an adherent of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in 1313, and as receiving pardon for his complicity in the murder of Piers Gaveston (Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii. 444). Hamond Askham was appointed master of Balliol College, Oxford, in 1397 (Wood, *Antiquities*, p. 82). In 1406 William Askham became an alderman of London, and was sheriff in 1398, when Richard Whittington was mayor (Riley, *Memorials of London*, 546, 548, 565). The will of another William Askham, dated 7 Nov. 1390, preserved at York, proves the members of the family who remained in Yorkshire to have belonged to the yeoman class. At the date of Roger's birth his father, John Ascham, was house-steward to Lord Scrope, of Bolton, and bore a high reputation for uprightness of life. A mention of him in the will (20 Feb. 1507–8) of Robert Lascelles, a substantial Yorkshire landowner, proves him to have then held the tithes of Newsham, near Kirby-Wiske, and to have lately sustained heavy losses (cf. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, published by Surtees Soc. i. 129–30, ii. 28, iv. 271). The maiden name of Roger's mother, Margaret Ascham, has not been preserved; but it has been stated that she was of an important Yorkshire family. Roger was the third son. The eldest son, Thomas, was fellow of St. John's College in 1523 (Baker, *Hist. of St. John's Coll.* ed. Mayor, i. 282), and died before 1544 (Ascham, *Epistles*, ed. Giles, No. xxi.). He apparently married, and left three sons, Roger, Thomas, and John, of whom the first was promoted, in 1573, from the office of ordinary yeoman of Elizabeth's chamber to that of yeoman of the bears, and the last was the author of an unprinted pamphlet entitled 'A Discours against the Peace with Spayne, 1603' (*Harl. MSS.* 168, art. 117; 295, art. 231 *b*). Anthony, Roger's

second brother, was an astrologer [see ASCHAM, ANTHONY, *fl.* 1553].

Roger received his earliest education from his father, to whom he refers in his letters as 'the wisest of men,' and whose advice he frequently sought and acted upon in early manhood. But while still a child he was received into the family of Sir Anthony Wingfield, who 'ever loved and used to have many children brought up in learnynge in his house' together with his own sons (ASCHAM, *Toxophilus*, ed. Arber, p. 140). R. Bond was the name of the tutor employed by Sir Anthony, and under his guidance Roger made rapid progress in English as well as in classical studies. His physical education was not neglected, and Sir Anthony himself taught the boys archery, which was always Ascham's favourite exercise (*ibid.*). At the age of fifteen (1530) Roger, by the advice and at the expense of his patron, who recognised his promise, proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, where the best education of the day was to be obtained. His first tutor was Hugh Fitzherbert, who had become fellow of the college in 1528, but of him little is known (COOPER, *Athen. Cantab.* i. 64). Ascham appears to have developed his special aptitude for Greek under Robert Pember, another fellow of St. John's (cf. *Epist.* cxxxiv.). During his undergraduate days he wrote a letter to Pember in Greek, which the tutor described as fit to have been written at Athens. But to John Cheke, afterwards tutor to Edward VI, and to John Redman, afterwards first master of Trinity College—both of whom were admitted fellows of St. John's during his first year of residence—Ascham always ascribed the chief advantages he derived from his academic training. With them, and especially with the first, he lived throughout their lives on terms of peculiar intimacy, and in his latest work he praised 'their onely example of excellency in learnyng, of godnes in liuyng, of diligence in studying, of councell in exhorting, of good order in all thyng' (*Scholemaster*, p. 67). Other friends that he made at St. John's at the same time were George Day and John Christopherson, both afterwards bishops of Chichester, Robert Horne, afterwards bishop of Winchester, Thomas Watson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham, and John Seton, afterwards well known as the chaplain of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. Among members of other colleges with whom he became acquainted were Edmund Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Haddon, afterwards the eminent civilian, Thomas Wilson, who subsequently wrote on logic, and Nicholas Ridley, the martyr bishop of London. Besides devoting himself to Greek, which he taught as an undergraduate to students younger than himself, Ascham made himself master of almost all extant Latin literature, paid some attention to mathematics, became an accomplished musician, and acquired singular skill in penmanship. On 18 Feb. 1533–4 he took the degree of B.A., and on 23 March following was admitted to a fellowship at St. John's, which, as he wrote later, was 'the whole foundation . . . of all the furderance that hitherto else where I have obteyned' (*Scholemaster*, p. 134). Although Ascham's proficiency well merited a fellowship, his open avowal of the reformed religion imperilled his election. In 1533–4 a public disputation as to the authority of the pope in England took place at Cambridge, and Ascham so violently opposed the catholic champions as to offend many of his friends, among them George Day, a subsequent bishop of Chichester, to whom in later years he apologised for his 'imprudence' (*Epist.* cxxxvi.). His fellowship was only bestowed on him owing to the 'goodnes and fatherlie discretion' of Dr. Metcalfe, master of his college, who was himself a catholic, but came from the neighbourhood of Ascham's birthplace (*Scholemaster*, p. 134). Early in July 1537 Ascham proceeded M.A. In the meantime he had been studying hard and gathering pupils about him, in whom he took an affectionate interest: among them he has made special mention of William Grindal, John Thomson, Edward Raven, and William Ireland, the last three of whom became fellows of St. John's, and to Raven and Ireland Ascham addressed some of his most charming letters in later life (*Epistt.* ci. cii. civ. cxvi. cxx. cxxx. cxxxiv.). About 1538 Ascham was appointed Greek reader at St. John's, with a good salary. His success was remarkable. In five years, he afterwards asserted, Sophocles and Euripides had become at his college as familiar as Plautus had been previously, and Demosthenes was as much discussed as Cicero in former times (*Epist.* xii.). Students from other colleges regularly attended his lectures. In 1539 he apparently sought, through the influence of William Buckmaster, vice-chancellor, a mathematical lectureship (*Epist.* iv.), although he candidly confessed in later life that, compared with the classics, 'Euclid's pricks and lines' had little educational value (*Epist.* ii. liv.; cf. *Scholemaster*, p. 34). The beauty of his handwriting also brought him much employment as the writer of official letters in behalf of the university; but although he said in

1544 that he had been employed in that capacity for twelve years, the earliest extant letter from him of the kind cannot be dated earlier than 1541 (*Epistt.* viii. xxii.). But petty quarrels soon disturbed his academic career. He was working hard in 1539 to procure the election of his pupil Thomson to a vacant fellowship at St. John's (*Epistt.* v. vi. viii.), and his zeal in the matter, which proved successful, brought him into collision with his friend Redman, who was interesting himself in another candidate (*Epist.* xx.). Soon after this dispute Ascham paid a visit to his parents in Yorkshire, whom he had not seen for several years (*Epist.* ii.). At the time he apparently attended archery meetings at Norwich and York, and increased his enthusiasm for the sport, which he had practised habitually from youth (*Toxophilus*, p. 159). It is of interest to note that the statutes of St. John's, adopted in 1530 and reaffirmed in 1545, allowed him to pursue the recreation at Cambridge (*Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 258). While in Yorkshire he was seized with a severe illness—a quartan fever—which prevented his return to Cambridge for two years, and exhausted his pecuniary resources (*Epistt.* ix. x. xii.). His poverty compelled him to appeal for money to Robert Holgate, bishop of Llandaff, who had had some connection with St. John's (*Epist.* x.), and to Edward Lee, archbishop of York, of whom he requested employment either in epitomising books which the archbishop had not time to read, or in translating into Latin Greek patristic literature (*Epist.* ix.). Lee replied by awarding him an annual pension of forty shillings, and Ascham, to show his gratitude, set himself to translate into Latin Œcumenius's commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles to Titus and Philemon, gathered out of Cyril, Chrysostom, and other Greek fathers. At the close of 1541, while Ascham was apparently still in Yorkshire, the work was completed. It was published at Cambridge, after his return there, in 1542. He presented a copy to the archbishop (*Epist.* xiii.), but it did not satisfy his patron. Lee was displeased with the approval Ascham had bestowed on the married clergy, and there seemed some likelihood of his pension being discontinued. With the humility which invariably characterised Ascham whenever money matters were in question, he implored pardon, and promised to abandon theology for pure classics, and to translate Sophocles into Latin (*Epist.* xv.). In a second letter to the archbishop on the subject he declared that he was not self-opinionated, nor a seeker after novelties, as his lectures on Aristotle, Plato, and Cicero would plainly show, and that his knowledge of Christianity was solely derived from the Psalter and the Greek Testament (*Epist.* xvii.). On 13 Sept. 1544 the archbishop's death brought Ascham's pension to an end, and he contemplated seeking a new patron in George Day, the bishop of Chichester (*Epistt.* xvii. xxiv.). At the time he was involved in many misfortunes. His brother Thomas died early in the year, and shortly afterwards both his father and mother after nearly fifty years of married life. Dissensions in the university disheartened him. In a controversy as to the correct mode of pronouncing Greek he had played an active part. Cheke had attempted to introduce a system of pronunciation resembling that in use in England at the present time, and opposed to the continental practice. Ascham, having at first resisted the innovation, finally supported it; but to his chagrin Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, issued (15 May 1542) a decree, at the instance of Cheke's enemies, forbidding the teaching of the new pronunciation (*Epist.* xii.; A. J. Ellis, *English Pronunciation of Greek*, p. 5). His father had advised him to escape the contentions caused by the discussion of this and other questions by abandoning the university, and in July 1542 he appears, in pursuit of this counsel, to have supplicated for incorporation at Oxford, but he does not seem to have persisted in this application (Wood, *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 114). He had also entertained proposals to become tutor to Lord Mountjoy's son (*Epistt.* xix. xx.), and about Lady-day 1544 he wrote to Redman that, deep as was still his interest in his Greek lectureship at St. John's, he longed for nothing more than foreign travel in the suite of an English ambassador (*Epist.* xx.). He was not, however, willing to forego very hastily his chances of preferment in the university, and, with his customary shrewdness, he wrote to Sir William Paget, secretary of state, early in the same year (*Epist.* xxii.), demanding his influence with the king to obtain for himself the regius professorship of Greek at Cambridge, soon to be vacated by Cheke on his appointment as tutor to Prince Edward.

But, fortunately for his future reputation, Ascham looked for advancement in one other direction. In 1543 and 1544 he was engaged on his famous treatise on archery, which he believed would secure him the favour of Henry VIII, and 'would be no doubtful sign of his love of his country nor a mean memorial of his humble learning' (*Epist.* xxii.). During 1544 he was seeing it through the press, and he desired permission to present it personally to the king before his departure

for the siege of Boulogne. But Henry left England in July 1544 before the book was completed, and it was not till 1545 that he found his opportunity of offering it to the king in the gallery at Greenwich. Henry VIII, according to Ascham's own account, 'did so well like and allow it, as he gave me a living for it' in the shape of a pension of 10*l.* (*Epist.* ii. lxxxvii.). Shortly before, he had obtained personal introductions to Bishop Gardiner, who was beginning to show a kindly interest in him on account of his literary ability, and to the Duke of Norfolk, and his favourable reception by the king was owing mainly to their influence. The book, dedicated to Henry VIII, and printed at London in 1545, was cast in the form of a dialogue between Toxophilus (Ascham himself) and Philologus, a Greek tutor of Cambridge (doubtless Sir John Cheke). The first part formed an argument in favour of archery as a recreation for students and as an instrument of war; the second part contained practical hints for becoming proficient in the art. The most remarkable characteristics of the work are its vigorous, flexible, and pure English prose, and its plea for the literary use of the 'Englyshe tonge,' as opposed to Latin or Greek, which is set forth in an introductory address 'to all gentle men and yomen of Englande.' Of translators Lord Berners, and of original writers John Tindal and Sir Thomas More, alone of preceding writers, had exhibited a comparable command of 'the speech of the common people,' and they did not always exhibit the ease which is here habitual to Ascham. Walter Haddon prefixed Latin elegiacs, in which he praised Ascham's own skill as an archer and a scholar. Ascham was justly proud of his performance, and sent copies of the 'Toxophilus,' with autograph letters, to the queen (*Epist.* xxxii.), the Earl of Essex (*ibid.*), Lord Chancellor Wriothesley (*Epist.* xxxiii.), Bishop Gardiner (*Epistt.* xxxiv. xxxv.), and to a large number of noblemen at court (*Epist.* xxxviii.).

Soon after the publication of this work Ascham fell ill again, and was unable to reside at Cambridge. In 1545 he asked Archbishop Cranmer, on account of his ill health, to permit him to eat flesh instead of fish on fast days, and the dispensation was granted (*Epistt.* xxvii. xxviii. xxix.). In 1546 he had sufficiently recovered from his sickness to succeed Cheke as public orator of the university (*Epist.* xlvi.), and in that capacity conducted for the next few years a voluminous correspondence for the university. He repeatedly sought the influence of all the great officers of state to keep the privileges and property of the colleges intact. In 1547 troubles again appear to have come upon him. Late in that year he complained in two letters, one (*Epist.* lxxxiii.) addressed to Sir William Cecil, to whom he had been introduced by Cheke, and the other (*Epist.* lxxxii.) to the master of St. John's (William Bill), that he had been treated with scant courtesy in the matter of a public disputation on the mass to which he had looked forward as a means of utterly reducing the catholic champions at Cambridge. To give the discussion greater publicity and importance, its scene during its progress had been removed at his suggestion from St. John's College to the public schools, but it was there suddenly closed by order of the vice-chancellor Madew. He consoled himself for this disappointment by writing a treatise on the mass, which was published posthumously in 1577. About the same time (1548) the death of his pupil and friend, William Grindal, appointed through Cheke's influence in 1544 tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, caused him intense grief (*Epistt.* lxxxiv. cxvii.).

But this last event was not without a brighter side. Ascham had, doubtless through Cheke, already made the acquaintance of the Princess Elizabeth, and had been as favourably impressed with her zeal for learning as she had been impressed with his skill as a teacher. From 1545 onwards he frequently wrote to encourage her in her studies (cf. *Epist.* xxxi.), and on one occasion mended her silver pen for her, and presented her with an Italian book and a book of prayers (*Epist.* xxxix.). He had also been intimate with her attendants, John Astley and his wife (*Epist.* lv.), of whom he had urged in 1545 the appointment of the latter as the princess's governess (*Epist.* xl.). Sir Anthony Denny, at whose house at Cheshunt the princess lived for many years, had also shown Ascham marks of special favour since the days that the latter was a poor and he a rich student of St. John's. On Grindal's death Ascham wrote to Elizabeth, condoling with her on the loss of her tutor, urging her to persevere in her studies, and vaguely expressing his anxiety that he might place his abilities at her service, while he recommended her to find another tutor in 'that other Grindal (i.e. Edmund, afterwards archbishop), who resembles William in gentleness' (*Epist.* lxxxiv.). But to Sir John Cheke he openly stated his desire to succeed Grindal himself (*Epist.* lxxxv.). Before July 1548 his wishes were fulfilled, and he took up his residence at Cheshunt. He found there a congenial companion in a young man named John Whitneye, whom he had known before (*Epist.* xxxvii.), and to whom he now taught Latin

on the system afterwards recommended in the 'Scholemaster.' The death of this 'worthie young gentleman' within a few months of Ascham's settlement at Cheshunt gave him a new grief, for which he sought expression in some poor English verses 'of misorderlie meter,' printed in the 'Scholemaster' (p. 91). Ascham found his royal pupil as apt as he had anticipated. According to his account she talked French and Italian as well as English; she could hold her own in Latin conversation, and fairly well in Greek; she was a shrewd critic of style in Latin, Greek, and English. Her handwriting was admirable, and, like Ascham himself, she delighted in music. During the two years he taught her at this time, he read all Cicero with her, and the greater part of Livy; every morning she devoted some hours to the Greek Testament, and some to Isocrates and Sophocles. To Cyprian and Melanchthon Ascham also introduced her, to confirm her in good doctrine (*Epist.* xcix.). But none the less he found the life he led in the princess's service an irksome one. He could rarely visit Cambridge; he had to go to court, and mixed with men whose frivolity or dishonesty disgusted him. Finally, he quarrelled over a trifle with Elizabeth's steward: a coolness sprang up between himself and his mistress (*Epist.* cxi.), and he hastily resigned his post in 1549–50, to resume his own studies and his official duties as public orator at Cambridge. Among his pupils on his return were Lords Henry and Charles Brandon, to both of whom he taught penmanship, and to the latter Greek (*Epist.* cviii.). To the sad deaths of these youths on 16 July 1551 Ascham frequently makes mournful reference in his later letters. But Ascham was still restless. He paid a visit to his friends in Yorkshire in 1550; and hinted to Cheke, whose influence he freely claimed for his own advancement, that he should be glad to spend two years in foreign travel (*Epist.* cv.). While still in Yorkshire, he heard from Cheke that he had been appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morysin, recently nominated English ambassador to the emperor Charles V. On his journey south to Billingsgate to embark, Ascham visited Lady Jane Grey at her father's house at Bradgate, Leicestershire, and in a memorable passage in the 'Scholemaster' (p. 46) he has described how he found her reading Plato's 'Phædo' in her chamber while all the household was out hunting. Before leaving her, he obtained a promise from her of a Greek letter (*Epist.* xcix.). Ascham also visited the Princess Elizabeth, and effected a reconciliation (*Epist.* cxi.). While in London he met Cheke, and spent nine hours on the day before his departure talking with him of old days at Cambridge (*Epist.* civ.). On 21 Sept. 1550 he set out from Billingsgate. He landed at Gravesend to visit Archbishop Cranmer at Canterbury, who escorted the party to Dover. In the passage to Calais Ascham and a young man alone escaped sea-sickness. On 30 Sept. Antwerp was reached; on 6 Oct. the embassy arrived at Louvain, whose university teaching he thought far inferior to that given at St. John's; afterwards he visited Cologne, where he heard a lecture on Aristotle's 'Ethics' in Greek which he says he could not admire, and travelled on to Mainz, Worms, Spires, and Ulm. On 28 Oct. Sir Richard Morysin fixed his headquarters at Augsburg. There Ascham stayed with a few intervals till the end of 1552. It was probably at the close of 1551 that he spent nine days in Italy and visited Venice, where he bitterly lamented the absence of 'all service of God in spirit and truth' (*Scholemaster*, p. 84). He paid occasional visits to Halle in the Tyrol (17 Nov. 1551, and 29 Jan. 1551–2), to Innspruck (18 Nov. 1551), and to Villach in Carinthia (12 July 1552). Early in 1553 he was staying at Brussels, and in July of that year he returned to England, when the embassy was recalled on the death of Edward VI. Ascham throughout these years regularly corresponded with his friends in England, and especially with his old pupils, Raven and Ireland, besides writing all Sir Richard Morysin's official despatches. In one very long English letter to Raven (20 Jan. 1550; *Epist.* cxvi.) he gives an entertaining account of his interviews with Charles V. To Sir William Cecil and to Cheke he sent, shortly before his return, some Roman coins; he mentioned to the latter that he had accustomed himself to write all his letters in English instead of Latin (*Epist.* cl.), a statement that his collected correspondence fully supports, and he informed Cecil (*Epist.* cxlix.) that he had ceased to feel interest in strange countries or courts, and longed for peace at Cambridge to keep company with the Bible, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Tully. The most interesting portion of his correspondence in Germany is that with the learned John Sturm, rector of the gymnasium at Strasburg and editor of Cicero. For his classical attainments Ascham had had from an early date the most sincere respect. He had apparently heard much of him from Martin Bucer, whose acquaintance Ascham had made as soon as Bucer had arrived in England, and had written a long letter from Cambridge introducing himself to the scholar on that ground early in 1550 (*Epist.* xcix.). He went to Strasburg

to see him in 1552, but Sturm was from home (*Epist.* cxl.), and the two friends never met, although they continued to correspond in terms of the utmost intimacy from 1550 till a few days before Ascham's death. On the death of Martin Bucer on 28 Feb. 1550–1, Ascham offered to aid Sturm in writing his life. With Sir Richard Morysin Ascham seems to have lived on excellent terms; he read Greek with him five days a week, and between 12 Oct. 1550 and 12 Aug. 1551 they went through all Herodotus with five tragedies (probably of Sophocles) and seventeen orations of Demosthenes. He kept a diary in English throughout his foreign sojourn, in which he described the German princes he met and the political questions at issue in Europe. The greater part of it he forwarded in 1552 in a letter to his friend, John Astley, in attendance on Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield, and this document was published at London in 1553 under the title of 'A Report . . . of the Affaires and State of Germany.'

On the accession of Queen Mary, Ascham's prospects in England looked very gloomy. His pension of 10*l.*, which had been renewed and increased by Edward VI, had again terminated. While in Germany he had, through the influence of Cheke and William Cecil, been nominated Latin secretary to the king and his librarian, but he had never exercised these functions, and the appointments now ceased to have effect. He still retained the public oratorship at Cambridge and a fellowship. Before the close of 1553 his fortunes improved. He sought the favour of his old friend Gardiner, and through him was appointed Latin secretary to Queen Mary, with an annual salary of twenty pounds. The bishop, on hearing how he had lost his pension, bade him have the patent written out again, and Ascham brought the document to him, leaving a blank space for the sum of money. He showed Gardiner that, through the carelessness of the scrivener, the space was too wide for 'the old word *ten*,' and begged him to use his influence with the queen to obtain twenty pounds a year for him. In one letter to Gardiner (*Epist.* clxx.) he naively wrote: 'The space which is left by chance doth seem to crave by good luck some words of length, as *viginti* or *triginta*, yea, with the help of a little dash, *quadraginta* would serve best of all.' He told the same story to Queen Elizabeth in 1567, with some variations to give it a more avowedly amusing tone (ii. lxxxvii.). But his device succeeded, and Queen Mary gave him twenty pounds a year. Through the favour of Sir William Petre he obtained a grant from the crown of the lease of a farm at Walthamstow, Essex, called Salisbury Hall, at the low rent of twenty pounds. He soon afterwards gave proof of his industry as the queen's Latin secretary by writing with his wonted skill forty-seven letters for her to persons of exalted rank, of whom cardinals were the lowest, within three days. One other exceptional favour was bestowed on him at the time. While his friend Cheke was compelled to renounce the reformed religion, and Ridley suffered for his adherence to it with his life, Ascham was permitted to continue in its profession, and Gardiner's friends incited him in vain to interfere with his religious liberty (*Epist.* cxci.). This exemption has been attributed to various causes, but Ascham was doubtless worldly-minded enough, as Dr. Johnson has suggested, to avoid any obnoxious display of his opinions, and thus escaped notice. It is noticeable that in his voluminous correspondence, while he bestows approval on Gardiner's policy (*Epist.* clxxv.), to whose personal kindness he repeatedly refers, keeps Pope Paul IV informed, in the exercise of his official duties, of the progress that the Roman catholic revival makes in England (*Epist.* cxciv.), and seeks with success the patronage of Cardinal Pole (*Epist.* clxxxix.), he preserves an ominous silence as to the fate of Lady Jane Grey, to whom he had last written with friendly familiarity from Germany in 1551 (*Epist.* cxiv.), and makes no mention of his friends, Ridley and Cranmer. But Ascham in the early part of Mary's reign continued on intimate terms with Elizabeth, who never concealed her religious opinion, and found leisure to read with her Demosthenes and Æschines (*Epist.* cxci.)

On 1 Jan. 1554 Ascham married Margaret Howe, and he consequently resigned his fellowship and public oratorship at Cambridge. The lady was a niece by marriage of Sir Henry Wallop. Ascham, writing to Sturm at the time, speaks in high praise of his wife's beauty (*Epist.* cxci.), and in a later letter to Queen Elizabeth (ii. lxxxvii.), describes her as very young compared with himself, who was now 'well stept into years.' Elsewhere (ii. clxxi.) he writes of her under date 18 Jan. 1554–5: 'God, I thancke him, hath given me such an one as the lesse she seeth I doe for herr the more loveing in all causes she is to me,' and adds that 'hitherto she hath founde rather a loveing than a luckye husband unto her.' The close of Mary's reign saw Ascham steadily at work in her service, but his private letters are full of complaints of his poverty and his inability to maintain on his income his wife and his son Giles. The accession of Elizabeth did not appreciably improve his fortunes. He was

continued in the various offices he held under Mary, and was installed anew in the office of the queen's private tutor. He read Greek with her until his death, and sometimes played chess with her. On 5 Oct. 1559 the queen bestowed on him the prebend of Wetwang in York Cathedral, to which he was admitted on 11 March 1559–60. But a long lawsuit followed, apparently with the former holder of the preferment, who had been deprived for nonconformity, and he only won the case in 1566, after the queen had bidden the archbishop of York to give him his assistance (*Epist.* ii. lxxv.), and thus enjoyment of the emoluments of the office was long delayed. In 1562 a second son was born to him, and he christened him Sturm after his friend at Strasburg (*Epist.* ii. xxxviii.). 'Household griefs' were still oppressing him. The death of his wife's father in 1559 left her mother almost destitute, and he mortgaged his farm at Walthamstow in her behalf. He made few friends at the court, with which he was always out of sympathy; and although Sir William Cecil still offered him aid in suits for advancement, the Earl of Leicester, who had been well disposed to him as a young man, and stood godfather to his third son Dudley in 1564 (*Epist.* lix.), apparently contrived later that his connection with the queen should give him no very substantial advantage (*Epist.* ii. lxxv.). Before 1567 he borrowed a small sum of money of the queen, the repayment of which she generously excused (cf. *Epist.* ii. lxxxvi.), and about the same date he received, on the death of his mother-in-law, a lease of Wicklyford parsonage. His severest trouble for the last nine years of his life was his own ill-health and the fear that he should leave his wife and children wholly unprovided for. After hinting to many noblemen from 1559 onwards that his official services deserved a fuller recognition than they had received, in 1567 he boldly applied to the queen to make some permanent provision for his family (*Epist.* ii. lxxxvii.). In a half-humorous tone he reminded her of the favour shown him by her father, brother, and sister, and asked her as his friend to intercede in his behalf with herself as queen. He had never solicited any previous favour, except a gift of venison to make some friend merry. He expected death very soon, and pathetically entreated her to enable him to settle twenty pounds a year on each of his sons. No answer to this appeal is extant, and no favourable one seems to have been given. In the course of the following year his son Sturm died, and he sent his wife soon afterwards, while temporarily absent from her, a very touching letter of condolence (*Epist.* ii. xcviii.)

But between 1563 and the date of his death Ascham found some relief from his cares in the composition of his 'Schole-master.' In 1563, the year of a plague, Ascham dined at Windsor with Sir William Cecil, and among the guests were Sir Richard Sackville and his friends Haddon and Astley. After dinner Ascham was informed that certain scholars had run away from Eton for fear of a flogging, and the conversation turned on educational discipline, in which Ascham strongly condemned corporal punishment. Sir Richard Sackville was so well impressed with Ascham's remarks that he offered to educate Ascham's son with his own under a master instructed in Ascham's system, and others of the company begged him to write a practical treatise on education. He at once set to work, chiefly with a view to the bringing up of his own children. He freely confessed that his method was borrowed mainly from Sturm and from his old tutor Cheke, who had died in 1557, and whose memory he believed he might best honour by putting posterity in possession of the secrets of his teaching. For five years he was filling in a plan of the work, of which he sent a sketch to Sturm in the last letter he ever wrote, about December 1568. Of the greater portion, which he had then completed, the first book contained, with many autobiographical reminiscences, a general disquisition on education, arguments in favour of alluring a child to learning by gentleness rather than by force, a statement of the evils attendant on foreign travel, and an account of the immoral training acquired by young men at court. The second book detailed Ascham's method of teaching Latin by means of a 'double translation,' which subsequent writers on education have invariably praised. He advised the master in the first place to explain in general terms the meaning of a selected passage, and afterwards to let the pupil construe it and parse each word in two successive lessons. After an interval the child was to write out his translation, and after a further interval was to turn his translation back into Latin. The teacher should then show him how the various constructions employed corresponded with, and were explained by, examples in the grammar-book. The first reading-book Ascham recommended was Sturm's selection from Cicero, and the second a play of Terence. The advance to more difficult authors was to be gradual, and the boy was not to attempt to speak Latin until he was master of the grammar. Ascham added remarks on Latin prosody, which he looked forward to seeing adopted in English verse, and criticised the style of many Latin authors.

But before the book had gone further Ascham died. In November 1568 he sat up many nights to finish a Latin poem which he desired to present to the queen on 17 Nov., the anniversary of her accession; some of these verses are printed in the various editions of Ascham's letters, excepting that of 1703. He had long suffered from sleeplessness and a kind of continuous fever. But on 23 Dec. his habitual ill-health assumed a fatal form. He lingered for a week in the utmost pain, and could give little attention to the ministrations at his bedside of William Gravet, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, in whose parish he was living, and of Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's. He died in his fifty-fourth year on 30 Dec. 1568. His last words were: 'I desire to depart and be with Christ.' He was buried quietly in St. Sepulchre's Church, and Dean Nowell preached his funeral sermon, in which he declared that 'he had never seen or heard of any one who had lived more virtuously or died more christianly.' Queen Elizabeth, on hearing of his death, exclaimed that she would rather have cast 10,000*l.* into the sea than have lost her Ascham. His widow published the 'Scholemaster' in 1570 as her husband had left it, only adding a graceful dedication to Sir William Cecil, recently elected chancellor of Cambridge University.

All scholars in England and on the Continent lamented Ascham's death, and many of them expressed their grief in Latin verses to his memory. George Buchanan, who had dined with him at his house some years before (Buchanani *Opera*, ii. 762), and had already addressed him in complimentary Latin epigrams (bk. i. No. 29) wrote on his death—

Aschamum extinctum patriæ Graiæque Camœnæ
Et Latiæ vera cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit.

A short time afterwards (1577) Gabriel Harvey panegyrised the style and matter of Ascham's 'Scholemaster' in his 'Ciceronianus,' p. 55; and in many of his letters Harvey refers to him as worthy of a place beside Chaucer and Spenser, More and Sidney. His 'period' he called 'the siren of Isocrates.' Others of the century who honoured Ascham's memory by flattering mention of him in their works were Mulcaster, Camden, Thomas Nash, and Bacon; and Mr. J. E. B. Mayor has collected their testimonies in an appendix to his edition of the 'Scholemaster,' pp. 268–80. All scholars who were personally acquainted with him speak of his affectionate and gentle nature; but Camden adds in his 'Annals,' under date 1568: 'Nevertheless, being too much given to dicing and cockfighting, he lived and died a poor man.' Upon this passage much discussion has arisen, and several writers have attributed the poverty of Ascham's later years to his habit of gambling. In the 'Toxophilus,' however, he especially denounces 'cardes and dyse,' but he complains that 'those which use shooting be so much marked of men, and ofttimes blamed for it, and that in a maner as moche as those which play at cardes and dise' (p. 49). Camden's accusation may therefore rest on a confusion of the kind here indicated. As to the charge of cockfighting, thought by few of his contemporaries to be a discreditable pastime, Ascham, in the 'Scholemaster,' acknowledged his interest in the sport, and his intention, which was never fulfilled, of writing 'a book of the Cockpitte,' in which 'all kinde of pastime fitte for a gentleman' should be fully declared (p. 65). Ascham's undoubted love of sport is an interesting trait: it distinguishes him from the over-diligent students of the Renaissance, with whom he has much in common. His letters show him to have shared much of their irritability, and more than their customary freedom in demanding money of their patrons. But his treatment of his wife, of friends like Cheke and Sturm, and of his pupils, wholly relieves him of the charge of undue selfishness. His place in English literature depends less on his efforts to extend the knowledge of Greek at Cambridge, or to improve the method of teaching Latin—labours which were attended with eminent success—than on the simple vigour of his English prose. He precedes the Euphuistic period; his style, as Gabriel Harvey suggested, knows no tricks: its easy flow and straightforwardness, at a time when literary composition in English was seldom attempted, constitute the grounds of Ascham's reputation. As a letter-writer, both in English and in fluent Ciceronian Latin, he takes rank with the most eminent literary men.

Of the career of Ascham's widow after his death little is known. An unprinted letter from her to Queen Elizabeth at Hatfield, dated March 1582, proves her to have been still living then (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv. 221). Of his surviving sons no information of Dudley, the younger, is extant. Giles, the elder, was given a pension in 1569, at Sir William Cecil's intercession; but its payment was delayed, and several letters from him to the lord treasurer are extant petitioning for money. It is clear from these and later letters among the Lansdowne MSS. that his life was, like his father's, a long struggle

with poverty. He was in 1573 admitted to Westminster School, of which Grant, his father's friend and biographer, had just become head master. In 1578 he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, proceeded B.A. 1582–3, and was admitted a fellow under royal mandate 2 Oct. 1583. He proceeded M.A. 1586 and B.D. 1593, and was presented by his college to the vicarage of Trumpington 1590–1, which he resigned the same year. About 1595 he obtained the rectory of Duxford St. Peter, Cambridgeshire, and died shortly afterwards, his will being dated 15 June 1596 (Cooper, *Athen. Cantab.* ii. 207).

No contemporary portrait of Ascham is known; but an engraved portrait of him reading a letter to Queen Elizabeth, by Michael Burghers, was prefixed to Elstob's edition of his letters, published in 1703.

The separate editions of Ascham's English works are as follows: 1. 'Toxophilus,' with engraved title-page, was first published in quarto in 1545 (London, Edw. Whytchurch); second and third editions appeared in 1571 and 1589. In 1788 and again in 1821 the Rev. John Walters reprinted, with a preface, the edition of 1571, and the original edition has since been reprinted by Dr. Giles in 1865, and by Professor Arber in 1868. The copy of the first edition, presented by Ascham to Edward VI, is in the library of the Rev. Sir William Cope, at Bramshill House, Hampshire (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii. 244). 2. 'A Report and Discourse written by Roger Ascham of the Affaires and State of Germany and the Emperour Charles his Court, duryng certain years while the sayd Roger was there,' was first printed about 1553 (the volume is undated). It was republished in 1572. 3. 'The Scholemaster, a plaine and perfite way of teachyng children to vnderstand, write, and speake in Latin tong,' was first published in 1570, republished in 1571, and again, according to the bibliographers, in 1572, 1573, 1579, and 1583. An edition of 1589 is well known. A carefully edited reprint was issued, with introduction and notes, by the Rev. James Upton in 1711, and again in 1743. Professor J. E. B. Mayor published the best extant edition, with elaborate notes, in 1863, and Professor Arber reprinted the first edition in 1870. Extracts from the 'Scholemaster,' with critical remarks, appear in Sabourn's 'Epitome of Grammar' (1733) and in Lefèvre's 'Compendious Way of teaching ancient and modern Languages' (1750). The best analysis of Ascham's educational system is that by Mr. R. H. Quick, in his 'Essays on Educational Reformers' (1868).

Of Ascham's Latin works, (1) the 'Expositiones antiquæ in Epistolam Divi Pauli ad Titum et Philemonem ex diversis sanctorum Patrum Græce scriptis Commentariis ab Œcumenico collectæ et Cantabrigiæ Latine versæ' (1542) was published in his lifetime. In 1577 it was reprinted by Edward Grant, with Ascham's (2) 'Apologia pro Cœna Dominica contra Missam et ejus præstigias,' which was then published for the first time. (3) A little volume, printed at Strasburg in 1551, contained Ascham's 'Epistola J. Sturmio de Nobilitate Anglicana, 4 Apr. 1550,' with 'Conradi Herksbachii de laudibus literarum Græcarum Oratio.'

Of his letters, Edward Grant, his biographer, who was a sizar of St. John's College in 1563, and afterwards head-master of Westminster School, published a selection, with a very full life in Latin, and several of his Latin poems, under the title of 'Familiarium Epistolarum libri tres magna orationis elegantia conscripti, nunc denuo emendati et aucti,' in 1576. The book was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and was republished in London in 1578 and 1590, at Hanover in 1602 and 1610, and at Nuremberg in 1611. In 1703 William Elstob published a new and much enlarged edition at Oxford under the title 'Rogeri Aschami Epistolarum libri quatuor: accessit Joannis Sturmii aliorumque ad Aschamum Anglosque alios eruditos Epistolarum liber unus.' A number of Ascham's English letters were printed for the first time in Whittaker's 'Richmondshire' in 1823 (i. 265–90).

Of collected editions of Ascham's English works, James Bennet issued the first in a single volume in 1771. Besides the three English books, many letters are added, and a life by Dr. Johnson is prefixed, in which he states (p. xxi) that Ascham 'was scarcely known as an author in his own language till Mr. Upton published his "Scholemaster"' in 1711. A second collected edition, limited to 250 copies, appeared in 1815, edited by J. E. Cochrane. In 1864–5 Dr. Giles published, in three volumes, the completest edition of the kind. It included 295 Latin and English letters, many of which were printed for the first time from British Museum and Cambridge manuscripts, besides six letters of Giles Ascham from the Lansdowne MSS. and Grant's Latin life. The references to Ascham's letters in this article are to the numbers given them in Dr. Giles's collection.

[Materials for Ascham's life are abundant. Grant's Oratio de Vita et Obitu Rogeri Aschami, published with an Epistola Dedicatoria to Elizabeth in 1576, is the original source, and with

Ascham's many letters gives very detailed information. The notice in Cole MS. Athen. Cantab. i. 13 is of little value. Dr. Johnson chiefly depended on Grant, and Hartley Coleridge's sketch of Ascham in his Worthies of Yorkshire and Lancashire is a loose translation of the Oratio. His letters are little utilised by either of these writers. Dr. Katterfeld, in Roger Ascham, sein Leben und seine Werke, 1879, gives a very full and scholarly account of Ascham. See also Cooper's Athen. Cantab. i. 263–8; Cooper's Annals of Cambridge; Baker's Hist. of St. John's College; Biog. Brit.; Fuller's Worthies; Mayor's edition of the Scholemaster.]

S. L. L.

ASGILL, Sir CHARLES (1762 or 1763–1823), general, was the only son of the first Sir Charles Asgill, who had risen from a clerkship to a partnership in a bank; was alderman 1749–77; sheriff and knighted 1752; lord mayor 1757; baronet 1761; and died 15 Sept. 1788. The son entered the army on 27 Feb. 1778, as ensign in the 1st foot guards, and became lieutenant in the same regiment with the rank of captain on 3 Feb. 1781. In that year he was ordered to America, joined the army under the Marquis of Cornwallis, and on the capitulation of York Town, Virginia, in the following October, he was taken prisoner. Some months afterwards, a Captain Huddy, an officer in the American army, was taken prisoner by some American loyalists, and, in retaliation for the death of a loyalist named Philip White, was hanged by a party under the command of Captain Lippincot. On this coming to the ears of Washington, he demanded of the British general, Sir Henry Clinton, that he should give up Lippincot. Sir Henry, in reply, disavowed and reprobated the act 'with unmeasured severity,' but declined to give up Lippincot, and referred the matter to a court martial. On this, Washington directed that a British captain should be taken by lot from among the prisoners to suffer death, should Lippincot not be executed, and wrote to Sir Henry to that effect. The lot fell on Asgill. The court martial which tried Lippincot acquitted him, on the ground that the guilt of the act rested mainly on the Board of Associated Loyalists at New York, the president of which had verbally ordered Lippincot to execute the prisoner. Sir Henry sent the proceedings of the court martial to Washington, who, 'considering the ground taken by the British commander in disavowing and censuring the act, added to the irresponsible nature of Lippincot's conduct,' was inclined to release Captain Asgill (Spark's *Life of Washington*, p. 352). When Asgill's mother heard what had happened, she sent a pathetic appeal to the Comte de Vergennes, the French prime minister, entreating him to intercede in behalf of her son. The Comte laid the matter before Louis XVI. and his queen, and, directed by them, sent an urgent appeal to Washington, who forwarded the letter to the American Congress. On 7 Nov. an act was passed by Congress releasing Asgill, who at once returned on parole to England.

On the death of his father in 1788, Asgill succeeded to the baronetcy, and in the same year he married Sophia, daughter of Admiral Sir Charles Ogle, Kt. Soon afterwards he was appointed equerry to the Duke of York, and on 3 March 1790 was promoted to a company in the Guards with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Towards the end of 1793 he was ordered to the Continent, where he joined the army of the Duke of York, served through the campaign in Flanders and the retreat through Holland, and afterwards returned to England. On 26 Feb. 1795 he was promoted to the rank of colonel; to that of brigadier on the staff of Ireland in 1797; and to that of major-general on 1 Jan. 1798, during which year he was actively engaged in suppressing the rebellion. On 9 May 1800 he was appointed colonel of the 46th foot, and placed in command of the garrison of Dublin, and occasionally in that of the camp of instruction formed on the Curragh. He obtained the rank of lieutenant-general on 1 Feb. 1805, the colonelcy of the 85th foot in Oct. 1806, and that of the 11th foot on 25 Feb. 1807, for which regiment he raised a second battalion. He remained on the staff till 1812, and was promoted to the rank of general on 4 June 1814. He died in 1823, leaving no issue, and the baronetcy then became extinct.

[Gentleman's Mag. vol. xciii. part ii. pp. 274–5; Gordon's History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, vol. iv. pp. 248, 249, 284–291; Spark's Life of Washington, p. 350; Irving's Life of Washington, vol. iv. p. 422; Hamilton's History of the Republic of the United States of America, vol. ii. p. 282; Spark's Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. xi. pp. 105, 128, 140; Annual Register, vol. xxvi. pp. 241–245 of the 'Chronicles.']

A. S. B.

ASGILL, JOHN (1659–1738), an eccentric writer, was born at Hanley Castle, Worcestershire, and baptised 25 March 1659 (*Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. v. 569). He became a student of the Middle Temple in 1686, and was called to the bar in 1692. He was patronised by Eyre, one of William III's judges, and became the friend and executor of Dr. Barbon, speculator and

author [see BARBON, NICHOLAS]. As Barbon's heir, Asgill acquired an interest in the borough of Bramber. Barbon selected Asgill for his executor, it is added, in order that his debts might never be paid—a fact which Asgill announced to the creditors, adding that he should religiously observe his friend's wishes. He naturally got into difficulties. In 1696 he published a pamphlet, suggested by the abortive scheme of the land bank, proposing the issue of 'another species of money than gold or silver,' or in other words a kind of *assignats*. In 1698 he published another pamphlet, advocating a registry of titles of lands in a quaint mixture of scriptural and legal arguments. The next year appeared his best known work, an argument to prove that death was not obligatory upon Christians. Asgill was just starting for Ireland, where the act for resuming to the public the forfeited estates which had been given away by William was providing work for lawyers. Asgill's printers had thought him mad, and the reputation was, as he says, useful to him in Ireland by increasing his notoriety. He obtained business enough to encourage him to a speculative purchase. He bought, in 1703, the forfeited life-interest in certain estates of the second Lord Kenmare, an adherent of James II. About the same time, presumably, he married Kenmare's eldest daughter, who had been brought up as a protestant by her grandmother. He was consequently elected member for Enniscorthy in the Irish House of Commons, but got into ruinous entanglements. The house ordered his pamphlet on death to be burnt by the hangman, and a fortnight afterwards (11 Oct. 1703) expelled him and declared him incapable of sitting again. The guardian of Lord Kenmare's children complained in a petition to the house that Asgill had bought the estates as agent for the children and now refused to convey them. The petition was rejected (10 Nov. 1703), but Asgill seems to have got nothing but trouble from his purchase. A catholic, he tells us (*Postscript to Defence upon his Expulsion*), became protestant enough to be qualified as 'leasetaker' for some of the land, and then got Asgill outlawed in Ireland on an action for debt, to prevent him suing for rent, and never paid any rent afterwards. Asgill returned to England, where he had been elected member for Bramber in October 1702. He sat in the next parliament from October 1705, served on several committees, and obtained an act of relief (14 Feb. 1705–6) for not having paid at the right time an instalment of the purchase money for the Kenmare estates. On the dissolution of 1707 he was arrested for debt of near 10,000*l.* 'at the procurement,' he says, of Colonel John Rice, though the debt was due to other persons; and being returned to the next parliament, petitioned for his release. After an elaborate investigation of precedents by a committee, the House ordered his release; but another committee was appointed to examine his book; and on 18 Dec. 1707 the book was ordered to be burnt, and Asgill, having appeared in his place and made his defence (published in 1712), was expelled.

Asgill declares that the Irish difficulties were the real cause of his expulsion, though the story is not clear. Colonel Rice, formerly in James's army, had obtained, in 1705–6, a sum of 11,000*l.* in debentures on the forfeited estates for his services at the capitulation of Limerick in preventing the regiment which he had commanded under James from taking foreign service. He pledged part of these debentures to various persons, and invested part in the purchase of some of the lands in which Asgill had invested his money. Complaints having been made, a commission was appointed to force Rice to account for the sum. A report was made by the commission, and Asgill petitioned the house, after his expulsion, to take it into consideration. A day was appointed for the purpose, but after repeated adjournments the business seems to have fallen through at the end of the session. The report, preserved at the House of Lords, shows that Asgill and the guardian of Kenmare's children had conveyed certain lands and woods to two persons named Matthews and Wetton, in consideration of debentures for 2,500*l.* handed over by Rice. Asgill says that Matthews and Wetton had prosecuted him, and that he was accused of a breach of trust, though the Irish House of Commons had rejected the accusation as ridiculous. The facts seem to be unascertainable. Asgill surrendered to his creditors and passed the rest of his life in the Fleet or within the rules of the King's Bench. He lost his wife some time between 1707 and 1712; but he retained his vivacity to the last, and supported himself by writing pamphlets and drawing legal papers. He was commonly called 'translated Asgill,' as claiming to have been 'translated' without dying, but finally died in his eightieth year, though reported to be near one hundred, in November 1738.

Asgill's seriousness in the pamphlet on death was doubted at the time. A German traveller in 1710 (OFFENBACH'S *Merkwürdige Reisen*, ii. 200) gives a report that it was written in answer to a lady's challenge to show his skill in maintaining paradoxes. The book itself indicates no want of sincerity, though some ludicrous phrases were very

unfairly wrested by the committee of the English House of Commons to colour the charge of blasphemy. It interprets the relations between God and man by the technical rules of English law. Death being the penalty imposed by Adam's sin, and Christ having satisfied the law, death could no longer be legally inflicted, and all who claim their rights will be exempt. Asgill professes that, having claimed his discharge, he expects 'to make his exit by way of translation.' The book is written in pithy detached sentences. Coleridge declares that there is no 'genuine Saxon English' finer than Asgill's; thinks his irony often finer than Swift's; and calls him 'a consummate artist in the statement of his case.' The praise seems excessive, though not groundless; but we may accept Coleridge's conclusion that Asgill was a humorist who did not himself know how far he was serious. Full extracts may be found in Southey's 'Doctor.' In recent years Asgill found a disciple in a Mr. Tresham Gregg, an Irish clergyman, who republished the pamphlet with some introductory notes.

Asgill's pamphlet on Registration, with a sequel, is published in the collection of State Tracts for the reign of William III (ii. 693, 704). His chief writings are: 1. 'An Argument proving that according to the covenant of eternal life revealed in the Scriptures, man may be translated from hence into that eternal life without passing through death, although the human nature of Christ himself could not so be translated until he had passed through death,' London, 1700. 2. 'Mr. Asgill's Defence upon his Expulsion from the House of Commons of Great Britain in 1707,' London, 1712. 3. 'The Metamorphosis of Man by the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead,' London, 1727. 4. 'De Jure Divino, or an assertion that the title of the House of Hanover to the succession of the British monarchy (on failure of issue from her present majesty) is a title hereditary and of divine institution,' 1710. 5. 'Asgill upon Woolston,' 1730; and other trifling pamphlets.

[Article in Biographia Britannica, founded on a MS. Life of Asgill by his intimate friend, Mr. A.; Journals of the Irish House of Commons, October and November 1703; Lords and Commons Journals from December 1705 to April 1708; MS. Report in the House of Lords; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland (by Archdall), vii. 57; Compleat History of Europe for 1707; Fraser's Magazine for August 1871; Asgill's Defence (as above); Asgill's Argument to prove that death is not obligatory on Christians, with memoir and notes by Rev. Tresham D. Gregg, 1875; Coleridge's Literary Remains (1836), ii. 390; Coleridge's Table-Talk, 30 April 1832, and 15 May 1833; Southey's Doctor, chaps. 172, 731.] L. S.

ASH, JOHN, LL.D. (1724?–1779), lexicographer, was born in Dorsetshire about 1724. He studied for the ministry at Bristol, under Folkett; became pastor of the baptist church at Loughwood, Dorsetshire, and while there contributed to periodicals. He settled in the ministry at Pershore, Worcestershire, 1746, as the result of a compromise between different parties in the congregation. He obtained the degree of LL.D. from Scotland, 1774, and died at Pershore in March or April 1779, aged 55. He was author of 'Introduction to Lowth's English Grammar,' 1766; 'New and Compiete Dictionary of the English Language,' 2 vols. 1775, 2nd edition 1795 (incorporates most of Bailey's collection of canting words, and many provincial terms, with no nice discrimination; best known for the blunder under 'curmudgeon,' which Johnson derived from *cœur méchant*, on the authority of an 'unknown correspondent;' Ash gives it as 'from the French *cœur* unknown, *méchant* correspondent'); 'Sentiments on Education,' 2 vols. 1777; Sermon, 1778; 'Dialogues of Eumenes.'

[Funeral Sermon, by Dr. John Evans; and Walter Wilson's Manuscripts at Dr. Williams's Library.] A. G.

ASH, JOHN (1723–1798), physician, was born in Warwickshire, and educated at Trinity College, Oxford; was B.A. in 1743, M.A. in 1746, M.B. in 1750, and M.D. in 1754. He settled at Birmingham, and soon acquired a large practice. The general hospital at Birmingham was founded chiefly through his influence, and he was its first physician. While actively engaged in practice he became affected with temporary mental derangement, for which it is said he found a cure in the study of mathematics and botany. He was admitted a candidate of the Royal College of Physicians 22 Dec. 1786, and in the following year resigned his office in Birmingham and removed to London. He became fellow of the College of Physicians 22 Dec. 1787, and afterwards practised with success in London. He filled the offices of censor of the college in 1789 and 1793; was Harveian orator in 1790, Gulstonian lecturer in 1791, and Croonian lecturer in 1793. He died 18 June 1798, and was buried in Kensington church. His portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is preserved in the hospital at Birmingham, and was engraved by Bartolozzi in 1791.

Dr. Ash is described as a man of great skill in his profession, and of considerable

general attainments. He was the founder of a social and literary club, called the Eumelian, from a punning allusion to his own name (Greek *ἐυμελίης*, *i.e.* with an ashen spear, referred to in Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' note to the last chapter), and was a fellow of the Royal Society. He wrote: 1. 'Experiments and Observations to investigate by Chemical Analysis the properties of the Mineral Waters of Spa, Aix,' &c. 12mo, London, 1788. 2. Oratio Harveiana, 4to, 1790.

[Gent. Mag. vol. lxviii. 1798; Biog. Dict. of Useful Knowledge Society, article by G. E. Paget, M.D. (from MS. communications); Munk's Roll of College of Physicians, ii. 378.]

J. F. P.

ASHBURNE, THOMAS DE. [See THOMAS.]

ASHBURNHAM, JOHN (1603–1671), royalist, was the eldest son of Sir John Ashburnham by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Beaumont. Sir John died in 1620, having wasted his estate, and leaving his family in penury. But within two years his heir had so far repaired their broken fortune, that (says the epitaph in Ashburnham church, Sussex) 'there were none of them but were in a condition rather to be helpful to others than to want support themselves.'

Elizabeth Beaumont was of the same family as Lady Villiers, mother of the Duke of Buckingham, and under Buckingham's patronage began the court career of John Ashburnham. In 1627 he was already well known to the king, who styles him 'Jack Ashburnham' in his letters to the duke. The murder of Buckingham in August 1628 did not injure the fortunes of his protégé, who was, in November of the same year, 'sworn into the place of groom of the bedchamber.' The Calendars of State Papers contain ample evidence that he and his friend, the secretary Nicholas, omitted few of the many opportunities given them by their position at court to enrich themselves by money-lending or by the purchase of land at easy rates. In 1638 the Star-chamber fine of two thousand marks, inflicted on Sir Walter Long and his brother, was assigned to Ashburnham 'in satisfaction of so much due from his majesty to him,' and in December of the next year a warrant under the privy seal enabled him to regain his ancestral estate of Ashburnham, which had become a ruinous burden to its actual possessors. If the dates assigned in the printed calendars be correct, Ashburnham had not obtained the favour of this warrant until six years after his petition for it. His friends, Nicholas and Goring, were 'very careful of his interest' (as he himself acknowledges), in promoting his appointment as 'provided' to the army then in preparation for Scotland (January 1640). Their success prevented his election for Hastings when the commons were summoned in April, only to be dissolved in May; but he was returned for that place in November, when the failure of the war, the necessities of the king, and the exasperation of the people, had rendered inevitable the meeting of another —the Long—parliament. No speech of his is recorded, but his name frequently occurs as on committees, or as a teller on divisions, during the earlier sessions of that assembly. As time went on, his two functions of member of parliament and servant of the king became incompatible, and when his attendance on his master prevented his obeying the summons of the house, he was proceeded against for contempt (6 May 1642). The king wrote a letter to the commons in his justification, but the house maintained its prior right to the obedience of its member. Ashburnham was 'discharged and disabled' (5 Feb. 1643), his estate was sequestrated (14 Sept.), and his wife's petition for some allowance for his children was rejected. He became the treasurer and paymaster of the king's army. For the next three years his name occurs in several negotiations for peace. He was one of the commissioners at Uxbridge (1644), and one of the four appointed to lay the king's proposals before parliament (December 1645). When Fairfax prepared to besiege Oxford, and Charles determined upon flight, Ashburnham and Dr. Hudson were the sole attendants of the king in the perilous journey to the Scotch camp. Hudson was released, and his troubled life was ended by his barbarous murder (6 June 1648). Ashburnham was positively commanded by the king to fly before confirmation of the order to send him up to London as a delinquent could be received. He got safely to Holland, and thence to the queen at Paris. In 1647 the king's fortune seemed upon the turn. The army had taken possession of him at Holmby, had treated him with respect, and allowed him 'to have what servants about him he pleased.' Ashburnham resumed his attendance on his master at Hampton Court. But the army leaders changed their tone. Charles was haunted by the dread of assassination. He was constantly receiving warnings, anonymous and avowed, that his murder was resolved upon. At Ashburnham's suggestion he made proposals to the Scotch commissioners for his sudden journey to London and personal treaty with the parliament. But the arrangement fell through, the commissioners dreading the responsibility. Charles, resolved to stay no longer in Hamp-

ton Court and impatient to be gone, commanded Ashburnham and his other confidants, Sir John Berkeley and Legge, to propose some place for him to go to. Ashburnham mentioned Sir John Oglander's house in the Isle of Wight as a place where the king might be concealed till the disposition of the governor of the island, Colonel Robert Hammond, could be ascertained. If Hammond were not to be trusted, the fugitive could secretly take ship for France. There was nothing impracticable in the plan, but its success depended upon keeping the royal whereabout from the knowledge of Hammond, until the governor had fully engaged himself to respect the king's liberty of action. This particular was neglected, and the secret divulged by Berkeley. The governor, having given assurances of loyalty, was taken to the house wherein Charles was awaiting the result of the interview. When informed of his approach, the king exclaimed, 'O Jack, thou hast undone me!' The foreboding was true. Refusing the desperate offer of Ashburnham to make all safe by killing Hammond, Charles again became virtually a prisoner.

His share in this transaction exposed Ashburnham to the suspicions of the royalists, and his explanation, printed in 1648, was of necessity so guarded as to be ineffective. A full narrative drawn up by him and shown to many of his contemporaries—Clarendon among the rest—remained unpublished until 1830, when his descendant, Lord Ashburnham, printed it with full elucidation, and accompanied it with a complete, caustic commentary on all the passages wherein Clarendon has made mention of the writer. The reputation of Ashburnham is cleared, and the treachery and malevolence of the noble historian are exposed with unsparing severity. Ashburnham was parted from his master by order of the parliament 1 Jan. 1648, was imprisoned in Windsor Castle (May), and when the second civil war broke out was exchanged for Sir William Masham. He was not allowed to attend the king during the treaty at Newport (August), and was included among the delinquents who were to expect no pardon (13 Oct.). His position after the king's death was unenviable. He had acquired an estate by his second marriage with the Dowager Lady Poulett (1649), and Charles II gave him permission to stay in England to preserve it. The loyal party suspected his fidelity, and (March 1650) in a memorial to the king asked whether they might trust him. He was harassed by the victors. He was sued for debts contracted for the late king. He was forced to compound for one half of his estate, an unparalleled severity. He was bound in heavy securities to appear, when required, before the council of state. His private journeys were licensed by a 'pass' from the same authority. For three years he was so persecuted by committees to discover who had lent the king money during the wars that 'I had scarce time to eat my bread.' 'Five years more,' he continues, 'were spent in close imprisonment at London, and three banishments to Guernsey Castle, the cause being for sending money to his majesty.' In a list of the Tower prisoners furnished by Colonel Barkstead (2 June 1654), 'John Ashburnham' appears as prisoner for high treason; but this is probably a slip for 'William,' who was at that time in custody for complicity in the plot of Gerard and Vowel. John's case was (27 Dec. 1655) referred to the major-generals of the counties where his estate lay. At the Restoration Ashburnham came back to his old place of groom of the bedchamber. Of his zeal therein Pepys makes a half-pathetic record (2 Sept. 1667), recalling Shakespeare's 'Adam' and 'the goodly service of the antique world.' The same authority elsewhere mentions him as 'a pleasant man, one who hath seen much of the world and more of the court.' Of the Hampton Court business, Pepys notes that, 'after solemnly charging each other with its failure, and being publicly at daggers drawn about it,' Ashburnham, Berkeley, and Legge 'are now the best friends in the world.' Besides his place Ashburnham received what acknowledgment of his loyalty the royal treasury, impoverished by many claimants, could afford. He was (September 1661) the head of a commission to inquire into the abuses in the post office. His house at Chiswick, with its contents, was purchased by the king for the Duke of Monmouth, of whom (January 1665) he was made one of the guardians. His loans to Charles I were paid by grants of crown leases, but his schemes for the acquisition of land do not appear to have run so smoothly as in the former reign. The dean and chapter of Exeter are menaced (November 1662) with the royal displeasure if they carry out their projected lease 'to John Ashburnham or to any other.' He and his brother William shared in an enterprise for reviving the manufacture of tapestry at Mortlake (March and April 1667). John Ashburnham died in 1671. His grandson was raised to the peerage in 1689. His portrait by Mytens has been engraved as a frontispiece to the volumes published by his descendant and quoted above.

[Narrative, edited by Lord Ashburnham, 1830; Calendars of State Papers, Domestic.]

R. C. B.

ASHBURNHAM, WILLIAM (*d.* 1679), royalist, was the younger brother of John. He was member for Ludgershall in both the parliaments held in 1640, and in 1644 was governor of Weymouth, which place he kept four months for the king. Ten years later (3 June 1654) he was arrested and examined on the charge of complicity in that plot to murder the Protector for which Gerard and Vowel afterwards suffered. He does not, however, appear to have been sent before the high court of justice. After the Restoration he was made cofferer of the household. He was frequently a fellow-guest and a sharer in treasury business with Pepys, who styles him an 'experienced man and a cavalier.' His 'odd stories' are duly noted, and there was one touching the lease of Ashburnham House from the dean and chapter of Westminster, wherein the 'devilish covetousness' of Dr. Busby was commemorated.

[The Tryal of Colonel Ashburnham, London (3 June), 1654, 4to; Pepys's Diary, ed. Bright, iv. 323.] R. C. B.

ASHBURTON, LORD. [See BARING.]

ASHBURTON, LORD. [See DUNNING.]

ASHBURY, JOSEPH (1638–1720), actor and theatrical manager, born in London in 1638, of good family, was educated at Eton, and entered the army. Quartered in Ireland when the protectorate of Richard Cromwell came to an end, he was one of the officers who were dismissed under the *régime* of the revived Rump Parliament, and he was also one of those who, in the royalist interest, seized Dublin Castle in the December of 1659. At the Restoration he was rewarded by the lieutenancy of a company of foot which Charles II granted to the city of Dublin, and the new lord-lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, made Ashbury in 1662 one of the gentlemen of his retinue and deputy master of the revels. In 1682 he became master of the revels and patentee. The duties or privileges of the latter post seem to have been nominal, since for years the only playhouse in Dublin, the Smock Alley or Orange Street Theatre, had been closed. But Ashbury, whose first wife was the sister of an actor, seems at this time to have turned his attention to professional acting and to have given instructions in the art with eminent success. About 1674 both he and Mrs. Betterton are mentioned as teaching the Princess Anne, afterwards queen, to play Semandra in Lee's 'Mithridates,' when acted at Whitehall by persons of high rank (cf. MISS STRICKLAND'S *Queens of England* (1852), vii. 15). When, in celebration of the overthrow of the Stuart cause in Ireland, 'Othello' was acted (December 1691) at Dublin by amateurs, most of them officers of the garrison, Ashbury, who superintended the performance and played Iago, is spoken of as the only professional actor among the performers. About the same time he engaged in London a company which included Wilks, and attempted to revive the drama in Ireland by reopening the theatre in Orange Street with 'Othello' on 23 March 1692. By skilful management and by encouraging promising histrionic talent—Booth and Quin were introduced by him to the boards—Ashbury secured for the Dublin stage a great reputation. He himself was an excellent actor, and his second wife, also an actress, gave him material assistance. Colonel Careless in the 'Committee,' and Don Quixote were among his best parts. In his 78th year he continued to act with success, and he survived to the age of 82, dying in the summer or autumn of 1720.

[Chetwood's General History of the Stage (1749); Hitchcock's Historical View of the Irish Stage (1788); Genest's Account of the English Stage (1832), vol. x.; Carte's Ormond (1736).] F. E.

ASHBY, GEORGE (*d.* 1475), poetical writer, was born about 1390. Little is known of him till late in life, when he appears to have owned an estate named 'Breakspeares' in Harefield, Middlesex, and to have been clerk of the signet, first to Henry VI from the beginning of his reign, and afterwards to Margaret of Anjou, in whose service he evidently travelled abroad. His earliest extant poem, written in English and preserved in manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge (R. 3, 19), describes him as a prisoner in the Fleet, and begins with a 'prohemium vnius Prisonarii.' Ashby there says that he has been

> Wrytyng to theyr sygnet full fourty yere
> As well beyond the see as on thys syde.

A former owner of the book has, from internal evidence, assigned its production and its author's imprisonment to 1463. Ashby was perhaps confined in the Fleet at the time by the Yorkist conquerors of Henry VI, who was deposed in 1461. Subsequently the poet would seem to have directed the education of the young Prince Edward, Henry VI's son, until his murder in 1471. For his use Ashby prepared two English poetical treatises—one entitled 'De Activa Pollecia Principis,' which opens with an address to 'Maisters Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate,' and the second called 'Dicta et

Opiniones Diversorum Philosophorum,' with translations into English verse. Both these compositions, Ashby states, were produced when he had attained the age of eighty. The manuscripts of these poems passed from the library of John More, bishop of Norfolk about 1700, to the Cambridge University Library, where they are still preserved. According to Warton, Ashby was likewise the translator into English of several 'French manuals of devotion,' ascribed by Robert Copland to Andrew Chertsey in his prologue to Chertsey's 'Passyon of our Lord Jesu Christ' (printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1520); but no positive authority is given for this statement. None of Ashby's works are known to have been printed.

Ashby died on 20 Feb. 1474–5, and was buried at Harefield. The inscription on a brass to the memory of himself and his wife in the church there has been printed in Nichols's 'Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica' (v. 132). Ashby left a son John, who died in 1496. A grandson George was clerk of the signet to Henry VII and Henry VIII, and died on 5 March 1514–5.

[Ritson's Bibliographica Poetica, p. 43; Cat. of MSS. in Cambridge University Library, iv. 299; Warton's History of English Poetry (ed. Hazlitt), iv. 76; Nichols's Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, v. 128–138; information from W. Aldis Wright, Esq.] S. L. L.

ASHBY, GEORGE (1724–1808), a learned antiquary and sometime president of St. John's College, Cambridge, was born in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, in 1724. Educated at Croydon, Westminster, and Eton, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, on 30 Oct. 1740, and took the degree of B.A. in 1744, of M.A. in 1748, when he was admitted fellow of St. John's, and of B.D. in 1756. He was presented by a relative to the rectory of Hungerton, in Leicestershire, in 1754, and in 1759 to that of Twyford in the same county; he held both benefices in conjunction till 1767, when he resigned the former, and in 1769 he gave up the latter on his election to the presidency or vice-mastership of St. John's College. About 1775, when he became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, he appears to have resigned his official connection with Cambridge, where he supported academic reform too vigorously to obtain further preferment. Among other changes, he advocated the right of the fellows to marry. At the same time he accepted the college living of Barrow in Suffolk, to which Dr. Ross, the bishop of Exeter, an intimate friend and patron of Ashby, added the rectory of Stansfield in 1780. In 1793 his sight began to fail, and shortly afterwards he became totally blind. He died of paralysis at Barrow on 12 June 1808, and was buried in the parish church, where a monument was erected to his memory.

Although Ashby published little, his varied learning was the admiration of the best known literary antiquaries of the last century, all of whom he reckoned among his friends. He was intimate for some years with the poet Gray, and portions of his voluminous correspondence with Bishop Percy, Richard Gough, John Nichols, William Herbert, and the Rev. James Granger, have been printed in Nichols's 'Illustrations of Literature' (vii. 385 et seq.) and in Granger's 'Letters.' Very various are the antiquarian topics he there deals with; in one letter he proposes an emendation of a line in 'Hamlet,' in another he points out errors in the 'Biographia Britannica,' which he had read from end to end, and in a third he discusses some vexed questions of numismatics. He was a regular contributor to the 'Gentleman's Magazine;' he added notes to Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes' under the initials of T. F. (Dr. Taylor's Friend); he greatly aided Nichols in his 'History of Leicestershire,' to which he contributed an elaborate essay on the Roman Milliary at Leicester (i. pp. cix–clviii); and he gave material assistance to Daines Barrington, when preparing his 'Observations on the Statutes.' In the 'Archæologia' (iii. 165) appears a dissertation by him on a coin of Nerva newly discovered at Colchester. Some volumes of his manuscript collections, together with numerous letters on antiquarian themes, are preserved among the Cole, the Egerton, and the Additional Manuscripts at the British Museum. They include interesting notes on archery, an essay on parish registers, and extracts and notes on old English and French plays, of which the English plays are mainly early sixteenth-century interludes. His valuable library, which was bequeathed to Thomas Lyas, his amanuensis, was sold soon after his death to a bookseller at Bury, and was rapidly dispersed.

[Gent. Mag. lxxviii. 653; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, i. 577–8; Baker's Hist. of St. John's College (ed. Mayor), vols. i. ii.; Cole MSS. 20, 41, &c.; Egerton MSS. 2371 f. 240, 2374 ff. 287–92; Addit. MSS. 22596 f. 95, 29790 ff. 926, 1006–136, 29793.] S. L. L.

ASHBY, HARRY (1744–1818), an eminent writing-engraver, born April 17, 1744, at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, was apprenticed to a clockmaker in that town, who also engraved dial-plates, spoons, and

tankards. Here Ashby imbibed a taste for engraving. On the termination of his apprenticeship he removed to London, where, following the bent of his inclination for writing-engraving, he entered into an engagement with Mr. Jefferies, geographer, of Charing Cross, his principal employment being to engrave titles for maps and charts. Subsequently his services were secured by Mr. Spilsbury, writing-engraver, of Russell Court, Drury Lane, to whose business he eventually succeeded, and whose widow he married. Ashby was much employed by provincial, colonial, and foreign bankers, to engrave notes and bills, in the execution of which he displayed rare skill and ingenuity. Some able penmen also gave scope to his higher qualifications as an engraver of specimens of calligraphy. Among the works for which he engraved the plates are Hodgkin's 'Calligraphia Græca,' 1794; Milns' 'Penman's Repository,' 1795; Hodgkin's 'Specimens of Greek Penmanship,' 1804; Genery's 'Geographical and Commercial Copies,' 1805; Langford's 'Beauties of Penmanship,' 1825 (?); and some of the plates in Tomkins's 'Beauties of Writing,' 1809. In his later years Mr. Ashby lived in retirement at Exning, Suffolk, where he died Aug. 31, 1818.

[MS. Addit. 19095 f. 102, 19170 f. 4; Gent. Mag. lxxxviii. 283–285; Europ. Mag. lxxiv. 207, 208; Annual Biog. v. 306, 307.] T. C.

ASHBY, Sir JOHN (*d.* 1693), admiral, a native of Lowestoft, and presumably a follower of Sir Thomas Allin, was, in 1665, appointed lieutenant of the Adventure, and in October 1668 captain of the Deptford ketch. From that time onward he seems to have served without intermission, and in September 1688 was appointed to the Defiance, a third-rate vessel. The revolution made no change in his position, and, still in command of the Defiance, he led the van of the fleet in the battle of Bantry Bay [see Herbert, Arthur], 1 May 1689. For his good service on this occasion Captain Ashby was knighted, and presented by the king with a gold watch set with diamonds. In July he was made rear-admiral of the blue, and the following year he was vice-admiral of the red, in the fleet under Lord Torrington off Beachy Head on 30 June. After Torrington's disgrace the command of the fleet was assigned to a committee of three—Richard Haddock, Killigrew, and Ashby—who hoisted their joint flag on board the Royal Sovereign, and, together with a body of land forces under the Earl of Marlborough, reduced Cork and Kinsale. In 1691 the command was given to Admiral Russell, with whom Sir John Ashby served as vice-admiral of the red, and the next year as admiral of the blue; in that rank he commanded the rear of the fleet at Barfleur on 19 May, and, by taking timely advantage of a slight shift of wind, placed the French in such a position that they would be forced either to surrender or fly. They scattered and fled; some to La Hogue, where they were burnt by Russell; some to Cherbourg, where they were burnt by Delavall; and many through the Race of Alderney, where none of the English pilots would venture to take the pursuing ships under Ashby. They thus got safely into St. Malo, where they were blockaded through the rest of the summer. In England there was a strong feeling that more might have been done, and on 19 Nov. Sir John Ashby was called to the bar of the House of Commons to render an account of his conduct: but with his own, and Russell's further explanation, the house expressed itself satisfied (*Parl. Hist.*). The following year, 1693, the command was again put in commission, in which, however, Ashby had no part. When the fleet sailed, he remained at Portsmouth, possibly on account of his health, for on 12 July he died. He was buried in the first instance at Portsmouth; but his body was afterwards removed to Lowestoft, where there is a mural monument to his memory.

[Charnock's Biographia Navalis, i. 302; Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 19098, p. 418.] J. K. L.

ASHBY, RICHARD (1614–1680), a Jesuit, whose real name was Thimelby, was the fifth son of Richard Thimelby, Esq., of Irnham, Lincolnshire, by his wife Mary, daughter of Edward Brookesby, Esq., granddaughter of Lord Vaux of Harrowden. He was born in Lincolnshire in 1614, entered the Society of Jesus in 1632, and was professed of the four vows in 1646. After having taught philosophy and theology at Liège for sixteen years, he was sent on the English mission about 1648, and laboured chiefly in his native county. He was rector of the house for novices at Watten, near St. Omer, from 1666 till 1672, when he was appointed rector of St. Omer's College. His death occurred at St. Omer on 7 Jan. (or September) 1680.

Father Ashby was the author of: 1. 'Purgatory Surveyed, or a particular account of the happy, yet thrice unhappy, state of the souls there; also of the singular charity and ways to relieve them. And of the devotion of all ages for the souls departed, with twelve excellent means to prevent purgatory and the resolution of many curious and important points,' Paris, 1663, 8vo; reprinted, with a preface, by Father W. H. Anderdon, London,

1874. It is a translation from Father Estienne Binet. 2. 'Remarks on Stillingfleet.' Southwell gives the title in Latin as follows: 'Observationes generales in Librum Doctoris Stillingfleti, cum vindicatione S. Ignatii et Sociorum eius à fœdis maculis quibus eos ille aspergit,' London, 1672, 4to.

[Preface to Anderdon's edition of Purgatory Surveyed; Oliver's Collections S. J. 47; Foley's Records, ii. 643, v. 597, vii. 768; Southwell's Bibl. Scriptorum Soc. Jesu, 718; Backer's Bibl. des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus (1869), i. 300.] T. C.

ASHDOWNE, WILLIAM (1723–1810), unitarian preacher, was born at Tunbridge Wells in 1723, where his father, a tradesman, was pastor of the General Baptist (otherwise Unitarian) Society, meeting at Mount Ephraim (W. Wilson, *Various Congregations*, ii., art. 'Dover' in MS.). Becoming a probationer for the ministry, William Ashdowne removed to Dover in 1757, married the daughter of the Rev. Robert Pyall, pastor of the General Baptist Church (*Monthly Repository*, v. 258); and on Pyall's death in 1759 he took his pulpit, occupying it without pay for twenty-two years. In 1781 he was elected pastor, with the Rev. Stephen Philpott as his associate; and though he preached but seldom in his later years, he filled this position till his death, 2 April 1810, aged 87. His publications are: 1. 'On the True Character of John the Baptist,' published anonymously, the signature being 'By an Impartial Hand,' 1757. 2. 'The Distinction between the Ordinary and Extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit,' also anonymous, and with the same signature, 1767. 3. 'A Dissertation on St. John iii. 5,' 1768. 4. 'A Scripture Key to the Evangelists,' 1777. 5. 'On Baptism,' 1784. 6. 'The Unitarian, Arian, and Trinitarian Opinions Examined,' 1789. 7. 'Satan,' 1794. 8. 'Two Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff,' 1798. The last six works bear Ashdowne's name, and at the end of the 'Unitarian' is a list of his publications, which were printed chiefly at Canterbury.

[Monthly Review, June 1757, p. 285; Monthly Repository, v. 480; Kippis's Doddridge's Lectures, ii. 175 note, 390 note.] J. H.

ASHE, JOHN (1671–1735), dissenting minister, was son of a grocer at Tideswell, Derbyshire. After being taught at Chesterfield by Mr. Foxlow, at Wirksworth by Mr. Ogden, he was sent in 1688 to Mr. Frankland's dissenting academy at Rathmilo. He was chaplain for a time to Lady Sarah Houghton of Houghton Tower, Lancashire, but returned to the Peak and was a minister at Ashford. He published an account of the life of his uncle, the Rev. William Bagshaw, 'the Apostle of the Peak (1704); a few sermons; and prepared for the press eleven volumes of sermons, of which only one appeared. A life of Ashe was published by John Clegg, presbyterian minister of Chapel-en-le-Frith, in 1736.

[Lysons's Magna Britannia, v. 74–5; Glover's History of Derbyshire, pt. i. vol. i., Append. p. 105.]

ASHE, JONATHAN (*fl.* 1813), a masonic writer, was born at Limerick in 1766, entered Trinity College, Dublin, 26 March 1783, took B.A. degree in ordinary course, and became D.D. in 1808. Very little is known of him except that he commenced and perfected his masonic studies in Dublin. While in Bristol in 1813 he published a work entitled 'The Masonic Manual, or Lectures on Freemasonry, containing the Instructions, Documents, and Discipline of the Masonic Economy,' and asserts in the introduction that he 'plainly and completely tells the craft its eternal and temporal obligations, and affords the uninitiated a fair review and estimate of masonry.' This work was dedicated to the Duke of Sussex, then grand master of the order. In many portions it is a mere copy of William Hutchinson's 'Spirit of Masonry,' published in 1775.

Ashe's work was edited, with annotations and remarks by the Rev. George Oliver, D.D., in 1843, and again in 1870 by the Rev. John Edward Cox, D.D.

[Ashe's Works; Mackenzie's Royal Masonic Cyclopædia.] J. W.-G.

ASHE, ROBERT HOADLEY (1751–1826), divine, born about 1751, was son of a prebendary of Winchester, educated at Pembroke College, Oxford, compounded for M.A. 1793, and B.D. and D.D. 1794, and from 1775 to 1826 he held the living of Crewkerne, Somersetshire. He took the name of Hoadley upon inheriting a property from his aunt, who had married a son of Bishop Hoadley. He edited in 1787 a volume of poetical translations by 'Master John Browne of Crewkerne, a boy of twelve years old,' and in 1799 published a letter to Dr. Milner, author of the history of Winchester, vindicating Bishop Hoadley from Milner's 'false and illiberal aspersions.' He died on 3 May 1826. Several letters of his are printed in Nichols's 'Illustrations.'

[Nichols's Illustrations, v. 729–49; Gent. Mag. xcvi. pt. ii. p. 181.]

ASHE, ST. GEORGE (1658 ?–1718), Irish bishop, descended from a Wiltshire family which had settled in Ireland, was born at Roscommon, educated at Dublin, and became a fellow of Trinity College in 1679. During the Revolution he left the country, and was chaplain to Lord Paget, the ambassador of William III at Vienna. He returned, and became provost of Trinity in his thirty-fourth year in 1692. He was made bishop of Cloyne in 1695; was translated to Clogher in 1697, and to Derry in 1716–17. He died at Dublin 27 Feb. 1717-18, and left his mathematical books to Trinity College. He published three sermons and contributed some papers upon modes of geometrical demonstration and observations on natural phenomena to the Royal Society, of which he was a fellow (*Phil. Transactions*, Nos. 116, 162, 164, 171, 176, 220, 228, 243). He also succeeded Molyneux as secretary to the Irish Philosophical Society. He is best known from his intimacy with Swift, who was his pupil at Trinity College, and who became his lifelong friend. Frequent references to him in the 'Journal to Stella' show that Swift was his constant correspondent, and consulted him on many matters of business. He was one of three brothers; Tom Ashe, the eldest, was a squire with an estate of 1,000*l.* a year in Meath; Dillon Ashe, a clergyman, was vicar of Finglas from 1694 to 1716, when he was succeeded by the poet Parnell. All three were friends of Swift, and joined in his favourite amusement of making execrable puns at Lord Pembroke's viceregal court; their slang language constructed of puns being called Castilian (Forster, *Life of Swift*, p. 191). Dillon seems to have been an undignified and claret-loving priest. Swift says that 'Dilley's' red face will 'whiz' in the Bath waters; and that the rabble will say, 'There goes a drunken parson,' and, 'which is worse, will say true' (*Journal to Stella*, 10 April 1711). The bishop was a man of high character; Addison was charmed with him; and Sir A. Fountaine said to Swift that there was not a bishop in England with half his wit. He was intimate with Hester Johnson (Stella); the younger Sheridan says (*Life of Swift*, p. 280), on the authority of Mrs. Sican, that Ashe, at Swift's desire, inquired into the cause of Stella's melancholy in 1716, and performed the marriage ceremony which was the consequence of her explanation. The statement that Swift and Stella were married by Ashe in 1716 is also made by Lord Orrery, by Dr. Johnson on the authority of Dr. Madden, and by Monck Berkeley on the authority of his grandmother, the widow of Bishop Berkeley. The bishop was travelling on the continent as tutor to Ashe's only son, St. George Ashe, from 1715 to 1720. He could hardly have received the statement from Ashe himself; and it is still doubtful whether the marriage took place. It is plain, however, that Ashe was one of Swift's most trusted and valued friends, and had the confidence of Stella.

[Ware's Bishops of Ireland (ed. Harris); Swift's Works; Forster's and Craik's Lives of Swift.] L. S.

ASHE, SIMEON (*d.* 1662), a nonconformist divine, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He began his ministration in Staffordshire, but was soon ejected from his living on account of his refusal to read the 'Book of Sports' and to conform to other ceremonies. On his dismissal Sir John Burgoyne befriended him and allowed him the use of an 'exempt' church at Wroxhall; and he was afterwards under the protection of Lord Brook. When the civil war broke out, he became chaplain to the Earl of Manchester; and in 1644 joined with William Goode, another chaplain of the Earl of Manchester, in writing a pamphlet entitled 'A particular Relation of the most Remarkable Occurrences from the United Forces in the North.' This was followed by another pamphlet, for which Ashe alone was responsible, entitled 'A True Relation of the most Chiefe Occurrences at and since the late Battell at Newbery.' The writer's object in both cases was to vindicate the conduct of his patron. In Vicars's 'Parliamentary Chronicle' there is a letter of his, describing the proceedings of the Earl of Manchester in reducing several garrisons after the battle of Marston Moor. At the close of the war he received the living of St. Austin, and was also one of the Cornhill lecturers. Although he had joined the side of the parliament, Ashe was strongly opposed to the extreme party of the Cromwellians; and when the time was ripe for the restoration he was among the divines who went to Breda to meet Charles II. He died a few days before the passing of the Act of Conformity, and was buried on 24 Aug. 1662. Had he lived to see the passing of the act, he would have vacated his living. Ashe was a man of some property, and while he held the living of St. Austin, his house was always open to his clerical brethren. Walker charges him with exercising severity against the conforming clergy.

Ashe was the author of several sermons, among which may be mentioned: 1. 'A Sermon on Ps. ix. 9,' preached before the

House of Commons on 30 March 1642. 2. 'A Sermon before the House of Lords,' 26 Feb. 1644. 3. 'A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Countess of Manchester,' 12 Oct. 1658, &c. He also edited some treatises of John Ball, the puritan divine, J. Brinsley, Ralph Robinson, and others.

[Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial, ed. 1802, i. 94–96; Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, ed. 1822, iv. 344; Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, ed. Sylvester, pt. ii. 430.] A. H. B.

ASHE or **ASH**, THOMAS (*fl.* 1600–1618), legal writer, was entered a student of Gray's Inn in 1574, was called to the bar 24 Jan. 1582–3, and became pensioner of his inn 17 Oct. 1597. He was the author of the following works: 1. 'Abridgment des touts les cases reportez alarge per Monsieur Plowden . . . compose & digest par T. A[she],' 1600? of which another edition appeared in 1607. 2. 'Ἐπιεικεια: et table generall à les annales del ley per quel facilement troveres touts les cases contenus in yceux; queux concerne le exposition des statutes per equitie,' 1609; with an appendix of cases reported by G. Dalison and G. Bendloes, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. 3. 'Le Primer Volume del Promptuaire; ou repertory de les annales et plusors auters livres del common ley Dengleterre,' 1614. 4. 'Fasciculus florum; or a Handfull of Flowers gathered out of the severall bookes of the Right Honorable Sir E. Coke,' 1618. 'A Generall Table' to Coke's reports, issued in 1652, has been attributed to Ashe, but if that be so, its late date shows it to have been published posthumously.

[Foster's Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, p. 18; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

ASHE, THOMAS (1770–1835), novelist and miscellaneous writer, traced his descent from the younger branch of a family whose ancestors accompanied William the Conqueror to England. A cadet of this younger branch served with William of Orange in Ireland, and obtained one of the forfeited Irish estates. Ashe was the third son of a half-pay officer, and was born at Glasnevin, near Dublin, 15 July 1770. He received a commission in the 83rd regiment of foot, which, however, was almost immediately afterwards disbanded, whereupon he was sent to a counting-house at Bordeaux. There he suffered a short imprisonment for wounding in a duel a gentleman whose sister he had seduced, but, the wound not proving fatal, the prosecution was not persisted in. Returning to Dublin, he was appointed secretary to the Diocesan and Endowed Schools Commission, but, getting into debt, resigned his office and retired to Switzerland. He then spent several years in foreign travel, living, according to his own account (*Memoirs and Confessions*, 3 vols. 1815), in a free and unconstrained fashion, and experiencing a somewhat chequered fortune. Besides recording in his 'Memoirs' his impressions of the countries he visited, he published separately 'Travels in America in 1806,' 1808; 'Memoirs of Mammoth and other Bones found in the vicinity of the Ohio,' 1806; and 'A Commercial and Geographical Sketch of Brazil and Madeira,' 1812. He was also the author of several novels, including the 'Spirit of the Book,' 1811, 4th edition 1812; the 'Liberal Critic, or Henry Percy,' 1812; and the 'Soldier of Fortune,' 1816. In his later years Ashe was in rather indigent circumstances. He died at Bath 17 Dec. 1835.

[Ashe's Memoirs, 1815.] T. F. H.

ASHFIELD, EDMUND (*fl.* 1680–1700), a portrait-painter, descended from a good family, was a pupil of Joseph Michael Wright. He worked both in oil and in crayons, but excelled most in the latter method. Vertue mentions a neatly painted head by him of Sir John Bennett, afterwards Lord Ossulston. He appears to have been also a copyist, for there are at Burghley House portraits of Frances, Countess of Warwick, and of Mary, Lady Herbert, afterwards Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, after Van Dyck, which are finished with extreme delicacy. His crayon drawings were highly finished, and characterised by the harmonious blending of the tints, of which he multiplied the number and variety, black and white only having hitherto chiefly been employed, the paper forming the middle tint. He practised from about 1680 to 1700, about which time he died. He was the instructor of E. Lutterell, whose works in crayons are superior to those of his master.

[Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, ed. Wornum, ii. 475; Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 1878; Waagen's Treasures of Art in Great Britain, iii. 408.] R. E. G.

ASHFORD, WILLIAM (1746?–1824), landscape painter, was born at Birmingham. In 1764 he went to Ireland and settled in Dublin. At first he held a situation under Mr. Ward in the ordnance department of that city. He abandoned it, however, for art. He contributed to the early exhibitions of the Incorporated Society of Artists in London, and in 1783 and 1790 to the Royal Academy. At this time he lived in London, and, in conjunction with Dominic Serres, R.A., made a

public exhibition of his works. The Royal Hibernian Academy was incorporated in 1823, and Ashford was its first president. His work was at one time highly esteemed, but he died neglected. His early pictures, many of which were ably engraved by Thomas Milton, preserve the manner of Claude. In the committee-room of the Dublin Society there is a fine example of his style; another, 'Orlando under the Oak,' is in the Hibernian Gallery, and there are five in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. Anthony Pasquin, writing 1794, remarks on his work: 'He amused himself in his leisure hours with studying drawing and painting, which he succeeded in so far as to justify his becoming a professor. This gentleman is more happy in his trees and his foregrounds than his figures and skies, the former of which are too inaccurate, and the latter have too green a hue.' In later life he retired to Sandymont, near Dublin, where he died 17 April 1824, aged 78.

[Nagler's Künstler-Lexicon, ed. 1872; Redgrave, Dictionary of Artists of Eng. School; Cooper, New Biog. Dict., 1873; Pasquin, An Authentic History of the Professors of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, who have practised in Ireland, p. 40; Taylor, Origin and Progress of the Fine Arts in Great Britain and Ireland; Lavice, Revue des Musées d'Angleterre, p. 154.] E. R.

ASHHURST. [See Ashurst.]

ASHLEY, Sir ANTHONY (1551–1627), clerk of the privy council, was descended from an ancient family which had settled, from the time of Henry VI, at Wimborne St. Giles, in Dorsetshire. Of Ashley's early career we have no information; but we gather from his epitaph that he added to his studies, probably pursued at Oxford, the usual accomplishments of a gentleman of the period, namely, martial exercises and a mastery of several languages acquired in foreign travel. He certainly became clerk of the council before 1588. The earliest account of his services in that office known to us is to be found among the 'State Papers' (Domestic series), under date of 12 Nov. 1588, where we find him at Ilton, drawing up, by order of the council, 'A Schedule of the Names, etc. of the Spaniards on board the St. Peter the Great (one of the ships of the armada), driven into Hope Bay, near Salcombe.' Early in 1589 he received instructions from Lord Burghley to assist and 'be in company with Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake in their journey towards Spayne' (*Lansd. MS.* 104, 46). An account of this expedition is given by Camden. About this period probably he received the grant of the office of clerk of the castle and county court of York. We next hear of him at Oxford, where, with seventeen others, he received the degree of M.A. on the occasion of the queen's visit, 27 Sept. 1592 (Nichols's *Prog. of Eliz.*). Perhaps his most distinguished foreign service was that of secretary for war in the famous 'honourable voyage unto Cadiz.' On this occasion, in June 1596, he received the honour of knighthood, with others, at the hands of the two 'Lordes-generall' of the expedition, Lord C. Howard and the Earl of Essex (Hakluyt, i. 617). Like all other men in high positions he was not without enemies. On 3 Feb. 1611, more than a year after he had resigned his public offices, rewarded by two pensions, he was summoned before the Star-chamber to answer charges that could not be sustained by those who preferred them. His services were never wholly dispensed with or forgotten, as he was made a baronet by King James I, 3 July 1622 (Nichols's *Prog. James I*, iv. 771). By Nichols he is credited with having been the first to introduce cabbages into England. Sir Anthony Ashley died in London, probably at his house in Holborn, 13 Jan. 1627, aged 76 years, and was buried at Wimborne St. Giles, where his fine monument is preserved. He was twice married, first to the only daughter of P. Okeover, Esq., of Staffordshire; second, to Dame Phillipa Sheldon, a kinswoman of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who survived him. By the marriage of his daughter and heiress with Sir J. Cooper, Bart., the grandson of Sir Anthony Ashley became the first Earl of Shaftesbury.

Ashley was undoubtedly the author of an important naval work, although the identity of Ashley, its writer, and Ashley, the clerk of the council, has not been previously pointed out. Four years before the defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588 there was published, in Holland, the first known collection of 'Sea Charts' for sailors, afterwards known as a 'waggoner,' the title of which was: 'Spieghel der Zeevaardt vande navigatie der Westersche Zee,' by Lucas Janz Waghenaer, Leyden, 1584, folio. It would appear that in the following year Lord Charles Howard, of Effingham, lord admiral of England, drew the attention of the privy council to the work, which met a great want of our early seamen under the Tudors. The work being 'esteemed by the chief personages of the grave counsell worthy to be translated and printed into a language familiar to all nations,' the task of translating it into English from the Dutch was committed into the hands of Anthony Ashley. The title of the work in its English dress runs thus: 'The Mariners Mirrour . . . of Navigation, First made and set fourth in divers exact Sea Charts by that famous Navigator Luke

Wagenar of Enchuisen, and now fitted with necessarie additions for the use of Englishmen by Anthony Ashley. Heerin also may be understood the exploits lately atchived by the right Honorable L. Admiral of England with her Ma^ties^ Navie, and some former services done by that worthy knight S^r^ Fra. Drake,' fol. London, 1588. The exploits of the lord admiral referred to his pursuit of the armada up the Channel into the North Sea; the services of Sir Francis Drake relate to 'The Voyage to Cadiz in 1587,' mentioned by Hakluyt, 1599, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 121. The book was dedicated by Anthony Ashley to Sir Christopher Hatton, the then newly appointed lord chancellor, his friend and patron, whose arms and crest adorn the work. In the dedication the author apologises for the delay in its publication 'by reason of my daylie attendance on your L. and the rest of my Lordes of her Maisties most Honourable privie counsell;' which words serve to show beyond all dispute that the clerk of the council and the author of the 'Mariners Mirrour' are one and the same person. One letter from Ashley to Cecil is printed by Strype in his 'Memorials.' Among the Cecil MSS. at Hatfield are three series of thirty-five letters from Ashley to the Earl of Essex, Cecil, and others, ranging from 26 Sept. 1591 to 12 Dec. 1600, temp. Elizabeth, and from 13 April 1603 to 1 July 1615, temp. James I.

[Biog. Dict. Soc. D. U. K. 1842; Camden's Annales, ii. 10; Hakluyt's Voyages, 1599, i. 617; Hutchins's Hist. of Dorset, 3rd ed. vol. iii.; Nichols's Prog. Eliz. iii. 160; ibid. James I, iv. 771; Strype's Annals, iv. 288; Wood's Fasti Oxon. 1813, i. 161; Lansd. MS. 104, 46; Hist. MSS. Comm. third, fifth, and sixth Reports, appendices; Notes and Queries (3rd series). xii. (4th series), i.] C. H. C.

ASHLEY, CHARLES JANE (1773–1843), third son of John Ashley [see Ashley, John, 1734?–1805], was well known for many years as a performer on the violoncello, and also for some time carried on the Covent Garden oratorios with his brother. On 2 May 1811 he was elected secretary of the Royal Society of Musicians, of which he had been a member since 4 May 1794. In the latter part of his life he was for some seasons manager of the Tivoli Gardens at Margate, where he died on 29 Aug. 1843.

[Gent. Mag. for 1843; Records of Roy. Soc. of Musicians.] W. B. S.

ASHLEY, GENERAL CHARLES (1770?–1818), eldest son of John Ashley [see Ashley, John, 1734?–1805], obtained some celebrity as a violinist. He was a pupil of Giardini and Barthelemon, and with his three brothers took part in the Handel commemoration in 1784, on which occasion the young musicians distinguished themselves by nailing the coat of an Italian violinist to his seat and filling his violin with halfpence, proceedings of which he complained so loudly that George III sent to the orchestra to find out what occasioned the disturbance. G. C. Ashley led his father's orchestra at the Covent Garden oratorios, of which, after John Ashley's death, he became joint manager with his brother Charles Jane. He became a member of the Royal Society of Musicians 3 April 1791 (*Records of Roy. Soc. of Musicians*). On 2 March 1804 he married a Miss Chandler, and, having no family and an independent fortune, shortly afterwards retired from his profession. He died at King's Row, Pimlico, on 21 Aug. 1818.

[Gent. Mag. for 1818; Burney's Commemoration of Handel, 1786.] W. B. S.

ASHLEY, JOHN (1734?–1805), was the father of a remarkable family of musicians who flourished towards the end of the eighteenth century. He became a member of thr Royal Society of Musicians 7 April 1765. At the Handel commemoration in 1784 he was assistant conductor to Joah Bates. On the same occasion the double bassoon was played by a 'Mr. Ashley of the Guards,' who is sometimes supposed to have been the same individual, but was more probably another member of the family, possibly his brother Jane, who was born in 1740 and died at Westminster on 5 April 1809. John Ashley in 1795 undertook the management of the oratorio concerts at Covent Garden. He died in Abingdon Street, Westminster, on 2 March 1805, where also his wife died on 22 Dec. 1809, aged 75. Richard Ashley (1775–1836), one of John Ashley's sons, was a performer on the violin, but he does not seem to have made any mark as a musician. He became a member of the Royal Society of Musicians 17 April 1796, and died in October 1836.

[Gent. Mag. for 1805; Burney's Commemoration of Handel, 1786; Gardiner's Music and Friends, 1838; Records of Roy. Soc. of Musicians.] W. B. S.

ASHLEY, JOHN JAMES (1772–1815), second son of John Ashley [see Ashley, John, 1734?–1805], a pupil of Schroeter, was for several years organist at Covent Garden Theatre. He was one of the most successful singing masters of his day, some of his most celebrated pupils being Mrs.

Vaughan, Mrs. Salmon, and Charles Smith. He composed some pianoforte music and a few sets of songs. He became a member of the Royal Society of Musicians 5 Aug. 1792, and died on 5 Jan. 1815.

[Gent. Mag. for 1815; Records of Roy. Soc. of Musicians.] W. B. S.

ASHLEY, ROBERT (1565–1641), a miscellaneous writer of the reign of Elizabeth and James I, is called by Wood, in his 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' 'an esquire's son and Wiltshire-man born,' and from notes on his life, written by himself, to be found in the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum (*Addit. MS.* No. 2105), it seems that he was born at Damerham, on the confines of the counties of Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Dorset, seven miles from Salisbury; that his father was Anthony Ashley, or Astley, of a knightly family in Dorset, and his mother Dorothy Lyte, of Lytes Carey, in Somerset. He further tells us that when a boy he delighted in reading 'Bevis of Hampton,' 'Guy of Warwick,' 'Valentine and Orson,' 'Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table,' and afterwards the 'Decameron of Boccace' and the 'Heptameron of the Queen of Navarre.' He was at school under Hadrian Saravia, at Southampton. Wood says he became a fellow commoner of Hart Hall in 1580, and does not speak of his being a member of any other college in Oxford; but from his autobiography it appears that he was of Alban Hall and also of Magdalen College. He left the university without a degree, and was called to the bar by the Middle Temple. His mind was too mercurial for law, and he gave himself to the study of Dutch, French, Spanish, and Italian. 'Finding the practice of law,' says Wood, 'to have ebbs and tides, he applied himself to the learning of the languages of our neighbours, to the end that he might be partaker of the wisdom of those nations, having been many years of this opinion, that as no one soil or territory yieldeth all fruits alike, so no one climate or region affordeth all kind of knowledge in full measure.' In the preface to his 'Almansor' he speaks of having been in the library of the Escurial, where, he says, he saw a glorious golden library of Arabian books. He lived for many years in the Middle Temple, where he died, without issue, Oct. 1641. He was buried in the Temple Church, and gave many books to the Temple Library.

His principal works are 'Urania,' in Latin verse, London, 1589, 4to, translated from the French of Du Bartas; 'The Interchangeable Course,' 1594, fol., translated from the French of Louis le Roy; 'Almansor, the learned and victorious King that conquered Spain, his Life and Death,' London, 1627, 4to, translated from the Spanish; 'Relation of the Kingdom of Cochin-China, containing many admirable rarities and singularities of that country,' London, 1633, 4to, translated from the Italian of Christ. Barri; 'David Persecuted,' translated from the Italian of Malvezzi, London, 1637.

[Biog. Brit.; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Brit. Mus. Catal.; Wood, Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii. 19; Bibl. Univ. des Voyages, v. 109.] J. M.

ASHMOLE, ELIAS (1617–1692), 'the greatest virtuoso and curioso that ever was known or read of in England before his time,' was born at Lichfield 23 May 1617. His father, though following the trade of a saddler, was a man of good family, who had seen much service in Ireland. His mother, whose maiden name was Bowyer, was nearly related to James Pagitt, a baron of the exchequer. A boyish intimacy with Pagitt's son procured Ashmole's reception into the judge's family after having received a fair education at Lichfield grammar school, and as a chorister in the cathedral. Through the patronage of Baron Pagitt he became a solicitor in 1638, 'and had indifferent good practice.' In the same year he married Eleanor Mainwaring, of Smallwood in Cheshire, who died suddenly in 1641. In 1642, having embraced the royalist side in the civil war, he left London and retired into Cheshire, and in 1644 was appointed by the king commissioner of excise at Lichfield. Business connected with this employment brought him to Oxford, where he was long detained soliciting the royalist parliament assembled in that city. He there made the acquaintance of Captain (afterwards Sir) George Wharton, who procured him a commission in the ordnance, and imbued him with the love of astrology and alchemy which, next to his antiquarianism, became the leading feature of his intellectual character. He entered himself at Brasenose College, and studied physics and mathematics; but about the end of the year became commissioner of excise at Worcester, to which he soon added the employments of captain of horse and comptroller of the ordnance. In July 1646 Worcester surrendered to the parliament, and Ashmole again retired into Cheshire. In October he came to London and mixed much in astrological circles, becoming acquainted with Lilly and Booker, and finding himself a guest at 'the mathematical feast at the White Hart.' He was also one of the earliest English Freemasons, having been initiated in or about 1646, in which year the first formal meeting of the body in England was

held. His marriage must have been prudent or his employments profitable, for about this time 'it pleased God to put me in mind that I was now placed in the condition I had always desired, which was that I might be enabled to live to myself and studies without being forced to take pains for a livelihood in the world.' This did not, however, prevent his seeking to improve his fortunes still further by marriage with a lady twenty years older than himself, the widow of three husbands, the mother of grown-up sons, and in all probability a relative of his first wife. On 1 March 1647 'I moved the Lady Mainwaring in the way of marriage, and received a fair answer, though no condescension.' In July the lady's second son, disapproving of the match, 'broke into my chamber, and had like to have killed me.' He was not deterred, however, from prosecuting his suit, the progress of which is amusingly recorded in his diary. At length, on 16 Nov. 1649, his perseverance was triumphant, and he 'enjoyed his wife's estate, though not her company for altogether;' and notwithstanding family jars, subpœnas, sequestrations, and frequent sicknesses, all faithfully noted, he vigorously pushed forward his studies in astrology, chemistry, and botany. In 1650 he edited an alchemical work by Dr. Dee, together with an anonymous tract on the same subject, under the anagram of James Hasolle. In 1652 he published the first volume of his 'Theatrum Chemicum,' a collection of ancient metrical treatises on alchemy. He procured his friend Wharton's deliverance from prison, and made him steward of the estates in Berkshire which he had acquired by his second marriage. He also formed the acquaintance of Master Backhouse, a venerable Rosicrucian, who called him son [see Backhouse, Martin], and 'opened himself very freely touching the great secret;' as well as that of John Tradescant, keeper of the botanic garden at Chelsea, an intimacy which has indirectly contributed more than anything else to his celebrity with posterity. He studied Hebrew, engraving, and heraldry, and manifested in every way an insatiable curiosity for knowledge, justifying Selden's opinion of him as one 'affected to the furtherance of all good learning.' On 13 May 1653 Backhouse 'told me, in syllables, the true matter of the philosopher's stone, which he bequeathed to me as a legacy.' But Ashmole has omitted to bequeath it to us. His domestic troubles came to a head in October 1657, when his wife's petition for a separation and alimony, though fortified by eight hundred sheets of depositions, was dismissed by the court, and she returned to live with him. The Restoration marks a great turning-point in his life. His loyalty had entitled him to Charles II's favour, and being introduced to the king by no less influential a person than Chiffinch, he was appointed Windsor herald, 'and had Henry VIII's closet assigned for my use.' From this time antiquarian pursuits predominated with him, and we hear comparatively little of astrology, in which, however, he never lost his belief or interest, and nothing of alchemy. His favour at court continued to grow, and places were showered upon him. He successively became commissioner, comptroller, and accountant-general of excise, and held at the same time the employments of commissioner for Surinam, and comptroller of the White office. He was about this time engaged in litigation with the widow of his old friend Tradescant, who had bequeathed his museum to him. A friendly arrangement was at length concluded, and Ashmole became possessed of the curiosities which formed the nucleus of the institution by which he is best remembered. In 1668 his wife died, and in the course of the same year he married a much younger lady, the daughter of his friend the herald Dugdale. All this time he was diligently engaged upon his great work, the 'Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter,' which was published in 1672, and brought him many tokens of honour both from his own and foreign countries. It is certainly a noble example of antiquarian zeal and research. He soon afterwards retired from his post as Windsor herald, receiving a pension of four hundred pounds secured upon the paper duty; and he subsequently declined the appointment of Garter king-at-arms in favour of his father-in-law, Sir William Dugdale. In 1677 he determined to bestow the museum he had inherited from Tradescant, with his own additions to it, upon the university of Oxford, on condition of a suitable building being provided for its reception. The gift was accepted on these terms, and the collection was removed to Oxford upon the completion of the building in 1682, Dr. Plot being appointed curator. According to Anthony à Wood the curiosities filled twelve wagons. Ashmole quaintly notes in his diary, 17 Feb. 1683: 'The last load of my rarities was sent to the barge, and this afternoon I relapsed into the gout.' In 1685 he was invited to represent his native city in parliament, but desisted from his candidature to gratify James II. In 1690 he was magnificently entertained by the university of Oxford, which had conferred upon him the degree of M.D., and to which he ultimately bequeathed his library, invaluable as regards manuscripts, but greatly damaged in

printed books by a fire at the Temple in 1679, which had also destroyed his collection of medals. He closed his industrious and prosperous life on 18 May 1692, and is interred in South Lambeth church under a black marble slab with a Latin inscription, promising that his name shall endure as long as his museum.

The Ashmolean Museum, though really formed by Tradescant, has indeed secured its donor a celebrity which he could not have obtained by his writings. Ashmole was nevertheless no ordinary man. His industry was most exemplary, he was disinterestedly attached to the pursuit of knowledge, and his antiquarian researches, at all events, were guided by great good sense. His addiction to astrology was no mark of weakness of judgment in that age; he can hardly have been more attached to it than Dryden or Shaftesbury, but he had more leisure and perseverance for its pursuit. Alchemy he seems to have quietly dropped. He appears in his diary as a man by no means unfeeling or ungenerous, constant and affectionate in his friendships, and placable towards his adversaries. He had evidently, however, a very keen eye to his own interest, and acquisitiveness was his master passion. His munificence, nevertheless, speaks for itself, and was frequently exercised on unlooked-for occasions, as when he erected monuments to his astrological friends, Lilly and Booker. He was also a benefactor to his native city.

Ashmole's principal work is his 'Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter,' London, 1672, one of those books which exhaust the subject of which they treat, and leave scope only for supplements. The edition of 1693 is a mere reprint; but in 1715 a new edition was published under the title of 'The History of the Order of the Garter,' with a continuation by T. Walker. 'The Antiquities of Berkshire, with a particular account of the Castle, College, and Town of Windsor,' was published in 1719, and again in 1736. It consists merely of Ashmole's notes during his official visitation as herald, and the genealogical papers transcribed by him; but these form together a very copious collection. It is prefaced by a memoir of the author. His own memoirs, drawn up by himself by way of diary, were published in 1717, and reprinted along with the autobiography of his friend Lilly in 1774. They are a quaint and curious record, narrating matters of great personal importance to him in the same dry style as the most trivial particulars of his numerous ailments: how he cured himself of an ague by hanging three spiders about his neck, and how on the ever-memorable 14 Feb. 1677 'I took cold in my right ear.' His alchemical works are merely editions or reprints, and the only one of importance is the 'Theatrum Chemicum' (1652), which contains twenty-nine old English poems on the subject, some very curious. The extent of his collections in genealogy, heraldry, local and family history, astrology, and alchemy, may be estimated from the admirable catalogue of Mr. W. H. Black and the index by Messrs. Macray and Gough (Oxford, 1845–66).

[The principal authority for Ashmole's life is his own diary. A brief memoir is prefixed to his Antiquities of Berkshire. See also Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 354–64; Allen's History of Lambeth, pp. 124, 393–8; and the list of papers relating to him in the Index to the Catalogue of Ashmolean MSS., pp. 8–9.] R. G.

ASHMORE, JOHN (*fl.* 1621), was the first who attempted a translation into English of selected odes of Horace. In 1621 he published 'Certain selected Odes of Horace Englished, and their Arguments annexed.' To the translations are added a number of epigrams and anagrams. The translations show considerable facility of versification, and are by no means devoid of grace; but the translator's choice is for longer measures, and there is a want of light lyric speed. Samuel Pullein, in a copy of Latin elegiacs prefixed to the translations, is enthusiastic about his friend's achievement:—

Flaccus adest, eadem mens est et carminis idem
Sensus: forma eadem est ingeniique decus.

Many of the epigrams and anagrams are addressed to distinguished personages, such as Charles, Prince of Wales, George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Bacon. In others the writer puns vilely on the names of private friends. One epigram is addressed 'Ad insignem Poetam, D. Ben. Johnson.' From many references throughout the book to the Fairfaxes and others, it appears that the author was a native of Ripon in Yorkshire.

[Corser's Collectanea (Chetham Soc.), i. 66–70.] A. H. B.

ASHPITEL, ARTHUR (1807–1869), architect, the son of William Hurst Ashpitel, was born in Hackney. In boyhood he had an accident which made him a cripple for life. He was trained by his father to the architect's profession, and in 1842 he began work on his own account. He built the church of St. John's at Blackheath, and that of St. Barnabas at Homerton, as well as many other buildings. In 1850 he entered into partnership with Mr. Whichcord,

and was then for some years engaged in large practice. His health failed, and in 1854 he left England with David Roberts, R.A., for a travelling companion, and lived for some time at Rome. As a result of his studies in that city he exhibited a drawing at the Royal Academy, a 'Restoration of Ancient Rome,' and another called 'Rome as it is.' Latterly Mr. Ashpitel retired from active practice and occupied himself as a dilettante in literary work. He contributed papers on various cathedrals to the Archæological Association, and some articles to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' He was a good scholar and linguist, and these qualifications made him (a tory of the old school) able to write some tolerably effective political pamphlets and squibs in verse. Some translations and *vers de société* from his pen appeared in the 'Owl' and attracted some attention. Mr. Ashpitel died on 18 Jan. 1869, having left a valuable collection of vases and books to the Society of Antiquaries, and his two drawings of Rome to the nation. These latter form part of the collection at South Kensington.

[Builder, 30 Jan. 1869; Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School.] E. R.

ASHPITEL, WILLIAM HURST (1776–1852), architect, was a pupil of Daniel Asher Alexander. He assisted his master in the designs for the London Docks, and in the execution of the works connected with that undertaking. Afterwards a pupil of John Rennie, he was largely concerned in the Kennet and Avon canal, and in the work of tunnelling under the town of Bath. Later he was in partnership with James Savage, and then last in practice on his own account. Amongst other buildings he designed Sir Charles Talbot's house at Deepdene. He left his profession rather early in life, and died 20 April 1852.

[Dictionary of Architectural Publication Society.] E. R.

ASHTON, CHARLES (1665–1752), a distinguished scholar and divine, was born on 25 May 1665, at Bradway, in the parish of Norton, Derbyshire. He was admitted to Queens' College, Cambridge, on 18 May 1682, took the degree of B.A., and on 30 April 1687 was elected to a fellowship. After serving for a time as chaplain to Bishop Patrick, he was presented on 10 March 1698–9 to the living of Rattenden, in Essex, which he exchanged in the following June for a chaplainship at Chelsea Hospital. On 3 July 1701 he was collated to a prebendal stall in Ely Cathedral, and was elected on the next day to the mastership of Jesus College, Cambridge, both offices being vacant by the death of Dr. Saywell. In the same year he took the degree of D.D., and in 1702 was elected vice-chancellor of the university. His life was spent in scholarly seclusion, and he seldom left Cambridge, except when his attendance was required at Ely. He died in March 1752, at the age of 87, and was buried in the college chapel. Ashton's published works are not numerous. He contributed to Wasse's 'Bibliotheca Literaria,' 1724, an article, 'Tully and Hirtius reconciled as to the time of Cæsar's going to the African war;' also an emendation of a passage of Justin Martyr. Reading's editions of Origen 'De Oratione' (1728) and 'Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Scriptores' (1746) are said to have been in great part the work of Ashton. 'His edition of Hierocles's excellent commentary on the golden verses of Pythagoras is without his name, or, it should rather be said, with another person's, R. W. (Warren). . . . Mr. Wakefield also has particularly noticed a Tertullian as being replete with notes by Dr. Ashton. I have also myself perused a dictionary marked in the same manner' (Dyer, *Hist. of Univ. of Camb.*, 1814, ii. 80). In 1768 appeared an edition of Justin Martyr's 'Apologiæ' prepared by Frederick Keller, fellow of Jesus College, from papers that Dr. Ashton left at his death. All Ashton's manuscripts had been bequeathed to Keller. Bowyer writes: 'The Bishop of Ely has advised him (Keller) to ask leave of the Bishop of London to inscribe Tertullian's Apology, which the doctor left to his lordship. . . . Ashton destroyed all his sermons; for the Bishop of London inquired after some he had heard preached, which were not found.' Among the Cole MSS. in the British Museum there are transcripts of some of Ashton's letters to Dean Moss (vol. xxx.); of his additions to Sherman's 'History of Jesus College' (vol. xlii.); and of his large 'Collections relating to the University.' In Chishull's 'Antiquitates Asiaticæ' (1728) Ashton showed much acuteness in restoring satisfactorily a corrupt inscription to Jupiter Urios.

[Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, i. 262, 271, iv. 226, 227, viii. 502, ix. 766; Dyer's Hist. of Cambr. Univ. ii. 80; Cole MSS. vols. xxx., xlii., li.; Add. MS. 6396. There is a good account of Ashton by J[ohn] H[ill] B[urton] in S. D. U. K. Biographical Dictionary.] A. H. B.

ASHTON, EDWARD (*d.* 1658), was a colonel in the army. He was deeply implicated in the plot against the lord protector

set on foot by Ormond and other agents of Charles II in 1658, and for complicity in which Sir H. Slingsby and Dr. Hewet suffered. Ashton's part was to set fire to the city, throw open all the prisons, and seize all moneys and plate at the goldsmiths', but it was to be 'death for any to touch any man's private goods.' He was tried with six of his fellow-conspirators before the commissioners of the high court of justice, was found guilty, and on 7 July 1658 was hanged, drawn, and quartered in 'Tower Street, London, over against Mark Lane end.' Four of his fellow conspirators suffered similar penalties in different parts of the city.

[Mercurius Politicus for the year 1658, No. 423 (No. 48 in Brit. Mus. Catalogue); Clarendon's Hist. xv. 102.] G. V. B.

ASHTON, HENRY (1801–1872), architect, born in London, was a pupil of Sir Robert Smirke. Afterwards, and till death, he was employed by Sir Jeffrey Wyattville. He erected the stables at Windsor and the kennels at Frogmore. About 1831 he was employed by the King of Holland to build the summer palace at the Hague. He was the architect of the improvements in Victoria Street, and designed the thoroughfare which connects Belgravia with the Houses of Parliament. Some of the best examples of his work are found in Victoria Street. He exhibited many designs at the Academy. 'His work possessed many good characteristics—good in construction, simple yet tasteful in its design and proportions.' In competition 'for some of the most important works of his day' he was not successful. He died on 18 March 1872.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Painters of the English School.] E. R.

ASHTON, HUGH (*d.* 1522), archdeacon of York, was a younger son of one of the Lancashire families of Ashton. He attracted the notice of the Lady Margaret, countess of Derby, who made him comptroller of her household. It has been conjectured on that account that he belonged to the West Lancashire Ashtons, and perhaps to that branch settled at Penketh, in the parish of Prescot; but nothing certain is known as to his origin. He commenced M.A. at Oxford 13 Oct. 1507, but soon after had a grace from Cambridge to enter the canon law. He subsequently became canon and prebendary in St. Stephen's, Westminster, 1509; prebendary of Strensall, in the church of York, 1515; archdeacon of Winchester, 1511 (resigned in 1519); archdeacon of Cornwall, 1515; archdeacon of West Riding, York, 1516. Before 1511 he was rector of Grasmere, Ambleside, and he was also rector of Barnake, Lichfield. In 1522 he was instituted rector of Burton Latimer, Northamptonshire. He had been one of the executors of the will of his early patroness, and like her was interested in the fortunes of St. John's College, Cambridge. Baker says: 'The last chapel was Mr. Hugh Ashton's, well known by his monument and his rebus upon it, a thing then much in fashion, and must be forgiven to the humour of the age. It has long since lost the face of religion. Many years after its desecration, in Dr. Beal's time, it was restored to sacred use; but the times coming on when little regard was had to sacred things, and less to sacred places, it was again desecrated, and has not since been restored to such uses as the other two chapels yet standing have been. It may, 'tis hoped, one day recover the right; and might I choose my place of sepulture I would lay my body there, that as I owe the few comforts I enjoy to Mr. Ashton's bounty, so I might not be separated from him in my death.' This is an allusion to Ashton's foundations. The building accounts are given by Cooper and Mayor. Whilst at Cambridge he was 'very serviceable' in the business of the college; but having to be away a great deal he made up for his non-residence by his benefactions. 'What was wanting in that more public capacity he made up and supported in his private station by founding four fellows, who were his chaplains, and as many scholars, together with an annual dirge to be observed for him on the day of his interment.' According to Baker, who followed the inscription on his tomb at York, and copied in Queen Mary's reign by Dr. Bullock, then master of St. John's, he died 23 Nov. 1522, but Cooper and Mayor state that his will was dated 7 Dec. 1522, and proved 9 March following. 'Hic situs est,' runs the inscription, 'Hugo Ashton archidiaconus Ebor., qui ad Christianæ religionis augmentum socios 2 ex Lancastria totidemque scolares, sociumque et scholarem Eboracensis sociumque et scholarem Dunelmensis diœcesis oriundos, suis impensis pie instituit, atque singulis a se institutis sociis consuetum sociorum stipendium solidis 40 adauxit. Obiit nono cal. Decemb. an. Dni. 1522.' It is impossible to reconcile this date with that of the will. Ashton's Lancashire foundations were made available to candidates from the entire diocese of Chester. There was an inscription in the hospital of St. Leonard's at York recording Ashton's gift of a window. In addition to the prose tribute, some eulogistic verses, occasioned by a portrait of Ashton, were written by Baker,

who bequeathed the picture to Dr. Newcome, master of St. John's.

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantabrigienses, and Mem. of Margaret, Countess of Richmond; Baker's History of St. John's College; Le Neve's Fasti; W. A. Abram, in Pink's Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Notes, Leigh, 1883, p. 106.]

W. E. A. A.

ASHTON, SIR JOHN DE (*fl.* 1370), military commander, was the son of Thomas de Ashton, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Nevill's Cross. The dates of his birth and death are unknown, but in 1370 he figured as the hero of one of those picturesque incidents which Froissart delighted to describe. Lord Berners has thus translated the passage: 'The lande of the Lord of Coucy abode in peace, for ther was nother man nor woman that had any hurt, the value of a penny, yf they sayd they belonged to the lorde of Coucy. And so at last the englysshmen came before the cyte of noyon, the whiche was well furnished with men of warre; ther the englysshmen taryed, and aproched as near as they might, and aduysed to se yf any maner of assaut might preuayle them or not, and there they sawe that the towne was well aparelled for defence. And sir Robert Canoll was loged in the abbey of Dolkens, and his people about him; and on a day he came before the cyte, raynged in maner of batayle, to se yf they of the garyson and comontie of the towne wolde yssue out and fight or not; but they had no wyll so to do. There was a scottysh knyght dyde there a goodly feate of armes, for he departed fro his company, his speare in his hande, mounted on a good horse, his page behynde hym, and soo came before the barryers; this knyght was called sir Johan Assueton, a hardy man and a couragious; whan he was before the barryers of Noyon he lighted afote, and sayd to his page, Holde, kepe my horse and departe nat hens; and so went to the barryers. And within ye barryers ther were good knightes, as sir Johan of Roy, sir Launcelot of Lowrys, and a x. or xii. other, who had great marueyle what this sayde knight wolde do. Than he sayd to them, Sirs, I am come hyder to se you, I se well ye wyll nat yssue out of your barryers, therfore I wyll entre and I can, and will proue my knyghthode agaynst yours: wyn me and ye can; and therwith he layed on rounde about hym, and they at hym, and thus he alone fought against them more than an hour, and dyd hurt two or thre of thē; so that they of the towne on the walles and gerettes stode styll and behelde them, and had great pleasure to regarde his valiātnesse, and dyde him no hurt, the whiche they might haue done, if they hadde lyst to haue shotte or cast stones at hym and also the frenche knightes charged them to let hym and them alone togyder. So long they fought that at last his page came nere to the barryers, and spake in his language and sayd, Sir, cōe away, it is tyme for you to depart, for your company is departyng hens: the knight herde him well, and then gaue a two or thre strokes about him, and so, armed as he was, he lept out of the barryers, and lepte upon his horse, without any hurt, behynde his page, and sayd to the frenchmen, Adue, sirs, I thank you, and so rode forthe to his owne company; the whiche dede was moche prayesed of many folkes' (FROISSART, 1812 edit. i. 417). The term 'Scottish knight' is somewhat perplexing, and has led Mr. Johnes to suppose that one of the Setons is meant; but Froissart applies the term generally to all who were in that army, although Sir Robert Canoll—that is, Sir Robert Knolles—was of Cheshire birth. Sir John Ashton was knight of the shire for his native county in the parliament of Westminster in 1389. He married Margaret, daughter of Perkin Legh of Lyme, and was succeeded in the lordship of Ashton by his son, Sir John, who was drowned at Norham.

[Froissart; Baines's Lancashire; Axon's Lancashire Gleanings.] W. E. A. A.

ASHTON, SIR JOHN DE (*d.* 1428), seneschal of Bayeux, was the son of Sir John de Ashton and his wife, Margary Legh. He was one of forty-six esquires who were summoned to attend the grand coronation of Henry IV, in honour of which event they were solemnly admitted to the order of the Bath. He served in the parliament of 1413 as knight of the shire for Lancashire. In 1416 he was with the Duke of Clarence at the taking of Bayeux, and was entrusted by the king with the office of seneschal of the city. There is in the 'Fœdera' a document sent to him by Henry IV from Falaise, commanding him to give special protection to the inhabitants of the religious houses. He was also captain of Hadupais and bailiff of Constance. He was twice married and left many children, of whom the most distinguished were Sir Thomas de Ashton, the alchemist, and Sir Roger de Ashton, of Middleton. Sir John died in 1428.

[Baines's Lancashire; Rymer's Fœdera, vii. 186, 504, 525, 530, 589, 614, x. 61, 91, xiii. 712; Axon's Lancashire Gleanings.] W. E. A. A.

ASHTON, JOHN (*d.* 1691), Jacobite conspirator, was clerk of the closet to Mary of Modena, the wife of James II, and, after the revolution of 1688, showed himself ardently

devoted to the interests of his exiled master and mistress. He appears to have held a commission of captain or major in the army, and to have been an intimate friend of Dr. Thomas Cartwright, who was bishop of Chester from 1686 to 1689, and a zealous supporter of the Stuart dynasty (cf. CARTWRIGHT's *Diary*, pub. by Camden Soc.). By religion Ashton was a protestant, and late in 1690 he attended a meeting of protestant Jacobites, at which it was resolved to invite Louis XIV to forcibly restore James II. Viscount Preston undertook to visit St. Germains with the papers requisite to obtain support for the conspiracy, and Ashton promised to arrange the journey and bear him company. He and a young friend, Major Elliott, hired a boat at London to convey themselves and Lord Preston to France, but the owner, whose suspicions were roused by their injunctions of secrecy, gave information to the government, and on 31 Dec. 1690, when Preston, Ashton, and Elliott embarked with their treasonable papers about them at the Tower, they were narrowly watched, were arrested off Tilbury, and a few hours later brought back to Whitehall. On Ashton's person alone incriminating documents were found. The three prisoners were brought to trial a fortnight later, but each was tried separately. Ashton, who was described in the indictment as 'late of the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden,' declared that he was about to visit France to learn from the exiled queen how she proposed to settle certain unpaid debts with her London tradesmen, for many of which he, as her late clerk, was held responsible, and he called witnesses in support of his assertion. All the conspirators were, however, condemned to death, and Ashton, upon whom alone the sentence was executed, was hanged at Tyburn on 28 Jan. 1690–1. Several nonjuring clergymen attended him after his conviction, and were present with him at the gallows, where he behaved with exemplary fortitude. Before his death he handed to the sheriff a paper declaring himself a protestant, and happy in losing his life in James II's service, from whom he had received favours 'for sixteen years past.' This document, which well exemplified the depth of the sincerity of James's supporters in England, was published in England, France, and Holland, and greatly alarmed the authorities. An answer to it was written anonymously by Dr. Edward Fowler, bishop of Gloucester, who represented Ashton's paper as the manifesto of the Jacobite party, and tried to confute in detail his arguments against the lawfulness of William III's accession to the throne: the bishop's pamphlet evoked a reply in the 'Loyal Traitor,' an elaborate defence of Ashton by a Jacobite.

Ashton's widow, whose maiden name was Rigby, after her husband's death sought refuge at St. Germains with her son, upon whom James II conferred a baronetcy. But her protestantism did not commend itself to the exiled court, and Mrs. Ashton was harshly used on her refusal to become a Roman Catholic. She died in 1694, and her body was sent to England for burial (*View of the Court of St. Germains* (1696), in Harleian Miscellany, vi. 395).

[State Trials, xii. 645 et seq.; Luttrell's Brief Relation of State Affairs, vols. ii. iii.; Burnet's History of my own Time, iv. 121 (Oxford edit.); Macaulay, iii. 723, 727, iv. 16–8; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Ashton's paper is printed in Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History of England (i. 171), in the State Trials, and in Dr. Fowler's pamphlet.] S. L. L.

ASHTON, PETER (*fl.* 1546), translated into English, in 1546, the 'Turcicarum rerum Commentarius' of Paulus Jovius, under the title of 'A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius, byshop of Nucerne, and dedicated to Charles V, Emperour. Drawen out of the Italyen tong in to Latyne by Franciscus Niger Bassianates. And translated out of Latyne into Englysh by Peter Ashton.' In the dedicatory epistle to Sir Rafe Sadler the translator informs us that he has 'studyed rather to use the most playn and famylier English speche the ether Chaucers wordes (which by reason of antiquitie be almost out of use) or els inkhorn termes (as they call them) which the common people for lacke of Latin do not understand.'

[Ames's Typographical Antiquities (ed. Dibdin), iii. 488–9.] A. H. B.

ASHTON, SIR RALPH DE (*fl.* 1460–1483), an officer of state under Edward IV, was the half-brother of Sir Thomas de Ashton the alchemist [see ASHTON or ASSHETON, SIR THOMAS DE, *fl.* 1446], and the son of the Ashton mentioned by Froissart [see ASHTON, SIR JOHN DE, *fl.* 1370]. His mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Byron of Clayton. In his seventeenth year he was one of the pages of honour to Henry VI, and at the same early age he married Margaret, the heiress of the Bartons of Middleton, and became the founder of the family that held the lordship there until the last century, when it passed by the female line to the holders of the Suffield peerage. Ralph Ashton was a man of influence, and in the reign of Ed-

ward IV he held various offices. He was sheriff of Yorkshire, and for his courage at the battle of Huttonfield he was made a knight banneret. When his commander, the Duke of Gloucester, became Richard III, he rewarded Sir Ralph's adhesion to the Yorkist cause by extensive grants of land. In 1483 he was appointed vice-constable of England and lieutenant of the Tower. The date of his death is unknown, but he is traditionally said to have been shot at Ashton-under-Lyne, and the yearly ceremony known as the 'Riding of the Black Lad' is regarded as a commemoration of that event. There is a very full rent-roll or custumal of the manor of Ashton in 1422, in which the various names and obligations of the tenants are set forth. Ralph Ashton is mentioned in a passage which Dr. Hibbert-Ware has explained with much ingenuity, though not with absolute certainty. According to this, corn marigold (*Chrysanthemum segetum*) grew so extensively in the low wet land about Ashton as to be inimical to the crops, and the lord of the manor had an annual inspection and levied fines on those tenants on whose lands it was seen. This power, delegated to Ralph Ashton and his brother Robert, is said to have been made the pretext of such tyrannical exactions that on one of these visitations the tenants rose in desperation and the 'Black Knight' was slain. Others hold that it was whilst exercising in the northern parts his despotic powers as vice-constable that he excited the terror expressed in the legendary rhyme:—

> Sweet Jesu, for thy mercy's sake
> And for thy bitter passion.
> Save us from the axe of the Tower,
> And from Sir Ralph of Ashton.

The effigy of the Black Knight is still paraded through the town of Ashton on Easter Monday.

[Hibbert-Ware's Customs of a Manor in the North of England, Edinburgh, 1822, and again by the Chetham Society, vol. lxxiv.; Rymer's Fœdera, xi. 715, xii. 118, 205, 268; Axon's Lancashire Gleanings.] W. E. A. A.

ASHTON, Sir ROBERT de (*d.* 1385), civil, military, and naval officer under Edward III, was of the great northern family of Ashton or Assheton, of Ashton-under-Lyne, in the county of Lancaster. The house claims descent from Emma, the daughter of Albert de Gresley, the first baron of Manchester; she married Orm, the son of Ailward, and received from her father as a dowry a portion of the lands he had received from Roger of Poictou. From this union, probably of Norman heiress and Saxon thane, descended Sir John Ashton, who was twice married. The date of the birth of his son Robert is not known, nor are there records of his career until we find him, in 1324, a member of the parliament of Westminster, and afterwards occupying positions of great importance and trust. In 1359 he was governor of 'Guynes' near Calais; in 1362 he was lord treasurer of England; in 1368 he had the custody of the castle of Sandgate near Calais with the lands and revenue thereto belonging; in 1369 he was admiral of the Narrow Seas; in 1372 he was justiciary of Ireland; and in 1373 again lord treasurer of England and king's chamberlain. In 1375 he became chancellor of the exchequer, and held that office until the death of Edward III in 1377, when he was succeeded by Simon de Bureley. The new king did not discard his father's old servant, and in 1380 Ashton was appointed constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports. He died at Dover Castle 9 Jan. 1384–5, and was buried in the church there, to which he had previously presented a large bell. He was twice married. By his first wife, Elizabeth, whose surname is not known, he left a son, Thomas, and a daughter, Eleanor. His second wife was the widow of Lord Matthew de Gorney, and after Ashton's death married Sir John Tiptoft, knt., and died in 1417. Such are the scanty details of the career of a man who, going from a then remote and little-known district, achieved distinction alike in court and camp, by land and by sea.

[Rymer's Fœdera, 3rd edit. 752, 820, 822, 824, 844, 845, 862, 924, 930, 942, 977, 978, 979, 990, 1010, 1052, 1062, 1069, 1076, 1077; Baines's Hist. of Lancashire; Axon's Lancashire Gleanings.] W. E. A. A.

ASHTON, THOMAS de (*fl.* 1346), warrior, was the son and heir of Sir Robert de Ashton, and it is remarkable that, although the chief recorded event of his life shows him to have been a man of conspicuous military courage, he does not appear to have received the honour of knighthood, or to have been employed in any of the offices in which his father had distinguished himself. Whilst Edward III was fighting in France, David, king of Scotland, entered Northumberland with a force estimated at 50,000 men, and wasted and pillaged the country as far as Durham. Queen Philippa, the heroic wife of Edward III, marched against the invaders with a force of about 12,000, whom she encouraged to the unequal conflict. Battle was joined at Neville's Cross, near Durham, 17 Oct. 1346, and the result was a decisive victory for the English. Thomas de Ashton, who fought under Lord Neville, captured the royal stan-

dard of Scotland. Shortly after King David was made prisoner by John de Coupland, variously described as a Lancashire esquire and as a Northumberland gentleman, who was knighted when the king returned from France, but Ashton was still an esquire when, in 1385, he formed one of the retinue of John of Gaunt in his expedition to Spain. William de Ashton, doctor of laws, who was also with 'the serene prince, Lord John, king of Castile and Leon,' was his uncle.

[Baines's Lancashire; Rymer's Fœdera, vii. 490, xi. 28; Axon's Lancashire Gleanings.]
W. E. A. A.

ASHTON or **ASSHETON**, SIR THOMAS DE (*fl.* 1446), alchemist, born in 1403, was the son and heir of Sir John de Ashton, of Ashton-under-Lyne [see ASHTON, SIR JOHN DE], who died in 1428. Permission was granted by Henry VI to Sir Thomas to transmute the precious metals, and on 7 April 1446 a special order was issued (*Rot. Pat.* 2, No. 14), encouraging two Lancashire knights, Ashton and Sir Edmund de Trafford, to pursue their experiments in alchemy, and forbidding any subject of the king to molest them. Sir Thomas married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Byron, by whom he had eleven children. The eldest son, John, was knighted before the battle of Northampton, 10 July 1460, and died in 1508.

[Fuller's Worthies (ed. Nicholls), i. 555; Biographia Britannica; Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees; Baines's History of Lancashire (ed. Harland), i. 133.]

ASHTON, THOMAS (*d.* 1578), schoolmaster, was educated at Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1559–60, and M.A. in 1563. He was elected a fellow of Trinity College in that university, entered into orders, and in 1562 was appointed the first head master of Shrewsbury school, which he raised to a high position; there being, while he presided over it, as many as 290 scholars at a time. Among his pupils were the illustrious Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. Camden, in his 'Britannia,' remarks that 'Shrewsbury is inhabited both by Welsh and English, who speak each other's language; and among other things greatly to their praise is the grammar school founded by them, the best filled in all England, whose flourishing state is owing to provision made by its head master, the excellent and worthy Thomas Ashton.' At Whitsuntide 1568 a noble stage play, in which Ashton was the principal actor, was performed at Shrewsbury in connection with the school. It lasted all the holidays, and was attended by a large number of people, including several noblemen and many gentry residing in the neighbourhood. Soon afterwards, however, in the same year Ashton resigned the mastership of the school. About October 1574 he was sent to Ireland to Walter, Earl of Essex, who despatched him to parley with Tyrlogh Lynogh, and subsequently employed him in confidential communications with the queen and the privy council of England. The same nobleman by will gave him 40*l.* a year for life, and he was one of the feoffees of the earl's estates. Ashton returned to England in 1575. One of his latest acts was to visit Shrewsbury, where he preached a farewell sermon to the inhabitants. The 'godlie Father,' as he is styled in a contemporary manuscript, then returned to Cambridge, in or near which town he died a fortnight later, in 1578.

[Camden's Britannia, ed. Gough, ii. 399; Owen and Blakeway's Shrewsbury, i. 353, 365, 384; The Devereux Earls of Essex, i. 77, 78, 88, 106, 107, ii. 485, 486; Murdin's State Papers, 776; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 396, 567; Carlisle's Grammar Schools, ii. 375.] T. C.

ASHTON, THOMAS, D.D. (1716–1775), divine, son of Dr. Ashton, usher of the Lancaster grammar school, was born in 1716. After being educated at Eton, he proceeded in 1733 to King's College, Cambridge, where he made the acquaintance of Horace Walpole. He is the 'Thomas Ashton, Esq., tutor to the Earl of Plymouth,' to whom Walpole addressed his Epistle from Florence (DODSLEY, *Poems*, iii. 75). In a letter to Richard West, dated 4 May 1742, Walpole speaks in high terms of Ashton's success in the pulpit: 'He has preached twice at Somerset Chapel. . . . I am sure you would approve his compositions, and admire them still more when you heard him deliver them' (*Letters*, ed. Cunningham, i. 161). In less than a month West was dead; and in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, dated 30 June 1742, Walpole encloses an elegy on his death by Ashton. For some time Ashton held the living of Aldingham, Lancashire; in May 1749 he was presented to the rectory of Sturminster Marshall in Dorsetshire; and in 1752 to the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. Meanwhile his acquaintance with Walpole had come to an end. Writing to Sir Horace Mann on 25 July 1750, Walpole says: 'I believe you have often heard me mention a Mr. Ashton, a clergyman, who, in one word, has great preferments and owes everything upon earth to me. I have long had reason to complain of his behaviour; in short, my father is dead, and I can make no bishops. He has at last quite thrown off

the mask, and in the most direct manner, against my will, has written against my friend Dr. Middleton. . . . I have forbid him my house' (*Letters*, ii. 216). Cole (*MS. Athenæ*) mentions that Ashton owed his Eton fellowship to Walpole's influence. In 1759 Ashton took the degree of D.D.; in December 1760 he married a Miss Amyand; and in May 1762 was elected preacher at Lincoln's Inn, which office he resigned in 1764. He died on 1 March 1775, after 'having for some years survived a severe attack of the palsy.'

Ashton was the author of a number of sermons, among which may be mentioned 'A Sermon on the Rebellion,' 1745; a 'Thanksgiving Sermon' on the close of it in 1746; a 'Sermon preached before the House of Commons' on 30 Jan. 1762; a 'Spital Sermon' at St. Bride's on Easter Wednesday of the same year. These, with others, were collected in a volume of 'Sermons on several Occasions,' 1770, 8vo. Prefixed to this volume is a mezzotint portrait of Ashton from a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds. In 1754 he had an altercation with a methodist minister of the name of Jones, to whom he addressed 'A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Jones, intended as a rational and candid answer to his sermon preached at St. Botolph, Bishopsgate.' He also wrote some pamphlets against the admission of aliens to Eton fellowships.

[Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iii. 88–90; Walpole's Letters, ed. Cunningham, i. 161, 184, ii. 216–17; Cole's MS. Athenæ.] A. H. B.

ASHURST, HENRY (1614?–1680), a wealthy and benevolent merchant of London, noted for his gifts of money to pious or charitable purposes, the founder of the family of Ashurst or Ashhurst of Waterstock, Oxfordshire, was descended from an old Lancashire family, seated at Ashurst, in the township of Dalton and parish of Wigan, distant five miles north-west of that town. His father, Henry, a justice of the peace, is described as a wise and pious gentleman, zealous for the reformed religion in a part of the country where Roman catholics abounded. His mother was one of the Bradshaws of Bradshaw, near Bolton. Of the sons of this marriage William engaged in politics, becoming M.P. for Newton, Lancashire, in 1641, and for the county in 1654; John became a colonel in the civil war; and Henry, born about 1614, entered into trade; all being very zealous in the interests of the parliamentarians and presbyterians. A daughter, Mary, became the wife of Dr. Theophilus Howorth, of Manchester. Henry was apprenticed at the age of fifteen to a London draper; and his prospects were much advanced by a loan of 300*l.* from the Rev. James Hiet, of Croston, Lancashire, and by his marriage with Judith Beresby. He became a successful merchant, entered the common council, and, though ejected in 1662, subsequently became an alderman. In 1667 he was living at Lauderdale House, but at the time of his death, which occurred in November 1680, he is called of Hackney. He had the intimate acquaintance of Henry Newcome, of Manchester, Richard Baxter, who preached his funeral sermon, Matthew and Philip Henry, and others; and the writings of all these divines abound in references to him. His charities to his Lancashire countrymen were very extensive: he allowed needy ejected ministers in that county 100*l.* per annum, and liberally relieved the widows of ministers. He was deeply interested in Elliot's missionary efforts in North America, and that apostle to the Indians termed him his worthy and true friend. Ashurst acted as treasurer for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was a trustee of Boyle's Lecture, and was a great patron of religious literature. Baxter describes him as 'the most exemplary person for eminent sobriety, self-denial, piety, and charity that London could glory of, as far as public observation, and fame, and his most intimate friends could testify.' His son Henry, also a tried friend of Baxter's, became a baronet; he was the builder of Waterstock. The second son, William, was knighted in 1689, and was lord mayor of London in 1693. Each brother received 20*l.* by bequest of Robert Boyle.

[Dugdale's Visitation of Lancashire, p. 9; Burke's Visitation of Seats, ii. 11; Baxter's Funeral Sermon, London, 1681, 4to; Sylvester's Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, ii. 290, iii. 17, 189; Le Neve's Knights, 414; Newcome's Autobiography and Diary; Matthew Henry's Life; Life of Antony à Wood, 8vo, 157–8.] J. E. B.

ASHURST, JAMES (*d.* 1679), divine, whose christian name was unknown to Calamy and Palmer, was vicar of Arlesey, in Bedfordshire, and had been episcopally ordained, but he could not comply with the new impositions of the Act of Uniformity, and hence quitted his living. He was very old, and his vicarage slender. Samuel Browne, the judge [q.v.], was one of his parishioners, and a great friend. 'The whole parish,' says Palmer (after Calamy), 'was well affected towards him for his worthy behaviour amongst them, and was entirely under the influence of the judge . . . and so, though he was legally silenced, he continued in his church a nonconformist. He read part of the morning and

evening service, viz. the confession, scripture-hymns, the creed, and some of the collects. He was a considerable scholar and a hard student to the last; greatly esteemed and loved by all sober persons who knew him, for his extraordinary piety, humility, meekness, self-denial, and integrity. His contempt of the world and contentedness on a very small income were very remarkable. He took for his small tithes just what his parishioners were pleased to give him.' From the register-book of births, deaths, and marriages of the parish of Arlesey, it is found that Ashurst became vicar between 27 Oct. 1631 and 4 Oct. 1632, and that he was married to 'Mary Baldocke, relict of Daniel Baldocke,' on 20 Nov. 1660. The same register informs us that 'James Ashurst, minister, was buried December y^e^ 16, 1679' ('buried in woolen'). His neighbour, Read, of Henlow, preached his funeral sermon.

[Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial (1802), i. 281; local researches at Arlesey.] A. B. G.

ASHURST or **ASHHURST, WILLIAM HENRY** (1725–1807), judge, belonged to the Lancashire family, the Ashhursts of Ashhurst or Ashurst. One of his ancestors was Henry Ashurst, the philanthropist [q.v.], and another was lord mayor of London in 1693. Sir William Ashurst was born at Ashhurst, near Wigan, 25 Jan. 1725, and was educated at Charterhouse. He was admitted of the Inner Temple on 19 Jan. 1750. He practised for some years as a special pleader; and Mr. Justice Buller was one of his pupils. He was called to the bar on 8 Feb. 1754, and was made a serjeant in 1770. On 25 June of the same year, on the removal of Sir William Blackstone to the Common Pleas, he succeeded him as a judge of the King's Bench, in which court Lord Mansfield then held undisputed sway. Mr. Justice Ashurst's judgments, which are reported in Lofft's and Douglas's 'Reports' and Chitty's 'Practice Cases,' are remarkable for their clearness and good sense. A contemporary writer thus describes his qualities as a judge: 'Sir William Ashurst is a man of liberal education and enlarged notions. His language has no peculiar neatness nor brilliancy, but it is perspicuous, pointed, and clear. He reasons logically, and knows well how to winnow the chaff and eloquence from argument and law.' Mr. Justice Ashurst is best remembered by his charge to the grand jury of Middlesex on 10 Nov. 1792. The charge was delivered shortly after the massacres of September in France, and at a time when the name of reform had become odious to a multitude of Englishmen. Mr. Justice Ashurst, giving expression to the fears of the hour respecting the French revolution, attacked as 'absurd, nonsensical, and pernicious' the doctrines of its English admirers. 'There is no nation in the world that can boast of a more perfect system of government than that under which we live. . . . I trust that your minds will be impressed with these ideas, and that you will be assiduous in supporting our present form of government.' This charge was printed by the Society for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers as an opportune warning to the nation. It called forth several replies, one of the best-known being a pamphlet 'Justice to a Judge.' It also elicited from Bentham one of his most incisive pamphlets, 'Truth versus Ashhurst,' which was written in 1792, but was not printed until August 1823. Bentham's strictures are somewhat too sweeping. Sir William Ashurst was an admirer of what Bentham terms in this pamphlet 'the rubbish' of the common law. But he co-operated in some degree with Mansfield in introducing a spirit of equity into its administration. His personal appearance is recorded in the lines attributed to Erskine—

> Judge Ashhurst with his lanthorn jaws
> Throws light upon the English laws.

Being highly esteemed as a lawyer, Sir William Ashurst was twice one of the commissioners entrusted with the great seal, which he held from 9 April 1783 to 23 December of the same year and from 15 June 1792 to 28 Jan. 1793. On 9 June 1799 he resigned his office, and retired to his house at Waterstock, in Oxfordshire, where he died on 5 Nov. 1807.

[Foss's Judges, viii. 234; Bentham's Works, v. 231; Strictures on the Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Lawyers (1790), p. 71; Baines's History of Lancashire, ii. 187.] J. M-L.

ASHURST, WILLIAM HENRY (1792–1855), solicitor, was born in London 11 Feb. 1792. His father had led an aimless existence, under the impression—due to rumours about his infancy and his likeness to the eminent judge of the name—that he would be some day recognised as belonging to a distinguished family. William Henry's perception of his father's weakness stimulated his spirit of independence. After some education at a dame school he entered a solicitor's office, where his employer rewarded his industry by giving him his articles. He gained a good practice as a solicitor, though his marriage at the age of nineteen compelled him to increase his income by copying work at night and by writing for the press. He read much,

and for a time belonged to a small sect called 'Freethinking Christians.' He ceased to be a member of any sect, though he regarded his political principles as the logical outcome of the doctrine of human brotherhood. He was much influenced by the political writings of Paine and Franklin. He was an enthusiastic radical, spending both money and labour to advance the cause. His house was one of the first to announce upon its walls that it would pay no taxes till the Reform Bill (of 1832) was passed. He was an active member of the common council, and, as undersheriff for one year, witnessed an execution, which intensified his horror of capital punishment. In 1832 he published the 'Corporation Register,' advocating reforms in the city, and especially in the court of aldermen. He took an active part in the agitation against church rates. He refused to pay them himself. He published pamphlets in 1835, 1837, and 1839, denouncing the imprisonment of Mr. Childs at Bungay, supporting an agitation in Southwark, and attacking a petition for the imprisonment of John Thoroughgood, who had refused to pay at Chelmsford. He also conducted the well-known Braintree case to a successful result.

Ashurst supplied the funds and the labour of procuring the evidence in favour of Rowland Hill's scheme of postal reform when before the parliamentary committee. He was a warm supporter of co-operation, and for a time carried on the 'Spirit of the Age,' founded under Robert Owen's influence, till he disapproved of the spirit in which it was written. The friendship with Owen remained unbroken. Ashurst defended many men whom he believed to have been the victims of injustice or oppression, amongst others Mr. G. J. Holyoake on his imprisonment in 1842, who afterwards owed much to his friendship.

He was an outspoken advocate of the political and social equality of the sexes. He brought up his daughters in habits of independent thought and action. When asked why he had taken up the cause of women's rights, he would say that he had seen a girl tried for child-murder, who had been betrayed by a man, was convicted by men, sentenced by a man, and hanged by a man. 'It made me think.' The cause represented his strongest convictions.

The opening of Mazzini's letters in 1844 led to a friendship with Ashurst. In 1851 and 1852 Ashurst was a founder of the society of the 'Friends of Italy' and of the 'People's International League.' He cordially welcomed many of the refugees at that time. He was a warm admirer of American institutions and of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. He had long been a friend of Garrison, Lucretia Mott, and other abolitionists. He paid a visit to America, and saw Garrison in his home. His health suffered from the journey, and broke down completely on the death of his wife soon after. He died on 13 Oct. 1855.

[Private information.]

ASHWARDBY, JOHN (*fl.* 1392), a follower of Wycliffe, is described by Tanner (*Biblioth. Brit.-Hib.* p. 53), no doubt by an inference from his surname, as a Lincolnshire man. He became fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, 'master of theology,' and vicar of St. Mary's church. Attaching himself to Wycliffe's party, he appears to have been active in preaching, lecturing, and writing, as an opponent specially of the mendicant orders, and he engaged in controversy with the Carmelite, Richard Maydeston, a chaplain of John of Gaunt. In spite of this, however, he filled the office of 'commissary' or vice-chancellor of the university in 1392 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* p. 33).

[The sole authority for Ashwardby's biography, with the exception of the particular last mentioned, is Bishop Bale, in his Script. Illustr. Catal., cent. vi. 85, and in an autograph notice in one of the blank leaves of the Fasciculus Zizaniorum, MS. Bodl. e Mus. 86 f. 55, col. 1. The former contains a list of Ashwardby's writings, none of which are otherwise known.]

R. L. P.

ASHWELL, ARTHUR RAWSON (1824–1879), canon residentiary and principal of the Theological College, Chichester, was born at Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. In 1843 he entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1846 was elected foundation scholar of Caius College. In 1847 he graduated as fifteenth wrangler, and in 1848 he received holy orders, and became curate of Speldhurst, Kent. In the following year he returned to Cambridge as curate of St. Mary the Less, in order that he might study theology under the direction of the late Professor Blunt. In 1851 he was appointed vice-principal of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, and in 1853, partly through the instrumentality of Canon Butler of Wantage, he was appointed by Bishop Wilberforce principal of the newly-founded Oxford Diocesan Training College at Culham. Here he remained for several years, and, besides his work in the college, assisted the bishop in organising a system of diocesan inspection. In 1854 he married Miss Elizabeth Fixsen, of Blackheath, who survives him. In 1862 his health compelled him to retire to lighter work, and for two

years he was minister of Holy Trinity Church, Conduit Street, Hanover Square; but in 1865 he returned to his old occupation, accepting the principalship of the Training College, Durham. The fame of his success at Durham led Bishop Durnford, an entire stranger to him, to offer him in 1870 the principalship of the Theological College, Chichester, with a canonry attached, and he also held for a short time the rectory of St. Martin's (1871–5), and that of St. Andrew's (1872–5), in that city. Canon Ashwell was active in literature. In 1864 he became editor of the 'Literary Churchman,' which office he held for twelve years, when he became (1876) editor of the 'Church Quarterly Review,' and a little while before his death he also resumed the editorship of the 'Literary Churchman.' To both these periodicals he was a regular contributor. He was also a contributor to the third series of 'Tracts for the Christian Seasons;' and he wrote occasionally for the 'Quarterly Review' and the 'Monthly Packet.' He was also in great request as a preacher in his own cathedral and elsewhere. He was, moreover, a frequent reader and speaker at church congresses, and an effective conductor of mission services. It is no wonder that his constitution was impaired by this excessive work, and that he succumbed to an attack of congestion of the lungs, which prematurely cut short a most active and useful life on 23 Oct. 1879. A window and a lectern in Chichester Cathedral perpetuate his memory in a spot of which he had been a distinguished ornament.

Canon Ashwell achieved reputation as a writer, a preacher, and a teacher. Some of his periodical essays excited much attention. His articles upon Dr. Farrar's 'Life of Christ' in the second number of the 'Church Quarterly Review,' and upon the 'State of the Church' in the July number of the 'Quarterly Review,' 1874, excited much interest. His article on Samuel Wilberforce in the April number, 1874, of the same Review was the main cause of his being asked to write the bishop's life; and several of his educational articles attracted unusual attention. His longest consecutive work was the first volume of the 'Life of Bishop Wilberforce' (1880).

As a preacher Canon Ashwell was extremely acceptable, especially among the more thoughtful and educated congregations. His little volume of printed sermons, entitled 'God in Nature,' is full of striking and original ideas, expressed tersely and incisively, and evidently with a view to arrest or even force attention.

As a trainer, first of future schoolmasters, and then of future clergymen, Canon Ashwell made his influence deeply felt. His clear, epigrammatic style was the very style to command the attention of young men. He was a very strict disciplinarian, and the kindest of friends and counsellors to all pupils who sought his aid in confidence, as many of them have testified to the present writer. Canon Ashwell was a staunch and very definite English churchman. Besides the writings already mentioned, he published 'The Schoolmaster's Studies' (1860), 'The Argument against Evening Communions' (1875), 'Lectures on the Holy Catholic Church' (1876), and 'Septuagesima Lectures' (1877), all small works.

[Canon Ashwell's writings, passim; obituary notices in the Church Quarterly Review and Literary Churchman; information from the Rev. Prebendary Teulon, Rev. S. J. Eales, Rev. Canon Gregory, Rev. Canon Butler, Rev. Prebendary W. R. W. Stephens, and Miss C. M. Yonge.] J. H. O.

ASHWELL, GEORGE (1612–1695), Anglo-catholic controversialist, born in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate, 8 Nov. 1612, was the son of Robert Ashwell, of Harrow. He was a scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, 1627; graduated B.A. 4 Dec. 1632, M.A. 1635, and became fellow of his college. He was tutor in the family of Thomas Leigh, a nonconformist, but his own sympathies were of another sort. He was the friend of Heylin, who wrote, at his suggestion, on 'Parliament's Power in Laws for Religion,' which was published in 1645. He was made B.D. on 23 June 1646, and became chaplain to Sir Anthony Cope, lord of the manor of Hanwell, Oxfordshire. On the death of Dr. Robert Harris, 1658, he succeeded him in the rectory of Hanwell, where he died on 8 Feb. 1694–5. He published: 1. 'Fides Apostolica, or a Discourse asserting the received authors and authority of the Apostles' Creed . . . with a double appendix, the first touching the Athanasian, the second touching the Nicene Creed,' 1653 (this was attacked by Baxter, in his 'Reformed Pastor,' 1656, for which Baxter expresses regret in his 'Catholick Theologie,' 1675). 2. 'Gestus Eucharisticus, or a Discourse concerning the Gesture at the receiving of the Holy Eucharist,' 1663 (dedicated to his patron, Sir A. Cope). 3. 'De Socino et Socinianismo Dissertatio,' 1680 (suggested by the wide diffusion of English translations of Socinian books, and remarkable for its high tribute to the genius and character of Lelio and Fausto Sozzini). 4. 'De Ecclesia Romana Dissertatio,' 1688 (this and the foregoing were portions of a much larger work in manuscript, 'De Judice

Controversiarum et Catholicæ Veritatis Regula;' they were published at the suggestion of Dr. Gilbert Ironside, warden of Wadham). 5. 'The History of Hai Eb'n Yockdan, an Indian Prince, or the Self-taught Philosopher,' 1686, at the end of which is 'Theologia Ruris . . . or the book of Nature leading us by certain degrees to the knowledge and worship of the God of Nature.' The Yokdan fiction was translated by Ashwell from Edward Pococke's Latin version from the Arabic of Abú Bakr ibn Al-Tufail (Abú Jafar); it is remarkable as having supplied Robert Barclay (*Apology*, prop. v. vi. § xxvii.) with a proof of his doctrine of the Inner Light; the passage was withdrawn by the Society of Friends, 1779. Ashwell left behind him in manuscript, 'An Answer to [Hew Nevill's] Plato Redivivus.'

[Wood's Athenæ Ox. (Bliss), ii. 911–2; Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books.] A. G.

ASHWELL, JOHN (*d.* 1541?), prior of Newnham Abbey, in Bedfordshire, best known for his opposition to the principles of the Reformation, was a graduate of Cambridge University. In 1504 it is probable that Ashwell, who was then a bachelor of divinity, became rector of Mistley in Essex, and held in subsequent years the benefices of Littlebury and Halstead in the same county. In 1515 we know him to have been appointed chaplain to Lord Abergavenny's troops in France (Brewer's *Letters of Henry VIII*, ii. part i. 137), and six years later a prebendal stall in St. Paul's Cathedral was conferred upon him. He became prior of Newnham Abbey about 1527. In the same year he addressed a secret letter, written partly in Latin and partly in English, to John Longland, the Bishop of Lincoln, bitterly complaining of the heretical opinions held by George Joye, a bold advocate of Lutheranism, with whom he had lived on terms of great intimacy [see Joye, George]. The epistle unhappily fell into Joye's hands, and the reformer withdrew to Strasburg to escape the effects of the bishop's displeasure. There, however, he published Ashwell's letter, together with an elaborate reply to all the charges preferred against him. The pamphlet, of which very few copies are now extant, bears the title 'The Letter whyche Johan Ashwell, Priour of Newnham Abbey besydes Bedforde, sente secretly to the Byshope of Lyncolne in the yeare of our Lord MDXXVII. Where in the sayde Priour accuseth George Joye, that tyme beyng felow of Peter College in Cambridge of fower opinions; with the Answere of the sayde George unto the same opinions.' The colophon runs: 'At Strazburge 10 daye of June. Thys lytell boke be delyvered to Johan Ashwell at Newnham Abbey besyde Bedforde with spede.' One of the most singular passages in the book is Ashwell's earnest entreaty to the bishop 'that no creature maye know that I or any of mine do shew you of these thinges, for then I shal leusse the favor of many in my contree'—a passage clearly showing that the Reformation in England was eagerly expected by the prior's neighbours. A second edition of the pamphlet was published by Joye at Antwerp in 1531. Ashwell apparently somewhat modified his opinions with the times, and in 1534 he was among the first to take the oath of supremacy to Henry VIII as head of the church. But he appears to have resigned the post of prior of Newnham before 1539, when the monasteries were finally dissolved. His death took place shortly before 23 Aug 1541, when the prebendal stall in St. Paul's Cathedral, which he had held for twenty years, was declared vacant and filled up.

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantabrig. i. 59 and 530; Rymer's Fœdera, xiv. 507; Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ii. 386; Dugdale's Monasticon, ed. Caley and Ellis, vi. 373; Newcourt, Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense (1710), i. 149, ii. 299, 394; Brit. Museum Catal.; Retrospective Review (new series) ii. 96–102.] S. L. L.

ASHWOOD, BARTHOLOMEW (1622–1680), puritan divine, was 'a Warwickshire man,' son of a clergyman of the same name (who matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1591, also as a Warwickshire man, aged 13, and proceeded M.A. in 1601). He became a batter or commoner of St. Alban's Hall in the latter end of 1638, aged 16 years, and so was born 1621–2. But Anthony à Wood informs us: 'Having been puritanically educated, he was translated, after some continuance in the said hall, to Exeter College, and there put under a tutor puritanically then esteem'd, and took one degree in arts as a member of that college, and was soon beneficed and became a man of the times.' His 'benefice' was Bickleigh, Devonshire, and he is enrolled by Walker as one of the 'loyalist sufferers' (p. 182) of that parish. Walker assumes that he 'died under the usurpation,' i.e. the Commonwealth. But he lived to form one of the 'two thousand' by being 'ejected' in 1662 from Axminster in Devonshire. He continued to preach for many years, in spite of the severe restrictions imposed on nonconformists In his old age he seems to have been left in sore straits, and died 'about 1680.' His three books are: (1) 'The Heavenly Trade, or the Best Mer-

chandizing, the only way to live well in impoverishing Times, a Discourse occasion'd from the Decay of earthly Trades and visible Wasts of practical Piety in the Days we live in, offering Arguments and Counsells to all, towards a speedy Revival of dying Godliness,' &c. (1679); (2) 'The Best Treasure, or the Way to be truly Rich, being a Discourse on Ephesians iii. 8, wherein is opened and commended to Saints and Sinners the personal and purchased Riches of Christ as the best Treasure to be possessed' (1681); and (3) 'Groans for Sin' (1681). Rarely to be met with now, they prove him to have been a thinker of considerable originality, not without touches of graceful imaginativeness. Dr. John Owen wrote an admirable preface to the 'Best Treasure.'

[Calamy and Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. (1802), ii. 3; Reynolds's Life of John Ashwood; Walker's Sufferings; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), iii. 1272–3.] A. B. G.

ASHWOOD, JOHN (1657–1706), nonconformist minister, was born at Axminster in 1657, and was the son of Bartholomew Ashwood [q.v.]. In his youth he was extremely delicate. He was educated by his father, and admitted 'as a member of his father's church.' Soon after he was sent to London, where he was received into the family of the learned Theophilus Gale, who acted as his instructor. Before he began to preach he taught a school at Axminster, and afterwards at Chard. Being driven from the latter as a conscience-ruled nonconformist by high-church intolerance, he determined along with some friends to emigrate to Carolina in January 1683, but was prevented by a sudden attack of smallpox. He then appears to have resided successively at Ilminster, Haveland, and Buckland, until he received a 'call' to Exeter, where, his biographer tells us, he was 'a vigilant and faithful minister for about the space of ten years.' He subsequently returned to London. For about two years he was evening lecturer at Spitalfields, and morning preacher at Hoxton, when he received a 'call' from a congregation at Peckham, Surrey. He died there on 22 Sept. 1706. His 'Life' was for long a favourite fireside companion among devout nonconformists, circulating as a chap-book, viz. 'Some Account of the Life, Character, and Death of the Rev. Mr. John Ashwood,' by Thomas Reynolds (1707). Added to the 'Account' are two very admirable sermons 'preached a little before he died.'

[Authorities given under Bartholomew Ashwood; Reynolds's Account of Life.] A. B. G.

ASHWORTH, CALEB, D.D. (1722–1775), dissenting tutor, was born at Clough-Fold, Rossendale, Lancashire, in 1722. The date rests on Palmer's statement that he was 'but fifty-three years of age' at death, and on the monumental inscription given in Baker's 'Northamptonshire' (i. 332). His father, Richard Ashworth, who died in 1751, aged eighty-four, was a lay preacher among the Particular Baptists; he had three sons —Thomas, Particular Baptist minister at Heckmondwike; Caleb; and John, General Baptist minister, colleague of Dr. James Foster (Pope's 'modest Foster'), who preached his funeral sermon in 1742. Caleb was originally a carpenter; he probably was not in sympathy with his father's views, and thus did not at first turn to the ministry. He was afterwards educated for the independent ministry, under Doddridge, at Northampton, where he first took up his quarters in 1739; and settled at Daventry in 1746, originally as assistant to James Floyd. Under Doddridge's will the management of the academy was left to Ashworth, and, as the Northampton congregation did not elect him their minister, he removed it to Daventry in 1752. He obtained the degree of D.D. from Scotland in 1759. He had married a Miss Hemings, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. His son John entered Daventry academy in 1760, but became a grazier. Ashworth died on 18 July 1775. Under him Daventry academy became a chief seat of culture among the liberal independents and presbyterians, who at that time were closely fused, and partook of the same type of theology and church polity. A list of his students may be found in 'Monthly Repository,' 1822. His most distinguished scholar was Priestley, who says that Ashworth took 'the orthodox side of every question' in theology and philosophy, the sub-tutor, Samuel Clark, 'that of heresy.' Doddridge's plan of referring to authors on all sides of every question, and requiring his students to give an account of them, was faithfully pursued by his successors, with the result of much independence of judgment. A pupil (Rev. T. Thomas, in *Month. Rep.*, 1814, p. 79) says: 'Under Dr. Doddridge there was a more popular exterior; under Dr. Ashworth a more disciplined interior.' The defect of the academy was the neglect of languages [see Alexander, John, 1736–1765], biblical criticism, and ecclesiastical history; its staple was dogmatics and philosophy, including psychology (then called pneumatology), ethics, and physics. Ashworth published for his academy a Hebrew Grammar, and a treatise on 'Plane Trigo-

nometry;' for his congregation, a book of 'Tunes;' and Funeral Sermons for Dr. Isaac Watts 1749, Rev. James Floyd 1759, and Rev. S. Clark, his coadjutor, 1770.

[Funeral Sermon, by Rev. Samuel Palmer, 1775; Monthly Repository, 1813, 1822; Priestley's Autobiography, incorporated in Rutt's Memoirs and Correspondence of Priestley, 1831.] A. G.

ASHWORTH, Sir CHARLES (*d.* 1832), major-general, was appointed ensign in the 68th foot in 1798; lieutenant in 1799; captain 55th foot in 1801; major 6th West India regiment in 1808; major 62nd foot in 1808; a lieutenant-colonel with the Portuguese army in 1810; and served as brigadier-general at the battles of Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, and St. Pierre, where he was badly wounded. He took part in the combat of Buenza and succeeding engagements, for which he was honoured with a cross, and allowed, 14 Nov. 1814, to accept the order of the Tower and Sword from the Prince Regent of Portugal. He attained the rank of colonel in 1814, and major-general in 1825; was nominated a companion of the Bath in 1815; a knight commander on the occasion of the coronation of William IV in September 1831; and died at Hall Place, St. John's Wood, on 13 Aug. 1832.

[Gentleman's Mag. vol. cii. part ii. p. 187; Napier's History of the Peninsular War, book xxiii. vol. vi. p. 396.] A. S. B.

ASHWORTH, HENRY (1785–1811), lieutenant in the navy, was born in London, December 1785. In November 1799 he entered on board the 38-gun frigate Hussar, under the immediate patronage of the first lieutenant, and four years later was serving as midshipman on board the same ship when she was lost on the Saintes, near Brest, on 8 Feb. 1804. Whilst prisoner of war, Mr. Ashworth made several remarkable attempts to recover his freedom; and at last, having escaped from Bitche in December 1808, he succeeded in passing through Germany to Trieste, where he got on board the English frigate L'Unité. In the October following he was promoted to be a lieutenant, and was serving in that rank in the Centaur of 74 guns, on the coast of Spain, when the French took Tarragona, on 28 June 1811, and drove a number of the panic-stricken inhabitants, literally, into the sea. Lieutenant Ashworth had command of one of the boats sent to rescue these drowning wretches, and, whilst so employed, received a wound, of which he died a month later, at Minorca, 25 July 1811.

[His very curious evasions and adventures as a midshipman in company with a master's mate named O'Brien, are recounted at very full length in the Naval Chronicle, vols. xxviii.–xxxi., and xxxiii., and must be considered as, to a great extent, the original of the well-known episode in 'Peter Simple.'] J. K. L.

ASHWORTH, HENRY (1794–1880), friend of Cobden and vigorous supporter of the Anti-Corn Law League, was born at Birtwistle, near Bolton, Lancashire, on 4 Sept. 1794, and coming of quaker parentage was in due course sent to Ackworth school. After leaving that famous academy of the Friends he, in partnership with his brother Edmund, managed their extensive mills at Turton, where they distinguished themselves by their careful provision for the well-being of those whom they employed, and for whose benefit they established excellent schools, library, and reading room. Ashworth was a staunch nonconformist, and resolutely refused to pay church rates. He was a founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, and was one of its warmest supporters both by money and personal influence and exertion. He had made Cobden's acquaintance in 1837, and was ever after his firm friend. In 1840 he was one of a deputation that waited upon Lord Melbourne to urge the repeal of the corn laws. 'You know,' said the premier, 'that to be impracticable.' Sir Robert Peel was equally unpleasant. In answer to Mr. Ashworth's plea that the import of food should not be restricted in order to uphold rents, Sir James Graham called out, 'Why, you are a leveller!' and asked whether he was to infer that the labouring classes had some claim to the landlords' estates. The prosperous manufacturer was naturally somewhat startled at this unexpected phrase, and protested against its injustice. In dismissing the deputation Sir James told them that if the corn laws were repealed great disasters would fall upon the country, the land would go out of cultivation, church and state could not be upheld, the national institutions would be reduced to their elements, and the houses of the leaguers would be pulled about their ears by the people they were trying to excite. In 1843, in company with Bright and Cobden, he visited Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and East Lothian, to obtain information as to the position of agriculture, and they were sometimes mentioned as the A B C of the league gone to study farming. Mr. John Bright, speaking at the opening banquet at the Manchester Town Hall in 1877, described a visit in company with Ashworth and others to the ruins of Tantallon Castle: 'As we walked amongst those

ruins, my friend Mr. Henry Ashworth said, with a look of sadness almost, "How long will it be before our great warehouses and factories in Lancashire are as complete a ruin as this castle?" I have thought of that scores of times since, and I thought of it then with sadness, as I think of it now. One thing is certain: if ever they come to ruin they will never be so picturesque a ruin as is the ruin of Tantallon Castle.' At the great meeting held in Manchester 23 Dec. 1845, Ashworth proposed that 250,000*l.* should be raised for the purpose of the agitation. Their strenuous and zealous efforts were crowned with success, the corn laws were repealed, and the final meeting of the league was held in the Manchester Town Hall on 2 July 1846. Ashworth gave valued assistance to Cobden in the negotiation of the French treaty. His most important work is 'Recollections of Richard Cobden and the Anti-Corn Law League' (two editions, London 1876 and 1881), which is full of important historical and biographical matter. Ashworth defended Cobden at the great indignation meeting held in Manchester after the lamentable incident in the House of Commons, when Peel, who was harassed, unwell, and suffering from the depression brought on by the murder of Thomas Drummond, charged the leader of the league with connivance at assassination. The accusation was eagerly repeated by excited partisans.

Ashworth's action in connection with the Anti-Corn Law League is that by which he will be remembered, but during a long life he was a steady advocate of peace, retrenchment, and reform. In addition to the work named he wrote: 1. 'Statistical Illustrations of Lancaster,' 1842. 2. 'A Tour in the United States and Canada,' 1861. 3. An account of the 'Preston Strike' of 1853, and some pamphlets. He was a member of the Society of Friends, but had a most unquakerly passion for the gun, which he used with great dexterity on the moors. His hardy frame and careful life gave him unusual advantages, so that at eighty he was as sure in his aim as at twenty. He made several continental tours, and in February 1880 left his house, The Oaks, Turton, to winter in Italy, as he had usually done for some years. Whilst travelling from Rome he caught a chill, and at Florence was laid up with Roman fever, and, after about two weeks' illness, he died at Florence, 17 May 1880.

[Ashworth's Recollections of Cobden, with a portrait of the author; Prentice's History of the League; Morley's Life of Cobden; Manchester Guardian, 19 May 1880; Times, 20 May 1880; Academy, 1880, i. 401.] W. E. A. A.

ASHWORTH, JOHN (1813–1875), preacher, manufacturer, and author, was born on 8 July 1813 at the hamlet of Cutgate near Rochdale, and was the eighth child of his parents, who were poor woollen weavers. He has himself told the story of his mother manufacturing a 'bishop' (pinafore) for him out of a pack-sheet, from which all her exertions could not wash away the indelible word 'Wool,' which therefore formed his breastplate. The poverty of the family was further embittered by the intemperance of the father, who, however, reformed later in life. John Ashworth had no more education than could be gleaned at a Sunday school, and he married before he was twenty. The union, however imprudent, was a happy one, but he and his first wife had years of struggle with poverty and care. His position somewhat improved, and in 1851, when visiting the Great Exhibition, he formed the resolution of founding a chapel for the destitute in Rochdale, but the proposal was so much discouraged by his friends that he abandoned it for a time, and did not put it into execution until 1858. As minister of this chapel he was brought into close contact with the poorest people of a great factory town. He was a vigorous preacher of the orthodox type, and understanding the people's way of life, and speaking a language which they understood, he gathered a great congregation. He was a liberal in politics, a staunch teetotaller, and an uncompromising advocate for the Maine Law and the observance of the Sunday after a rigid puritanical fashion. He visited the United States and the Holy Land, and for many years had a busy life as preacher, manufacturer, lecturer, and author. He wrote 'Walks in Canaan' and 'Back from Canaan,' and had begun an account of his 'Rambles in the New World' when death overtook him; but his chief work was 'Strange Tales,' followed after a time by a similar gathering of 'Simple Records.' These were printed as separate tracts, and have had a circulation that is to be counted by millions. Some have been translated into Welsh, French, Dutch, Russian, and Spanish. Yet the publisher to whom the first one was offered only undertook to print it on being guaranteed from any risk. These narratives have no literary polish, but are good examples of plain straightforward narrative, and are interesting for the glimpses they give of the life of the poor of the manufacturing districts. They mostly relate incidents that had come to his knowledge during his work amongst the poor. The accuracy of one was challenged, but for most of them sufficient vouchers could be adduced. Ashworth's intimate knowledge of the class

he describes gives his 'Strange Tales' a value to which most 'religious tracts' have no claim. Ashworth died on 26 Jan. 1875, and was followed to his grave in the Rochdale cemetery by a processsion of those amongst whom he had laboured.

[Ashworth's own writings; Calman's Life and Labours of John Ashworth, 2nd edit. (Manchester, 1875).] W. E. A. A.

ASKE, ROBERT (*d.* 1537), leader of the insurrection called the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' was of an old Yorkshire family, which took its name from Aske, in Richmondshire, though the branch to which he belonged had been long settled at Aughton, in the East Riding (WHITAKER'S *Richmondshire*, i. 117). Of his personal history nothing is known apart from that movement, except that he was an attorney and fellow of Gray's Inn. It appears, by papers in the Record Office, that he had at least two brothers, John and Christopher, who were to some extent compromised by his proceedings. The rebellion which brought him into so much notoriety began in Lincolnshire in October 1536. In the beginning of that year parliament had passed an act for the suppression of those monasteries whose revenues fell below 200*l.* a year. Some months later a book had been published by authority affecting the received doctrine of the Sacraments, and injunctions had been issued for the abrogation of a number of old holidays. These things touched at once the faith, the privileges, and the social life of the people generally; while another statute, called the Statute of Uses, bore hard upon the gentry, and the increase of taxation was an additional subject of complaint. The first outbreak was at Louth, in Lincolnshire, where the commissioners for the subsidy had arranged to sit in the beginning of October. Here the leaders were Dr. Mackerel, prior of Barlings, and one who called himself Captain Cobbler. The number who followed them was reckoned at twenty thousand. But the Earl of Shrewsbury caused them to disperse, exhibiting an answer to their complaints from the king, showing that none of the things objected to had been done without the sanction of parliament.

The Lincolnshire rising, however, had scarcely been quelled when another, and a far more serious one, broke out in Yorkshire, and here Aske took the lead. The malcontents displayed banners with a picture of Christ upon the cross, and on the other side of a chalice and wafer. They took prisoners Lord Darcy and the Archbishop of York, and compelled them (not unwillingly, as it was generally believed) to swear fidelity to the common cause. Even a herald sent to them in the king's name was compelled to kneel before Aske at Pomfret, who forbade him to read the proclamation with which he was charged, and said that he himself and his company would go up to London and have all the vile blood removed out of the king's council. The whole north of England seemed to be as one man in this matter, and the lords sent by the king to put down the rebellion would fain have temporised. But no terms could be arranged, and a day of battle was agreed upon, which was to be 27 October, the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude. The result, had it taken place, might probably have been a slaughter not inferior to that of the bloody field of Towton. But a rain which fell the night before swelled all the rivers, and made the tiniest streams impassable, so that the armies could not approach each other. Meanwhile the king had been prevailed on, as a matter of prudence, to send a conciliatory message, promising pardon and a hearing for all grievances, which, when announced, had the best effect. The rebels at once disbanded and returned to their homes.

At Christmas general pardons were sent down into the north, according to the king's promise; and Aske came up to London, being expressly invited by the king to declare to him personally the causes of complaint. He was received by Henry with marked attention and courtesy, and on his return into the north took with him assurances calculated to pacify the minds of the community. The king promised that he himself would shortly visit the country, cause a parliament to be held at York, and bring his queen, Jane Seymour, thither to be crowned. These pledges were not more than sufficient; for a new insurrection in the east of Yorkshire had broken out in January under Sir Francis Bigod, which Aske and Lord Conyers contrived to set at rest. Aske received the king's thanks for his conduct in this matter, and it might have appeared that he had fairly won his pardon. But the country was still in an anxious and unsettled state; and whether or no Aske himself had done anything once more to forfeit the king's favour, he was in May a prisoner in the Tower of London. He was arraigned at Westminster before a special commission, along with a number of others who had joined in the rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. More than a month elapsed before the sentence was carried out, and the king determined that the leading rebels should suffer in the districts where they had

raised commotions. On 28 June, accordingly, Lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, and Aske were carried on horseback from the Tower into the north. Hussy was beheaded at Lincoln, Constable was hanged in chains at Hull, and Aske suffered the like fate within the city of York.

On a tower of the church of Aughton, in the East Riding, is a rather ambiguous inscription below a shield: 'Christofer le second filz de Robert Ask ch'r oblier ne doy A° D'i 1536.' This, as Pegge remarks, might be translated, 'I, Christopher, the second son of Robert Ask, knight, ought not to forget the year of our Lord 1536.' But it may be, as he also suggests, that the tower itself is supposed to speak: 'I ought not to forget Christopher,' and that 1536 is to be read merely as the date of the inscription (Allen's *County of York*, ii. 231). Under any circumstances it is a very striking memorial of that terrible year. This Christopher may have been the brother, and Sir Robert Ask the father, of the insurgent. They were certainly near relations.

[Hall's Chronicle; Wriothesley's Chronicle; State Papers; Unpublished Papers in the Record Office.] J. G.

ASKEW, ANNE (1521–1546), protestant martyr, was the second daughter of Sir William Askew, or Ayscough, knight, who is generally stated to be of Kelsey in Lincolnshire. But according to family and local tradition she was born at Stallingborough, near Grimsby, where the site of her father's house is still pointed out. The Askews were an old Lincolnshire family, and the consciousness of this fact may have had something to do with the formation of Anne's character. She was highly educated and much devoted to biblical study. When she stayed at Lincoln she was seen daily in the cathedral reading the Bible, and engaging the clergy in discussions on the meaning of particular texts. According to her own account she was superior to them all in argument, and those who wished to answer her commonly retired without a word.

At a time when she was probably still a girl a marriage was arranged by her parents for her elder sister, who was to be the wife of one Thomas Kyme of Kelsey. It was one of those feudal bargains which were of constant occurrence in the domestic life of those days. But the intended bride died before it was fulfilled, and her father, 'to save the money,' as we are expressly told, caused Anne to supply her place against her own will. She accordingly married Kyme, and had two children by him. But having, as it is said, offended the priests, her husband put her out of his house, on which she, for her part, was glad to leave him, and was supposed to have sought a divorce. Whether it was with this view that she came to London does not appear; but in March 1545 she underwent some examinations for heresy, of which she herself has left us an account, first at Sadler's Hall by one Christopher Dare, then before the lord mayor of London, who committed her to the Counter, and afterwards before Bishop Bonner and a number of other divines. It is unfortunate that we have no other record of these proceedings than her own, which though honest was undoubtedly one-sided, and is not likely to have been improved in the direction of impartiality by having been first edited by John Bale, afterwards bishop of Ossory, during his exile in Germany.

The subject on which she lay under suspicion of heresy was the sacrament. The severe Act of the Six Articles, passed some years before, had produced such a crop of ecclesiastical prosecutions that parliament had been already obliged to restrict its operation by another statute, and Henry VIII himself at the end of this very year thought it well to deliver an exhortation to parliament on the subject of christian charity. In such a state of matters Anne Askew had little chance of mercy. It is, however, tolerably clear, notwithstanding the gloss which Bale, and Fox after him, endeavoured to put upon it, that one man who sincerely tried to befriend her was the much-abused Bishop Bonner. He did his utmost to conquer her distrust and get her to talk with him familiarly, promising that no advantage should be taken of unwary words; and he actually succeeded in extracting from her a perfectly orthodox confession (according to the standard then acknowledged), with which he sought to protect her from further molestation. But when it was read over to her, and she was asked to sign, although she had acknowledged every word of it before, instead of her simple signature she added, 'I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic Church, and not otherwise.' The bishop was quite disconcerted. In Anne's own words, 'he flung into his chamber in a great fury.' He had told her that she might thank others, and not herself, for the favour he had shown her, as she was so well connected. Now she seemed anxious to undo all his efforts on her behalf. Dr. Weston, however (afterwards Queen Mary's dean of Westminster), contrived at this point to save her from her own indiscretion, representing to the bishop that

she had not taken sufficient notice of the reference actually made to the church in the written form of the confession, and thought she was supplying an omission. The bishop was accordingly persuaded to come out again, and after some further explanations Anne was at length liberated upon sureties for her forthcoming whenever she should be further called in question. She had still to appear before the lord mayor, and did so on 13 June following, when she and two other persons, one being of her own sex, were arraigned under the act as sacramentaries; but no witnesses appeared against her or either of the others, except one against the man, and they were all three acquitted and set at liberty.

The accusers of Anne had for the time been put to silence, but unfortunately within a year new grounds of complaint were urged, and she was examined a second time before the council at Greenwich. Her opinions meanwhile seem to have been growing more decidedly heretical, and her old assurance in the face of learned disputants was stronger than ever. She was first asked some questions about her husband, and refused to reply except before the king himself. She was then asked her opinion of the sacrament, and, being admonished to speak directly to the point, said she would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Bishop Gardiner told her she spoke in parables. She replied that it was best for him, for if she showed him the open truth he would not accept it. He then told her that she was a parrot, and she declared herself ready to suffer not only rebuke but everything else at his hands. She had an answer ready for each of the council that examined her. Indeed, she sometimes seemed to be examining them, for she asked the lord chancellor himself how long he would halt on both sides.

Nevertheless, she was more closely questioned this time than she had been the year before. She was five hours before the council at Greenwich, and was examined again on the following day, being meantime conveyed to Lady Garnish. On the following Sunday she was very ill and desired to speak with Latimer, but was not allowed. Yet in the extremity of her illness she was sent to Newgate in such pain as she had never suffered in her life. But worse awaited her. On Tuesday following she was conveyed from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Sir Richard Rich endeavoured to persuade her to abandon her heresy. Dr. Shaxton, also, late bishop of Salisbury, urged her to make a recantation, as he had just lately done himself, but all to no purpose. Rich accordingly sent her to the Tower, where a new set of inquiries were addressed to her, for it seems some members of the council suspected that she received secret encouragement from persons of great influence. She denied, however, that she knew any man or woman of her sect, and explained that during her last year's imprisonment in the Counter she had been maintained by the efforts of her maid, who 'made moan' for her to the prentices in the street, and collected money from them. She did not know the name of any one who had given her money, but acknowledged that a man in a blue coat had given her ten shillings, and said it was from my lady Hertford. More than this even the rack could not get from her, which by her own statement afterwards (if we may trust a narrative which could scarcely in such a case have been actually penned by herself) was applied by Lord Chancellor Wriothesley himself and Sir Richard Rich, turning the screws with their own hands. Yet even after being released from this torture she 'sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor,' but could not be induced to change her opinion.

So far we have followed the account given as that of the sufferer herself. But it should be noticed that on 18 June 1546 she was arraigned for heresy at the Guildhall along with Dr. Shaxton and two others, all of whom confessed the indictment, and were sentenced to the fire. Dr. Shaxton and one of the others recanted next day, and it was either that day or a few days later that Anne Askew was racked in the Tower. On 16 July she and three others guilty of the same heresy were brought to the stake in Smithfield, she being so weak from the torture she had already undergone that she had to be carried in a chair. She was tied to the stake by a chain round the waist which supported her body. On a bench under St. Bartholomew's Church sat Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, the lord mayor, and others, to witness the shameful tragedy; and, to complete the matter, Dr. Shaxton, who had so recently recanted the same heresy, was appointed to preach to the victims. Anne still preserved her marvellous self-possession, and made passing comments on the preacher's words, confirming them where she agreed with him, and at other times saying 'There he misseth and speaketh without the book.' After the sermon the martyrs began to pray. The titled spectators on the bench were more discomposed, knowing that there was some gunpowder near the faggots, which they feared might send them flying about their

ears. But the Earl of Bedford reassured them. The gunpowder was not under the faggots, but laid about the bodies of the victims to rid them the sooner of their pain. Finally Lord Chancellor Wriothesley sent Anne Askew letters with an assurance of the king's pardon if she would even now recant. She refused to look at them, saying she came not thither to deny her Master. A like refusal was made by the other sufferers. The lord mayor then cried out 'Fiat justitia!' and ordered the fire to be laid to the faggots. Soon afterwards all was over. Anne is said by Bale to have been twenty-five years old when she suffered. She must therefore have been born in the year 1521.

There cannot be a doubt that the memory of this woman's sufferings and of her extraordinary fortitude and heroism added strength to the protestant reaction under Edward VI. The account of her martyrdom published by Bale in Germany, Strype tells us, was publicly exposed to sale at Winchester in 1549, in reproach of Bishop Gardiner, who was believed (whether justly or not is another question) to have been a great cause of her death. 'Four of these books,' says Strype (*Memorials of Cranmer*, 294), 'came to that bishop's own eyes, being then at Winchester; they had leaves put in as additions to the book, some glued and some unglued, which probably contained some further intelligences that the author had gathered since his first writing of the book. And herein some reflections were made freely, according to Bale's talent, upon some of the court, not sparing Paget himself, though then secretary of state.' We ought certainly to make some allowance for bias in testimony that could be manipulated after such a fashion, but we need not be sparing in sympathy for the devoted sufferer.

[Bale's two tracts, viz. 'The First Examinacyon of Anne Askewe,' and 'The Lattre Examinacyon,' both printed at Marburg in Hesse, the former in November 1546, the second in January 1547. The contents of the second, Bale says, he 'received in copy by certain Dutch merchants coming from thence,' who had been present at her execution. Bale's Scriptores; Foxe's Acts and Monuments; Strype's Eccl. Memorials, I. i. 598; Wriothesley's Chronicle (Camden Soc.).] J. G.

ASKEW, ANTHONY, M.D. (1722–1772), was born at Kendal, Westmoreland, and was the son of Dr. Adam Askew, a well-known physician of Newcastle. Anthony Askew went from Sedbergh school to the grammar school at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and thence to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of M.B. in 1745. 'He told me,' says Dr. Parr, 'that he received part of his education from Richard Dawes of Newcastle, and described the terror which he felt at seeing a schoolmaster whose name was a *μορμολύκειον* in the North of England.' In those days the birch was allowed, and the father of Anthony is said to have stipulated with Dawes that his son should be only liable to strictly limited castigation.

Being intended for the medical profession, Askew studied for one year at Leyden. Alexander Carlyle, who met him there, says that he had come to collate manuscripts of Æschylus, and describes him as having some drollery, but little sense (*Autobiography*, p. 174). He then visited Hungary, Athens, Constantinople, Italy, and other countries. By the purchase at home and abroad of a great number of valuable books and manuscripts he laid the foundation of the extensive library, the Bibliotheca Askeviana. He commenced practice at Cambridge in 1750, in which year he took his degree of M.D., and afterwards established himself in London. He had a good practice, and was physician to St. Bartholomew's and to Christ's Hospitals, and Registrar of the College of Physicians. He was married twice, the second time to Elizabeth Halford, 'a woman,' says Dr. Parr, 'of celestial beauty and celestial virtue,' by whom he left twelve children. He died at Hampstead, 27 Feb. 1772.

He is far better known as a classical scholar than as a physician. He helped to develope the taste for curious manuscripts, scarce editions, and fine copies. Of the classical attainments of Askew Dr. Parr, his friend, speaks in high praise.

Askew appears to have contemplated a new edition of Æschylus, for a complete collection of the various published editions of this author was found in his library, some copies of which were enriched with manuscript notes by himself. In 1746, while a medical student at Leyden, he put forth a specimen of this intended edition, in a small quarto pamphlet, 'Novæ Editionis Tragœdiarum Æschyli specimen, curante Antonio Askew, 1746.' This was dedicated to Dr. Mead. It contained only twenty-nine lines of the 'Eumenides' (563–591, Schütz ed.), accompanied with variæ lectiones. In Butler's edition of Æschylus most of Askew's collections were made use of, and a volume in his handwriting, which contained a collation of five codices, is referred to as Askew's. Bishop Blomfield discovered the volume to be a transcript from one in the handwriting of Peter Needham, and takes notice of the fact in the prefaces to his editions of the 'Prometheus' and the

'Seven against Thebes' in terms little complimentary to the learning or honesty of Askew. Askew's house was crowded with books up to the garrets. The collection was chiefly classical, and it was its possessor's aim to have every edition of a Greek author. The sale of his library lasted twenty days in the year 1775, and produced 3,993*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* The principal purchasers were Dr. Hunter, Mr. Cracherode, the British Museum, and the kings of England and of France. The sale of Askew's manuscripts did not take place till 1785. Among the lots were the manuscripts of Mead and Taylor. An appendix to Scapula's Lexicon, edited by Dr. Chas. Burney in 1789, is described as taken 'è codice manuscripto olim Askeviano.' A verbal index to Aristophanes, by John Caravella, an Epirote, published at Oxford in 1822, is one of a series formerly in Askew's library. John Caravella was Dr. Askew's librarian.

Askew's regard for Mead was great; he engaged Roubiliac to execute his friend's bust in marble. Like Mead, he received many visitors, among them Archbishop Markham, Sir William Jones, Dr. Farmer, Dr. Samuel Parr, and Demosthenes Taylor. With the last he was very intimate, and subsequently became his executor. As Askew had travelled in the East, he was conjectured to be learned in all the oriental tongues, and in accordance with this remarkable hypothesis a Chinese, named Chetqua, was on one occasion brought to him. It is said that Askew made himself very agreeable to Chetqua, but Chetqua did not understand him, nor did he understand Chetqua. The Chinaman was, however, sufficiently grateful to Askew to make a model of him in his robes in unbaked potter's clay, coloured, about a foot high. This model may be seen in the College of Physicians, to which it was given by Sir Lucas Pepys, who married Askew's daughter. In the same college is the gold-headed cane which Radcliffe gave to Mead, Mead to Askew, and which, after passing through the hands of Pitcairn and Baillie, was finally placed by Joanna Baillie in its present domicile. He is the author of a manuscript volume of Greek inscriptions, now preserved among the Burney MSS. in the British Museum. An engraved portrait of Askew is given in the 2nd volume of Dibdin's enlarged edition of Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities.'

[Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Brit. Mus. Catal.; Nichols's Lit. Anec. 3, 494; Dibdin, Bibliom. p. 515; Hirschung, Hist.-Lit. Handb. i. 65; Canrab. Grad. p. 12.] J. M.

ASKEW, EGEON (*b.* 1576), divine, was a native of Lancashire. His family was originally of Mulcaster, in Cumberland, and subsequently of Kirby Ireleth, in North Lancashire, at which latter place one Thomas Askew, M.A., was instituted vicar in 1606. At the age of seventeen Egeon Askew became a student of the university of Oxford; he was B.A. April 1597, chaplain of Queen's College 1598, and M.A. June 1600. About the time of the accession of James I, having the reputation of a noted preacher, he was minister of Greenwich, Kent. He was the author of one book only, which was entered by George Bishop on the registers of Stationers' Hall 27 March 1605, said to be by Egeon *Acton* Askew, of Queen's College. This work is made up of college sermons, and is somewhat scarce. When Dr. Bliss edited Wood, there was no copy in the Bodleian Library; and the copy which Wood saw is wrongly described, being made into two books, after his manner. It was entitled 'Brotherly Reconcilement; preached in Oxford for the vnion of some, and now published with larger meditations for the vnitie of all in this church and common-wealth. With an apologie of the use of the Fathers and secular learning in sermons.' Lond. 4to, 1605. The dedication to King James is dated from Greenwich, 27 April that year. The book shows traces of very wide reading, the margins being filled with references to ancient authorities. Hence Wood described him as 'a person as well read in the fathers, commentators, and schoolmen, as any man of his age in the university.' The second portion of the book is in strict keeping with the style of composition in which he indulged; it is a discussion 'whether Humanitie, i.e. anything beside the words of scripture, be lawful *quoad esse* or *quoad gradum* at all, as some deny, or only against adversaries, as some hold, in sermons academical or popular.' It is not known when or where Askew died. Evelyn assured Wood that he did not die at Greenwich.

[Wood's Athen. Oxon. (Bliss), i. 756; Fasti, i. 274, 285.] J. E. B.

ASPINALL, JAMES (*d.* 1861), miscellaneous writer and popular preacher, had first under his care a church in Cheshire, about fifteen miles from Manchester. He then became curate of Rochdale, where he remained for five years. He afterwards resided at Liverpool, and in 1831 was the incumbent of St. Luke's, where he preached a remarkable sermon called 'The Crisis, or the Signs of the Times with regard to the Church of England.' He then went to live in Lincolnshire, on the banks of the Trent, and in 1844 he was rector of Althorpe, a place which he held till his death. On 26 Jan. of that year he

delivered an address at the great free-trade meeting, held at Hull, at which Bright and Cobden both spoke. In 1853, after the celebrated Roscoe centenary at Liverpool, he published 'Roscoe's Library, or Old Books and Old Times,' dedicated to the Earl of Carlisle, 'the representative of the intelligence of the aristocracy and of the aristocracy of intelligence.' In this little work he holds up Roscoe as an example to the youth of the Mechanics' and Literary Institutes throughout the country, in whom he felt a profound interest. Aspinall had great sympathy with the free-trade party, and generally with the educational movements of his time. This is perhaps due in a great measure to the acquaintance he made with the working-class operatives at Rochdale at the commencement of his clerical career. He was domestic chaplain for a period of over thirty years to the Right Hon. Lord Clonbrock. On 17 Jan. 1861, when J.P. for Lindsey, he married, at West Butterwick, Annie, widow of W. Hunter, Esq., of the Ings, E. Butterwick. On 15 Feb. of the same year he died. His works, besides those already mentioned, consist of various sermons, parish, doctrinal, and practical.

[C. W. Sutton's Lancashire Authors, p. 5; The Hull Rockingham, 27 Jan. 1844; Catal. Brit. Mus.; Gent. Mag., third series, vol. x. pp. 202, 467.] J. M.

ASPINWALL, EDWARD, D.D. (*d.* 1732), a polemical divine, received his education at Cambridge, and was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Radnor. Afterwards he became sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, and in 1729 was instituted prebendary of Westminster. He is the author of a 'Preservative against Popery,' 1715, and an 'Apology, being a series of Arguments in Proof of the Christian Religion,' 1731. The 'Apology' is prefaced by an address 'To all Impartial Freethinkers,' in which the author states: 'I have made it my sincere and labour'd concern to divest myself of every bias or influence that interest or blind passion might bring upon me, to the end that my mind, being (I think) perfectly disingag'd from all partial and unworthy motives, might remain absolutely free to determine itself by solid reason in the choice of reveal'd religion.' The arguments are clearly put, and the language is in the main temperate. But while he is willing to tolerate free discussion in religious matters, the author protests against his opponents' use of the weapon of ridicule. 'Let all men,' he says (p. 12), 'have an unbounded freedom to express their sentiments for or against religion; but let their words and writings stand clear of any scurrilous reflections, sneer, or sarcasm against it, or let the author be severely chastis'd by publick authority.' His arguments are chiefly directed against Antony Collins, the well-known deist. Aspinwall died on 3 Aug. 1732.

[Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ed. Hardy, iii. 365; Gent. Mag. ii. 929.] A. H. B.

ASPINWALL, WILLIAM (*fl.* 1648–1662), one of the nonconforming ministers ejected in 1662, was of the Lancashire Aspinwalls, and so has a gleam on his name in relation to Spenser's 'Rosalind' (Grosart's *Who was Rosalind?* in his edition of Spenser's Works, iii. pp. cvi–cvii). He was of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and had for tutor Joseph Hill. He proceeded B.A., but having obtained orders, went no further. His first living was Maghull, in Lancashire. In the Lancashire 'Harmonious Consent' of 1648, which denounces 'endeavours used for the establishing an universal toleration,' his name appears ('William Aspinwal, preacher of God's word at Mayhall') in a long list of signatories, headed by 'Richard Heyricke, warden of Christ Colledg in Manchester,' and including Hollingworth, Alexander Horrocks, John Angier, and indeed the foremost ministers of the county and time. These men had come to persuade themselves that 'the establishing of a toleration would make us [the English people] become the abhorring and loathing of all nations.' [See under Angier, John.]

Aspinwall left his cure in 1655–6 to be ordained at Mattersey, Nottinghamshire, and was in that year inducted to Mattersey, in the church at Claworth, in the same county, along with a more notable man, John Cromwell, B.A., and two others (Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, ed. Hardy, ii. 35). He was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Upon his ejection he turned farmer at Thurnsco, in Yorkshire. There was 'a good house,' and it became a nonconformist meeting-place. Two other ejected ministers, Tricket and Grant, sojourned with him. Whether farming did not prosper, or the usual persecution drove him away, is uncertain, but in a short time he is traced once more in his native Lancashire. There Calamy states he died; but Samuel Palmer (*Nonconf. Mem.* iii. 99) corrects this, and gives extracts from a letter dated Cockermouth, 16 April 1724, by which it would seem that he became minister of a 'dissenting congregation' in that town. The old presbyterian congregation there was after-

wards merged in the 'congregational,' but in Lewis's 'History of the Congregational Church, Cockermouth, being Selections from its own Records' (1870), Aspinwall's name nowhere occurs: nor have recent inquiries succeeded in finding the slightest memorial of him in Cockermouth, although the existence of the presbyterian church there has been thoroughly verified. Unluckily the date of his death is not given. The following books were published by him: 1. 'A Discourse of the Principal Points touching Baptism, so far as Scripture Light directs.' 2. 'The Legislative Power Christ's Peculiar Prerogative.' 3. 'A Presage of sundry Sad Calamities yet to come.' 4. 'The Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath or the Sabbath of the 7th Day of the Week.' Palmer is strangely inaccurate in the following addition to Calamy: 'There is a small folio volume of sermons on the whole Epistle of Paul to Philemon, with the name of William Aspinwall prefixed, which the editor supposes to be by the same person. It is a valuable work' (*Nonconf. Mem.* iii. 100). 'Valuable' certainly; but it does not consist of 'sermons,' and the author was not Aspinwall, but William Attersoll [q. v.]. Our William Aspinwall (as also Peter Aspinwall, of Heaton, Lancashire) is sometimes confounded with William Aspinwall, the ejected minister of Formby, who afterwards conformed, as well as with a contemporary quaker divine (of the same names) who had been persecuted in New England, and wrote vehemently of his wrongs and tenets.

[Halley's Lancashire, its Puritanism and Nonconformity, 1872, p. 370; Tillinghast's Elijah's Mantle or Remains, 1658, book-catalogue at end.]

A. B. G.

ASPLAND, ROBERT (1782–1845), unitarian divine, son of Robert Aspland by his second wife, Hannah Brook, was born at Wicken, Cambridgeshire, 13 Jan. 1782. His first schooling was obtained at the Soham grammar school under John Aspland, a relative. In his twelfth year, 1794, he was placed first at Islington, then at Highgate, and in August 1795 was sent to Well Street, Hackney, where he stayed till midsummer 1797. In April 1797 Aspland was publicly baptised at the baptist chapel, Devonshire Square, and was elected to a Ward scholarship at the Bristol Academy as a student for the baptist ministry. He was placed in November under the Rev. Joseph Hughes (afterwards founder of the Bible Society), then residing, not in the academy, but at Battersea, in charge of a small baptist congregation. Staying at Battersea only a few months, but long enough to give his tutor reasons for doubting the 'soundness' of his doctrine, Aspland went home to Wicken in the summer of 1798, becoming popular there and in the adjacent villages as the boy-preacher, and reached Bristol on 31 July to find himself assigned to Dr. Ryland, the theological tutor. He proceeded in due course, October 1799, to Marischal College, Aberdeen; but, his 'unsoundness' becoming more and more manifest, he was excised from membership at the chapel at Devonshire Square 29 Oct. 1800, and he quitted the university and relinquished his scholarship at the same moment.

Aspland at this juncture was offered a share in a trade. He knew a prosperous dealer in artists' colours in St. Martin's Lane, London, whose daughter, Sara Middleton, he afterwards married; and taking a part in his future father-in-law's business in the week, he devoted his Sundays to preaching for any London preacher in want of sudden help. Amongst the pulpits thus opened to him was that of the General Baptists (otherwise Unitarians) in Worship Street, City; the pastor of this church, the Rev. John Evans, recommended him to the General Baptists at Newport, Isle of Wight, then unprovided with a minister; Aspland visited them 17 April 1801, and was requested to remain. His marriage followed in May; he became secretary to the South Unitarian Society in 1803; he published a sermon, entitled 'Divine Judgments,' in 1804; and he left Newport February 1805 to take charge of a larger congregation at Norton, Derbyshire. Passing through London on his way thither, however, he was invited to be minister at the Gravel Pit chapel, Hackney; and merely going to Derbyshire till he could be honourably released from his engagement there, he returned to Hackney for 7 July 1805, taking possession on that day of a pulpit which he retained for forty years.

Aspland established, or aided in the establishment of, several unitarian periodicals and societies. The first of these was the 'Monthly Repository,' containing biographical sketches, theological disquisitions, political criticism, &c. This Aspland edited, and he had the opening number ready for February 1806. In the same month he was instrumental in establishing the Unitarian Fund, with himself as secretary. He took an additional secretaryship in 1809, when he succeeded in forming the Christian Tract Society. In 1810 he brought out 'A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Unitarian Worship,' used subsequently in his own chapel, though not without some opposition. In 1811 he became one of the trustees

of Dr. Williams's charities, and was active in opposing the alteration of the Toleration Act. In 1812 he was a member of the committee of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, being one of a deputation, in that capacity, which had an interview with Perceval 11 May, only two hours before he was shot. In 1813 Aspland set up the Hackney Academy at Durham House for training unitarian ministers; he was helping also, by letters of expostulation, by sermons delivered and printed, in the agitation for an act to relieve from certain penalties persons who impugn the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The act received the royal assent 21 July. In 1814 Aspland brought out 'British Pulpit Eloquence,' and some sermons of his own. In 1815 he established the 'Christian Reformer, or New Evangelical Miscellany,' a work the editorship of which he never relinquished. In the July of 1817 he formed the Non-con Club at his own house, Talfourd, Southwood Smith, W. J. Fox, and Walter Wilson being among the members; and on 18 December of the same year he was at Hone's side in the court of King's Bench, Guildhall, finding authorities and furnishing hints for his six hours' speech of defence, and he had previously been to Hone in prison, providing him with books from Dr. Williams's library, so that the defence might be prepared.

In 1818 Aspland was compelled by ill-health to relinquish his unitarian academy and the secretaryship of the Unitarian Fund. On his recovery in 1819, he brought about the formation of the Association for protecting the Civil Rights of Unitarians; and that being the year of the conviction of R. Carlile for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason,' Aspland was engaged in some controversy on the subject in the columns of the 'Times.' In 1821 he became trustee of the Presbyterian Fund, drawing up likewise the 'Christians' petition to parliament against the prosecution of unbelievers,' and being active in sending it all over the country for signature, till it was presented to parliament, 1 July 1823, by Joseph Hume. In 1825 Aspland worked at the fusion of the three societies, the Unitarian Association, the Unitarian Fund, and the Unitarian Book Society, into one body, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. In 1826 he broke off his connection with the 'Monthly Repository' after an unremunerative editorship of twenty-one years; and in 1827 he edited the 'Test Act Reporter' till, on the bill for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts passing, 9 May 1828, the publication was no longer needed. Aspland also presented and read an address to the throne on 28 July 1830, and another on the accession of Victoria in 1837.

He was also secretary to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association from 1835 to 1841, and retained the acting editorship of the 'Christian Reformer' till 1844. His health beginning to fail in 1843, he was provided with an associate in his pastorate. On 4 Feb. 1844 he preached for the last time, and after being confined to his house for many months, he died 30 Dec. 1845, aged 63. Aspland published many Sermons, a Catechism, Prayers, Tracts for the People, and other works, a complete list of which is given in his 'Memoirs' (pp. 607–611).

[Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Aspland of Hackney, by R. Brook Aspland, M.A.; Christian Reformer, 1846, ii. 103–108.] J. H.

ASPLAND, ROBERT BROOK (1805–1869), unitarian divine, son of Robert Aspland [see ASPLAND, ROBERT], was born at Newport, Isle of Wight, 19 Jan. 1805. He was placed first with Mr. Potticary of Blackheath (where Disraeli was his schoolfellow), next with Mr. Evans of Tavistock, then at Glasgow University, where he graduated as M.A. in 1822, and lastly at Manchester College, York, finishing his studies in 1826. Crook's Lane, Chester, was his first chapel, whither he went in August 1826. He left in 1833 to be co-pastor with Dr. Lant Carpenter at Lewin's Mead chapel, Bristol, where, on 21 October of that year, he married Jane Hibbert, and established a boarding-school. In 1836 he moved to Dukinfield; in 1858 to Hackney. He took up the editorship of the 'Christian Reformer' on his father's death, 1845 (keeping it till the publication ceased in 1863). In 1846 he was made one of the secretaries of Manchester College (holding the post till 1857). In 1850 he collected from the 'Christian Reformer' memoirs of his father's life. Some smaller publications also came from his pen. 'A Brief Memoir of the Rev. Paul Cardale,' extracted from the 'Christian Reformer,' 1852; some Sermons, and 'Paul Best, the Unitarian Confessor,' 1853; and 'Mr. Richard Frankland and Dr. Henry Sampson,' reprinted in pamphlet form, 1862. Brook Aspland became secretary to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in 1859; he was helped by a colleague in 1867, and having fallen into a precarious state of health, he died suddenly 21 June 1869, aged 65.

[In Memoriam, Notices of the Life of the late Rev. R. B. Aspland, M.A. (Dr. Williams's Library); the Inquirer, 3 July 1869.] J. H.

ASPLEY, WILLIAM (*fl.* 1588–1637), stationer and printer, son of William Aspley, clerk deceased, late of Raiston (?), Cumberland, was apprenticed to George Bishop for nine years from 5 Feb. 1588, and admitted a freeman of the Stationers' Company on 11 April 1597. He lived at the sign of the Tiger's Head in St. Paul's Churchyard, and afterwards at the Parrot. The first appearance of the name of Shakespeare in the registers is in connection with Aspley and Andrew Wise, who obtained license 23 Aug. 1600 for 'Much Ado about Nothing' and the second part of 'Henry IV,' 'wrytten by master Shakespere' (Arber, *Transcript*, iii. 170). They were printed by V. S. for the two booksellers. It is worth noticing that while both the quartos have 'Shakespeare' on their title-pages the name is transcribed as above. Aspley dealt largely in plays, as may be seen by the numerous licenses obtained by him down to 1627, when his business appears to have declined. In 1637 he was made warden.

[Arber's Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, ii.–iv.; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. ed. Herbert, iii. 1384.] H. R. T.

ASPLIN, WILLIAM (1687–1758), theological writer, was born in 1686–7, was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and, on taking his B.A. degree in 1707, removed to St. Alban's Hall, and became vice-principal. He was ordained in 1709, became chaplain to a regiment, and in 1717 vicar of Banbury. In 1721 he became vicar of Horley, and in 1733 vicar of Burthorpe, Gloucestershire. He died 1758. He married Mary, daughter of John Myster, of Horton, Oxfordshire. Asplin was a man of considerable learning, and corresponded with Dr. John Ward, the Gresham professor of rhetoric, on matters relating to archæological lore and natural history. His works are:

1. 'Alkibla. A Disquisition upon Worshiping towards the East. Wherein are contain'd the General Antiquity, the Rise, and Reasonableness of this Religious Ceremony in the Gentile World: It's early Adoption into the Church of Christ; with a Free and Impartial Examination of the Reasons assigned for it by the Antient Fathers. By a Master of Arts of the University of Oxford.' London, 1728, 8vo. With a dedication to Sir Richard Steele. The second part, dedicated to Lord Chancellor King, appeared in 1735, 'With a serious and impartial Examination of the Reasons assign'd for the Practice' of worshipping towards the east 'by our Modern Divines: in order to obviate Superstition in our Publick Devotion, to remove from it all Party-Distinction, and unnecessary Objections, and to assert the Principles of the Reformation; by reducing the Ceremonies of Churchmen to the Standard of the Church. To which are prefix'd, Some Thoughts by way of Preface concerning the proper Use of Ridicule in Controversies stil'd Religious.' A second edition of both the parts appeared in 1740. An answer was published by the Rev. John Andrews, vicar of South Newington, Oxfordshire, under the title of 'The Kebla: or, a Defence of Eastward Adoration,' London, 2 parts, 1728–9; and this in turn was 'dissected' in 'The Anatomy of the Kebla, by a true Son of the Church of England,' 1729. Perhaps it may not be superfluous to mention that *kibla* is an Arabic word which signifies a turning. 2. 'The Impertinences of Modern Antiquaries display'd; or a Refutation of Mr. Wise's Letter to Dr. Mead concerning the "White Horse," &c.' London, no date, 4to.

[Beesley's Hist. of Banbury, 513; Bigland's Collections relating to the County of Gloucester, i. 546; MS. Addit. 6210 ff. 1–11, 6226 p. 42; Gent. Mag. xlviii. 221, 305; Rawlinson MSS. fol. 16, 98; Cat. Lib. Impress. Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ (1843); Cat. of Oxford Graduates.] T. C.

ASPULL, GEORGE (1813–1832), musician, born at Manchester in June 1813, was the ninth of ten sons of Thomas Aspull, a merchant who had failed in business and gained his living by teaching music and playing the violin. George Aspull began to learn the piano under his father's instruction on 1 Feb. 1821, and soon made such rapid progress that he both played and sang at a concert in January 1822. In February of the following year Kalkbrenner, having heard him play at Liverpool, advised his father to take him to London, which was accordingly done in April. Here he played to Clementi, who was struck by the extraordinary genius and poetry of his playing, although at this time he was so small that he generally stood at the piano. Aspull soon became quite the rage in London. On 20 Feb. 1824 he went to Windsor to play before George IV, and he gave numerous concerts which attracted large audiences. At a concert at Brighton he played (for the first time in England) Weber's 'Concertstück.' In April 1825 Aspull and his father went to Paris, where they met Hummel and Moscheles. On his return he began a series of concert tours in Great Britain and Ireland, which lasted, almost without intermission to the end of his life. On Clementi's death in 1832 Aspull came up to London to attend the funeral, on which occasion he caught a cold which eventually caused his death. In spite of his illness he

played at Chesterfield and Newark, and then drove up to London in an open gig to attend concerts given by John Field, Moscheles, and Mendelssohn. He was able to go to the first of these concerts, but his illness increased so alarmingly that he was immediately afterwards taken to Tunbridge Wells, where he was prostrated by fever. Becoming slightly better he was brought back to London and then taken to Leamington, but he gradually sank and died on Sunday, 19 Aug. 1832. He was buried at Nottingham. Besides his performances on the piano, Aspull used to sing at his concerts, being possessed of a sweet, if not very powerful, tenor voice. Rossini—who heard him more than once—advised that he should not sing much, 'for his soul is too much for his body.' He wrote a small amount of pianoforte music and some songs; these were published after his death by his father, together with a prefatory memoir and a charming portrait of the ill-fated boy.

[The Posthumous Works of George Aspull, 1837; the Harmonicon, vol. ii.; article by E. Taylor in S.D.U.K. Dictionary.] W. B. S.

ASSER (*d.* 909?), bishop of Sherborne and author of the 'Life of Ælfred the Great,' was a monk of St. David's (Menevia), and related to Bishop Novis of that see. According to Giraldus Cambrensis (*Itiner. Camb.*), Asser was at one time bishop of St. David's, but the statement rests on no contemporary authority. Like Grimbald and John, 'the Old Saxon,' Asser, who had a high reputation for learning, was invited by Ælfred about 885 to enter his household. He appears to have been encouraged to accept the invitation by his fellow-monks, who had recently suffered from the hostility of Hemeid, king of South Wales, and hoped to secure, through Asser, Ælfred's protection. The monk and the king met in the first instance at Dene, near Chichester. Asser refused to leave his home permanently, but promised to reply to Ælfred's offer after six months. On his journey to Wales he fell sick at Winchester, where he remained for a year and a week. Ælfred sent for him again on his recovery, and an arrangement was made between them, by which Asser was to spend six months of each year in Ælfred's household and six months in his own country. His first visit extended to eight months, and Asser regularly studied with the king throughout that period. Before Asser's departure Ælfred presented his tutor with the minsters or monasteries (*monasteria*) of Amesbury (? Congresbury) and Banwell, a silk pall, and as much incense as a strong man could carry. In later years Asser received a grant of Exeter and all its district in Saxon-land and Cornwall, and before 900 he seems to have become bishop of Sherborne. He signs many charters between 900 and 904 as bishop of Sherborne (Kemble's *Cod. Dipl.* 335, 337, 1077, 1083, 1087). In Ælfred's introduction to his translation of Gregory's 'Pastorale' he refers to 'Asser, my bishop;' and since the book is dedicated to Wulfsige, whom Mr. Thomas Wright identified with a preceding bishop of Sherborne, it has been inferred that Asser was a bishop before his appointment to Sherborne. This, however, is open to question. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Asser died in 910, but 909 is the date given by Stubbs in his 'Registrum Anglicanum.'

Asser's 'Life of Ælfred' ('De Rebus gestis Ælfredi Magni') consists of (1) a chronicle of English history between 849 and 887, largely drawn from an early version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and (2) a personal and original narrative of Ælfred's career down to 887. Throughout are signs of the author's Celtic birth. The English are invariably called Saxons, and Celtic names of places are often preferred to the English or Latin ones. But with Asser's 'Life,' as it is commonly met with, have been interpolated passages from later and untrustworthy works. The authentic Asser is preserved almost intact in only one edition, that of 1722, which was printed from a tenth-century Cottonian MS. (Otho A. xii.), unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1731. Florence of Worcester borrowed freely from the authentic Asser, although he never mentions Asser's work by name, and copied him in many places word for word. From the late additions, and not from Asser's work in its authentic shape, are drawn the famous stories of the burning of the cakes, the references to St. Neot, and the foundation by Ælfred of the university of Oxford. Florence of Worcester makes no mention of these legends. Thomas Wright, in his 'Biog. Literaria,' questioned the authenticity of any part of the work attributed to Asser; but his arguments have been refuted by Pauli and Lappenberg.

The *editio princeps* of Asser's 'Annales' was issued by Archbishop Parker in 1572. It presents the 'Life' with a variety of interpolations. In Camden's 'Anglica' (Frankfort, 1603), Parker's errors are not corrected, and a long episode is introduced from a Savilian manuscript, which had been recently tampered with, detailing Grimbald's mythical connection with Oxford. Francis Wise's edition, published at Oxford in 1722, gives Asser's work in the most authentic form attainable, and in Petrie's 'Monumenta Hist. Brit.' (1848) Wise's edition is followed.

[Asser's De Rebus Gestis is the main authority. Asser's authorship of the Life is impugned by Mr. Thomas Wright in the 'Archæologia,' xxix., and in the 'Biograph. Brit. Lit.' The whole question is very thoroughly discussed by Pauli in the introduction to his 'Life of Ælfred the Great,' and by T. D. Hardy in the introduction to Petrie's Monumenta.]

ASSHETON. [See ASHTON.]

ASSHETON, NICHOLAS (1590-1625), a country squire who lived at Downham, near Clitheroe, Lancashire, is noteworthy on account of a brief diary which he left illustrating the character of the country life of that part of West Lancashire which is associated with the poet Spenser. He belonged to a branch of the Assheton family of Middleton, in the same county, and was the son of Richard Assheton, of Downham. He probably had his education at Clitheroe grammar school; he married Frances, daughter of Richard Greenacres, of Worston, near Downham; and he died 16 April 1625, leaving issue. His journal, which extends from 2 May 1617 to 13 March 1619, records his intercourse with his tenants and neighbours, with all their 'businesses, sports, bickerings, carousings, and (such as it was) religion.' It includes some interesting notices of James I's visit to Lancashire in August 1617, when the petition which originated the 'Book of Sports' was presented to that king (NICHOLS's *Progresses*, iii. 396–403). The original journal has been lost. It was first printed by Rev. T. D. Whitaker in his 'History of Whalley.' It was next edited in 1848 by Canon Raines, in vol. xiv. of the Chetham Society series, from the third or 1818 edition of 'Whalley,' and was accompanied by some excellent notes and an account of the Assheton family. In 1876 the diary was re-edited in the fourth edition of 'Whalley,' ii. 122–142. Harrison Ainsworth introduced Assheton into his novel of the 'Lancashire Witches,' book ii. chap. iii., as 'a type of the Lancashire squire of the day,' but both Whitaker and the novelist were mistaken in considering him a puritan.

[Assheton's Diary, as above.] J. E. B.

ASSHETON, WILLIAM (1641–1711), divine, was born at Middleton, Lancashire, in the year 1641. His father, who was rector of the parish, was one of the ancient knightly family of the place. After a preliminary education at a private country school he entered Brasenose 3 July 1658, where he is said by Wood to have had a presbyterian tutor, and to have been an attendant at the religious meetings held at the house of old Bessie Hampton, a laundress, whose piety was not of the antiquary's pattern. Wood hints that his change of views was due to the Restoration; but it is surely hypercriticism to discuss the consistency of a youth of eighteen, which would be Assheton's age at the Restoration. He gained a fellowship of his college in 1663, when he was B.A. Having entered holy orders and taken his master's degree, he became a frequent preacher. James, duke of Ormond, who was chancellor of the university, appointed him chaplain, and in that capacity he served both in England and Ireland. He had the degree of D.D. in 1673, 'at which time,' Wood is careful to remind us, 'he had nine terms granted to him by virtue of the said chancellor's letters.' Next month he had the prebend of Knaresborough in the church of York. The interest of his patron procured him the livings of St. Antholin's, London, and Beckenham, Kent, where he settled in 1676. A few years before his death he was solicited to become master of his college, but advancing age and infirmity forbade his acceptance. He died at Beckenham in September 1711, and is buried in the chancel of that church. He was a voluminous writer, and by no means free from the prejudices and superstitions of his own time; yet in one respect he was keensighted beyond his time, and the modern system of life insurance must own him as a forerunner.

His writings are: 1. 'Toleration Disapproved,' Oxford, 1670; there were two editions in the same year, one of which was anonymous (B.M.), Oxford, 1671 (B.M.), 1736 (B.M.). 2. 'Danger of Hypocrisie,' London, 1673 (B.M.). 3. 'Seasonable Apology for the Honours and Revenues of the Clergy' (Judicium Carolinum), London, 1674, 1676 (B.M.). 4. 'The Cases of Scandal and Persecution,' London, 1674 (B.M. and 1676); this was answered by Baxter. 5. 'The Royal Apology,' London, 1684 (B.M.). 6. 'An Admonition to a Deist,' London, 1685, anonymous (B.M.). 7. 'A Seasonable Vindication of their Present Majesties,' 1688. 8. 'An Explanation of his Reasons for taking the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary.' 9. 'Country Parson's Admonition to his Parishioners against Popery,' London, 1686, 1689, 1706 (B.M.). 10. 'A Defence of the Plain Man's Reply to the Catholick Missionaries,' London, 1688; two editions with some variations in the title. 11. 'The Substance of a late Conference with M. S. concerning (1) the Rudeness of Atheistical Discourse; (2) the Certainty and Eternity of Hell Torments; (3) the Truth and Authority of the Holy Scriptures,' London, 1690 (B.M.). 12. 'Discourse against Blasphemy,' London,

1691, 1694 (B.M.). 13. 'Discourse against Drunkenness,' London, 1692. 14. 'A Discourse against Swearing and Cursing,' London, 1692; these three were published at twopence each, in order that they might be extensively circulated as an aid to the royal proclamation for the reformation of manners. 15. 'Directions in order to the Suppression of Debauchery and Prophaneness,' London, 1693. 16. 'Conference with an Anabaptist,' pt. i., London, 1694; this was the worthy churchman's move against a baptist meeting which had arisen in his parish, but it did not flourish, and its removal or dissolution saved him from the necessity of further argumentation. 17. 'A Short Exposition of the Preliminary Questions and Answers of the Church Catechism, being an introduction to a Defence of Infant Baptism,' London, 1694 (B.M.). 18. 'Discourse concerning a Death-bed Repentance,' London, 1696 (B.M.), 1765 (B.M.), 1800 (B.M.), 1802 (B.M.), 1807 (B.M.); this is said to have been preached before Queen Mary, and after her death enlarged and dedicated to the king. It was reprinted in 1872 with Baxter's 'Call to the Unconverted.' 19. 'Theological Discourse of Last Wills and Testaments,' London, 1696 (B.M.). 20. 'Seasonable Vindication of the Blessed Trinity, collected from the works of Tillotson and Stillingfleet,' London, 1697 (B.M.). 21. 'Method of Daily Devotion,' London, 1697 (B.M.). 22. 'Brief State of the Socinian Controversy, collected from the works of Isaac Barrow,' London, 1698. 23. 'The Plain Man's Devotion,' London, 1689, 1698. 24. 'A Full Account of the Rise, Progress, and Advantages of Dr. Assheton's Proposal, as now improved and managed by the Company of Mercers, London, for the benefit of widows of clergymen and others by settled jointures and annuities at the rate of thirty per cent., London, 1699 (B.M.), 1700 (B.M.), 1710 (B.M.), 1711 (B.M.), 1713 (B.M.), 1724 (B.M.). 25. 'Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy,' London, 1699. 26. 'Sermon preached before the Hon. Society of the Natives of Kent,' London, 1700 (B.M.). 27. 'Vindication of the Immortality of the Soul,' London, 1703. 28. 'Brief Exhortation to the Holy Communion,' London, 1705, 1775 (B.M.). 29. 'Method of Devotion for Sick and Dying Persons,' London, 1706 (B.M.), 2nd ed. 1745. 30. 'The Possibility of Apparitions,' by a Divine of the Church of England, London, 1706 (B.M.); this book has an interesting place in literary history, for it was occasioned by Defoe's fabricated story of the appearance of the ghost of Mrs. Veal. 31. 'Occasional Prayers from Taylor, Cosins, Ken, &c., and a collection of Hymns,' London, 1708. 32. 'A Seasonable Vindication of the Clergy, by a Divine of the Church,' London, 1709. 33. 'Directions for the Conversation of the Clergy, collected from Stillingfleet,' London, 1710. In the above list such writings of Assheton's as are in the British Museum are indicated by the letters B.M. attached to them.

Assheton was more a compiler than an original writer. He was a man of learning, 'readily subscribed to the publishing all critical, learned, and laborious works,' and had a good library, the duplicates from which he gave for the use of ministers in Wales and in the highlands of Scotland. He dealt easily with his parishioners on the sore point of tithes, preached regularly, kept hospitality, and, though trying to live peaceably, was not afraid to rebuke those whose conduct seemed to deserve it. It is noted as a sign of his moderation that he did not set up a coach until the ill-health of his wife required it. At one time he preached extemporaneously, but afterwards resorted to written discourses, because on one occasion a woman swooned in his congregation, and the commotion so upset the good man that he was unable to recover the thread of his thoughts.

Assheton's scheme for providing annuities for the 'widows of the clergy and others' was the earliest attempt in England on a large scale in the direction of modern life insurance. His plan was offered in vain to the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, and to the Bank of England, but was eventually adopted by the Mercers' Company in 1698. Its failure was due to the then incomplete knowledge of vital statistics. Something like a scale was formed. Married men under thirty were allowed to subscribe but 100*l.*; under forty they might not subscribe more than 500*l.*; under sixty they were limited to 300*l.*' 'When this was commenced,' says Francis, 'it was considered a very notable plan. It was thought that it would prove a good business speculation; and on considerable sums being subscribed the corporation rejoiced greatly. It was soon discovered, however, that the undertaking was founded on a mistake; so the first breach of faith was in lowering the annuity. This proved insufficient, and the company became unable to meet their engagements. They had fixed payments to their annuitants at the rate of thirty per cent., and now they saw their funds almost annihilated by the error. At last they stopped payment altogether; but the distress was so acute that, recollecting one or two forced loans they had made to the monarchs of England in the troublous times of old, they petitioned parliament in 1747 for assistance.

Their tale was a pitiable one: 'At Michaelmas 1745 they found themselves indebted to the said charities and their other creditors 100,000*l.*; they were liable for present annuities to the extent of 7,620*l.*; for annuities in expectancy, 1,000*l.* a year; the whole of their income being 4,100*l.*' The parliamentary aid amounted, according to Price, to 3,000*l.* per annum, and thus they were enabled to meet their engagements.

[Watt's Life of Dr. Assheton, London, 1714, Biographia Britannica, ed. Kippis, London. 1747; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv. 606; General Catalogue, British Museum; Francis's Annals and Anecdotes of Life Assurance, London, 1853; Walford's Insurance Cyclopædia (a full account is to be given under the word 'Mercers' Company,' which has not yet been published); Price on Reversionary Payments, London, 1812.]

W. E. A. A.

ASTBURY, JOHN (1688?–1743), potter, was a clever mechanic, who introduced himself disguised as an idiot to the works of two brothers named Elers, of Nürnberg, who had settled at Bradwell, Staffordshire, about 1690. He discovered the secrets of their manufacture of red ware, and, obtaining his discharge on pretence of sickness, set up a rival establishment at Shelton, also in the potteries. He introduced the use of Bideford pipeclay, and in 1720, happening to notice an ostler blowing powder from a red-hot flintstone pulverised into the eyes of a horse as a remedy, hit upon the application of calcined flint in pottery, which greatly improved his ware. He died in 1743, aged 55, as his tombstone in Stoke churchyard testifies, having made a fortune, and leaving several sons. One of these, Thomas, had begun business at Lane Delph in 1725, and was the first English manufacturer of cream-coloured ware. Samuel Astbury, also a potter, a brother of John Astbury, married Elizabeth, the sister of Thomas Wedgewood, father of Josiah Wedgewood, and was in 1744 one of the witnesses to the deed of Josiah's apprenticeship to pottery-making. Wedgewood's latest biographer attributes his success to his adoption of the important inventions described above, with which she credits Samuel Astbury. Possibly Samuel Astbury contributed to John's improvements of his art, but there seems no reason for doubting that it was John and not Samuel who was their discoverer.

[Jewitt's Ceramic Art in Great Britain, passim; Eliza Meteyard's Life of Josiah Wedgewood, i. 140–56; Marryatt's History of Pottery, 194–5; Chaffers's Marks on Pottery and Porcelain, pp. 692–3; Shaw's History of Staffordshire Potteries, pp. 119–30, 141.]

ASTELL, MARY (1668–1731), authoress, was the daughter of a merchant at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Her uncle, a clergyman, observing her excellent abilities, undertook to educate her himself. She passed the first twenty years of her life at Newcastle; she then settled in London, and afterwards at Chelsea, where she was a neighbour and acquaintance of Dean Atterbury. She was the intimate friend, to the end of her life, of the excellent Lady Elizabeth Hastings, and the esteemed correspondent of Norris of Bemerton.

Mary Astell is now chiefly known as the authoress of a 'Serious Proposal to Ladies' (1694). It was published anonymously 'by a Lover of her Sex;' but the authorship appears to have been an open secret. The proposal was, in her own words, 'to erect a *monastery*, or, if you will (to avoid giving offence to the scrupulous and injudicious by names which, tho' innocent in themselves, have been abus'd by superstitious practices), we will call it a *Religious Retirement*, and such as shall have a double aspect, being not only a retreat from the world for those who desire that advantage, but likewise an institution and previous discipline to fit us to do the greatest good in it.' There were to be 'no vows or irrevocable obligations, not so much as the fear of reproach to keep the ladies longer than they desired.' It was to be conducted strictly on the principles of the church of England; the daily services were to be performed 'after the cathedral manner, in the most affecting and elevating way;' the 'Holy Eucharist was to be celebrated every Lord's day and holy day;' there was to be 'a course of solid, instructive preaching and catechizing,' and the inmates were to 'consider it a special part of their duty to observe all the fasts of the church.' But it was intended quite as much for mental as for moral and religious training; or, rather, the two were to go hand in hand, for 'ignorance and a narrow education lay the foundation of vice.' The proposal, she tells us, met with a favourable reception from 'the graver and wiser part of the world,' and therefore she published in 1697 a second part, much longer than the first, 'wherein a method is offered for the improvement of their minds;' and this she dedicated to the Princess of Denmark, afterwards Queen Anne. The proposal, however, met with unmerited obloquy from more than one quarter. 'A certain great lady,' supposed by some to have been the Princess Anne herself, by others the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, was so attracted by the scheme that she purposed giving 10,000*l.* towards the erection of a 'sort of

college for the education and improvement of the female sex, and as a retreat for those ladies who, nauseating the parade of the world, might here find a happy recess from the noise and hurry of it. But the design coming to the ears of Bishop Burnet, he immediately went to that lady, and so powerfully remonstrated against it, telling her it would look like preparing a way for popish orders, and would be reputed a nunnery, that he utterly frustrated that noble design' (Ballard). The alarm was surely unfounded. Mrs. Astell observes with perfect truth, in the 'conclusion' of her second part: 'They must either be very ignorant or very malicious who pretend that we would imitate foreign monasteries, or object against us the inconveniences that they are subject to. A little attention to what they read might have convinced them that our institution is rather *academical* than *monastic*.' However, the project fell to the ground; but not without drawing upon its well-intentioned proposer a still more unmerited and, unfortunately, a more widely circulated aspersion. In the 32nd number of the 'Tatler' appeared what the annotator of the edition of 1797 justly terms a 'gross misrepresentation' of Mrs. Astell under the name of 'Madonella.' There is not a shadow of foundation for the insinuation against Mrs. Astell's personal character, and the account of the proposed college betrays a profound ignorance of the whole scheme which that good lady projected. The slander was repeated in the 59th and 63rd numbers of the same periodical; and in the latter it is stated (no doubt with the intention of turning the whole affair into ridicule) that Mrs. Manley, authoress of that vile work, the 'New Atalantis,' was to be the directress of the new institution. The whole story would be unworthy of mention, were it not that it appeared in so famous a paper as the 'Tatler,' and that the great names of Swift and Addison are supposed to be connected with the writing of it. 'Madonella' is called 'Platonne,' but the next point to be noticed in her literary career is her controversy with one of the most distinguished of English Platonists, John Norris, of Bemerton, about one of the pivot doctrines of Platonism, the pure love of God. She again wrote anonymously, but her name was soon discovered. If Mrs. Astell met with unmerited obloquy for her 'Serious Proposal,' the balance was partly redressed by the extravagant eulogy which her antagonist, and editor of the 'Letters,' lavished upon her. As a matter of fact, the 'Letters' are full of pertinent inquiries, and prove the writer to have been, at any rate, a very intelligent woman. In 1705 Mrs. Astell published an octavo volume entitled 'The Christian Religion, as professed by a Daughter of the Church of England,' which gives a clear exposition of Church teaching, according to the type of the great Caroline divines; it strongly advocates the doctrine of non-resistance, and protests strongly against Romanism. It was published anonymously, but everybody knew who the 'Daughter of the Church of England' was. Another anonymous work, entitled 'Occasional Communion' (1705), is attributed to Mrs. Astell by Dean Hickes, who describes it as being 'justly admired so much.' As its title implies, it deals with what was the burning question of the day. In 1706 we find her engaged in a controversy with her neighbour, Dean Atterbury, who sends her 'Remarks' to his friend Smalridge, 'taking them to be of an extraordinary nature, considering they come from the pen of a woman;' 'had she,' he adds, 'as much good breeding as good sense, she would be perfect. She attacks me very home.' She also wrote against Locke's 'Reasonableness of Christianity,' against Tillotson's famous sermon on the eternity of hell torments, and against a sermon of Dr. White Kennett, and on each occasion proved herself an acute controversialist. Henry Dodwell speaks of her as 'that admirable gentlewoman, Mrs. Astell,' and she deserved the title; for her life was blameless, and her writings show that her abilities and attainments were considerably above the average, though she may not have been so extraordinary a genius as her admirers imagined.

[Mrs. Astell's Works, passim; Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies, &c.; Folkestone Williams's Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury.] J. H. O.

ASTELL, WILLIAM (1774–1847), an eminent director of the East India Company, was the second son of Godfrey Thornton, a director of the Bank of England. He assumed the name of Astell instead of Thornton in 1807. He was elected a member of the court of directors of the East India Company in 1800, and in the same year took his seat in the House of Commons as conservative member for Bridgewater, which borough he represented during six successive parliaments. He subsequently sat for the county of Bedford until the day of his death. Being a director of the East India Company for the unprecedented period of forty-seven years, he filled the offices of chairman and deputy-chairman several times, and was actively engaged in the discussion and settlement of most of the many

important questions bearing upon Indian administration which arose during that lengthened period. He was chairman of the court at the commencement of the negotiations between that body and the government which preceded the enactment of the East India Company's Charter Act of 1833. Although at first opposed to the abolition of the monopoly which the company enjoyed in respect of its trade with China, Astell eventually acquiesced in the settlement of the question made by Lord Grey's government. As chairman again in 1844 he took a leading part in the recall of Lord Ellenborough, whose policy as governor-general he considered to be highly detrimental to the good government of that country. He was averse to annexation, unless clearly required for the safety of the British possessions, and was a staunch advocate of the policy of respecting the religious feelings of the natives of India.

Astell was a deputy-lieutenant of the county of Bedford, lieutenant-colonel of the Bedfordshire militia, and colonel of the Royal East India volunteers. He was also chairman of the Russia company and of the Great Northern railway, besides filling other important offices in the city of London.

[India Office Records; Annual Register, 1847.]
A. J. A.

ASTLE, THOMAS (1735–1803), antiquary and palæographer, was born on 22 Dec. 1735 at Yoxall on the borders of Needwood Forest in Staffordshire, and was the son of Daniel Astle, keeper of the forest, a descendant of an old family of the county. He was in early youth articled to an attorney, but having more taste for antiquarian pursuits did not follow up his profession, and went to London, where he was employed to make an index to the catalogue of the Harleian MSS., printed in 1759, 2 vols. folio. He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1763, and about the same time gained the notice of the Right Hon. George Grenville, then first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, who employed him in the arrangement of papers and other matters which required a knowledge of ancient handwriting, and nominated him, with Sir Joseph Ayloffe and Dr. Ducarel, as members of a commission to superintend the regulation of the public records at Westminster. On the death of the two colleagues, Mr. Topham was substituted, and he and Astle were removed under Pitt's administration. The same persons were appointed by royal commission in 1764 to superintend the methodising of the records of state and council preserved in the State Paper Office at Whitehall. In 1765 Astle was made receiver-general of sixpence in the pound on the civil list, and on 18 Dec. of the same year he married the only daughter and heiress of the Rev. Philip Morant, the historian of Essex. In 1766 he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society, and in the same year he was consulted by a committee of the House of Lords on the subject of printing the ancient records of parliament. He suggested the employment of his father-in-law in this work, and succeeded him upon his death in 1770. The preparation of the text and notes of the edition of the 'Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et petitiones et placita in Parliamento, etc. [1278–1503],' London, 1767–77, 6 vols. folio, was undertaken by Morant and John Topham down to 2nd Henry VI, and after that period by Topham and Astle. Dr. John Strachey saw the volumes through the press. 'The Will of Henry VII' was reproduced by Astle in 1775 from the original in the chapter house at Westminster, with an interesting preface. After the death (1775) of Henry Rooke, chief clerk of the Record Office in the Tower, Astle was appointed to his place; and on the decease of Sir John Shelley, keeper of the records, in 1783, obtained the higher office. Astle was an efficient and zealous keeper, as is proved by his additions to the collections under his charge, and the indexes he caused to be made. A 'Catalogue of the MSS. in the Cottonian Library . . . with an account of the damage sustained by fire in 1731 and a catalogue of the charters preserved' was published by Samuel Hooper in 1777, with a dedication 'To T. Astle, Esq., to whom I am indebted for the MSS. from which the following work is printed.' He had no literary connection with the 'Will of King Alfred' (1788) usually said to have been translated by him. Sir Herbert Croft was the editor of this work; the translation and most of the notes were furnished by the Rev. Owen Manning.

In 1784 appeared Astle's chief work, 'The Origin and Progress of Writing,' a most important contribution to the English literature of palæography. The oriental part is of course quite out of date now, but the chapters devoted to mediæval handwriting are still of use to the student, as they are based upon the author's personal investigations. The numerous plates, which greatly enhance the value of the work, are well engraved by Pouncey. In 1800 a royal commission was appointed to carry out the recommendations of a select committee of the House of Commons which had inquired into the state of the records. Astle was consulted throughout

this inquiry, and presented a report on the documents at the Tower. Astle was a member of sundry foreign academies and a trustee of the British Museum. He travelled on several occasions upon the continent with literary objects. Upon the death of Morant in 1770 he came into possession, through Mrs. Astle, of his father-in-law's library of books and manuscripts as well as of a considerable fortune. Astle had long been an industrious seeker after literary rarities, and eventually brought together the most remarkable private collection of manuscripts in the country. He carried on an extensive correspondence and freely placed his great knowledge and wonderful collection at the disposition of his friends. Dr. Percy acknowledges his help while investigating ballad literature. He was a conductor of 'The Antiquarian Repertory,' and contributed to the 'Archæologia' and 'Vetusta Monumenta' of the Society of Antiquaries. In the latter appeared his valuable contribution on unpublished Scottish seals, in consequence of a committee of the society having been directed to investigate the subject. The editorship of the 'Taxatio Ecclesiastica' and the 'Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium' (Record Commission, 1802, 2 vols. folio), has been ascribed in error to Astle; John Caley edited the former work, and the same person and Samuel Ayscough the latter one. Astle died at his house at Battersea Rise, near London, on 1 Dec. 1803, of dropsy, in his sixty-ninth year. By his wife he had nine children, and he is now represented by the family of the second son, Philip, who took the name and arms of Hills, of Colne Park, Essex.

All his printed books, chiefly collected by Morant, were purchased from the executors in 1804, for the sum of 1,000*l.*, by the founders of the Royal Institution, where they are now preserved. The collection is particularly rich in history and biography; many volumes in the latter class are enriched with the notes of their former owners. The famous collection of manuscripts was left by will to the Marquis of Buckingham, in token of the testator's regard for the Grenville family, upon payment of the nominal sum of 500*l.* Had the offer been declined, the British Museum was to enjoy the right of purchase at the same price. The offer was, however, accepted by the marquis, who caused a beautiful gothic room to be erected by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Soane for their reception at Stowe, where they remained until they were transferred, with O'Conor's Irish codices and other manuscripts, to the sale rooms of Messrs. Sotheby in 1849. But the sale did not take place, as the entire collection was privately purchased by the late Earl of Ashburnham for 8,000*l.* In the autumn of 1879 the present holder of the title offered his late father's library and collection of manuscripts, the latter consisting of four distinct collections, known as the Stowe, the Barrois, the Libri and Appendix, to the British Museum for 160,000*l.* After a prolonged negotiation the nation became in 1883 the possessors of the Stowe division at the price of 45,000*l.*; the most valuable and interesting of the codices being those which had once belonged to Astle, and which are now at the British Museum. Among the chief treasures bequeathed to the Marquis of Buckingham may be mentioned a volume of Anglo-Saxon charters, unrivalled for number, beauty, and preservation; King Alfred's Psalter; the original wardrobe-book of Edward II; the register of Hyde Abbey near Winchester, and many other documents relating to the history of the most celebrated abbeys and monasteries of Great Britain; the original inventories of Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe, plate, and jewels; the Hanoverian state papers; the original accompts of Wolsey and papers connected with the navy and ordnance of Henry VIII; the rich collections of Anstis, Garter king-at-arms; the correspondence of Lord Chancellor Macclesfield and Bishop Lyttelton, &c.; and papers from the libraries of Spelman, Twysden, Thoresby, Le Neve, Ducarel, &c.

Besides many contributions to the 'Archæologia' between 1763 and 1802, Astle published the following works: 1. 'The Will of King Henry VII,' London, 1775, 4to. 2. 'The Origin and Progress of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary, illustrated by engravings taken from marbles, manuscripts, and charters, ancient and modern: also some account of the origin and progress of printing,' London, 1784, 4to, with 31 plates; the 'second edition, with additions,' London, 1803, 4to, 31 plates and portrait, contains 'Appendix on the Radical Letters of the Pelasgians' (published separately in 1775); a reprint by Messrs. Chatto & Windus appeared in 1876, with poor impressions of the plates. 3. 'An Account of the Seals of the Kings, Royal Boroughs, and Magnates of Scotland,' London, 1792, folio, 5 plates; also published in 'Vetusta Monumenta,' 1796, iii.

[European Mag. 1802, pp. 243–5; Gent. Mag. 1803, pp. 1190–1, 1804, p. 84; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes (biography in vol. iii. p. 202) and Illustrations; Shaw's Staffordshire, vol. i.; Notes and Queries, 4th series, vol. iii.; Harris's Catalogue of the Library of Royal Institution, 1821; the same by B. Vincent, 1857; O'Conor's Biblio-

theca MS. Stowensis, 1818; Smith's Catalogue of the Stowe Collection, 1849; Ashburnham MSS., copy of papers relating to purchase of Stowe Coll. (Parliamentary Return, 1883).]

H. R. T.

ASTLEY, SIR JACOB, LORD ASTLEY (1579–1652), royalist, was the second son of Isaac Astley of Melton Constable, Norfolk. From the age of nineteen he served with reputation in the Netherlands under the Counts Maurice and Henry, and subsequently under the Palatine and Gustavus Adolphus. He was present at the battle of Newport (1599) and the siege of Ostend. It is on record that, though he was absent in the service of Christian IV of Denmark for a year and a half, and again in Germany for two years, his company was kept for him in the States army. In 1638, having been made governor of Plymouth and the isle of St. Nicholas, he was summoned to the council of war (21 Feb.), and he was one of the committee that made report (7 May) on some vexed questions as to the fortification of the isle of Scilly. The next year, after taking the musters in the midland and northern counties, he went to Newcastle as sergeant-major to provide against the expected Scotch invasion. He had to overcome the objections of the trainbands to serve beyond their own county; but at last they agreed to 'refer all to the king, and to serve wherever he pleased.' He diligently attended to all the minutiæ of war, and kept a constant correspondence with the council. His patience was much tried by the puritans, whose sympathies were naturally with his covenanting foes. He broke up their meetings; but as they were poor men ('mostly bancroftes,' as he says), he did not think persecution advisable, though 'if a fat puritan could be laid hold of it were best to punish him.' He so wrought upon the corporation of Berwick that they sent him a protestation of their loyalty—a service worthy of the 'thanks' minuted to him by the council in days when the Scotch were encouraged by the dissensions of the English peers and their half-hearted prosecution of the war. At York the prevalent disaffection gave fresh scope to Astley's diplomacy. 'I am fain to single out some of the discreetest of the leading men, to bring them to reason.' And so the ill-fated expedition ran its course to the pacification of Berwick, when Astley was left free to other cares. In November he petitioned for the arrears of the Plymouth garrison, and obtained 400*l.* out of 1,500*l.* due.

In January 1640 'huge preparation' was making for another Scotch war. Though Astley was then 'not talked of' for any of the great posts (to obtain which, says one letter-writer, 'we are all ready to scratch each other's faces'), yet his practical knowledge made him indispensable. He was appointed on the council of war (14 Feb.), and was one of its active members, reporting on stores and weapons, and contriving a defence for Newcastle by arming the miners. By this time he was again sergeant-major. The war was soon ended by the pacification of Ripon, and its immediate result was the assembling of the Long Parliament. In 1641 Astley was examined before a committee of the house as to the king's alleged tampering with the army, especially with reference to a petition signed by many officers and shown to the king, who, in token of his approbation, wrote C. R. upon it. This petition, reflecting upon the leaders of parliament, was highly resented by that assembly, and some incautious speeches of Astley to the unstable Earl of Holland were reported by the latter, so that 'what had been imparted to him in the greatest secrecy his informants had now publicly to testify.'

In August 1642, when the war broke out, Astley left Plymouth for Nottingham to join the king, who made him major-general of the foot—'a man as fit for that office as Christendom yielded,' says Clarendon, whose commendations are in this case unqualified by any after disparagement.

During the first civil war Astley is a notable figure. He was among those 'hurt' at Edgehill (13 Oct. 1642). His prayer before the battle is recorded by Warwick (*Memoirs*, 229). He commanded a division at the siege of Gloucester. When Essex, after relieving that city, had fought the battle of Newbury (20 Sept. 1643), and had continued his retreat to London, Sir Jacob possessed himself of Reading. In 1644 he assisted Lord Hopton in the capture of Arundel (soon retaken by Waller), and shared in the defeat at Alresford (29 March). Clarendon records in detail his gallant defence of Gosworth Bridge against Essex, and of the purlieus of Shaw House against the repeated attacks of Manchester. During the second battle of Newbury (27 Oct.) Astley commanded the infantry in that expedition (or escape) of Charles from Oxford, when the armies of Essex and Waller were closing on the city. At Naseby (14 June 1645) 'the main body of the foot was led by Lord Astley, whom the king had lately made a baron.' His patent is dated 4 Nov. 1644. When the king called out the Welsh levies for the relief of Hereford, the discontented gentlemen of those counties insisted on the dismissal of the general Gerrard, 'and his charge was presently conferred upon Lord Astley, who was most acceptable to them.'

Not long after Astley had the honour to play the last stake for the king. From Oxford was sent a party of fifteen hundred to meet the remnant of the royal army gathered under his banners. But all intelligence as to his movements was intercepted, till his friends learned that he had been routed after a stubborn resistance by Sir Thomas Brereton and Colonel Morgan at Stow-in-the-Wold (21 March 1646). Morgan, though second in command, bore the main brunt of the engagement, and was allowed to announce its success in a letter to the speaker. Lord Astley's speech to Brereton's officers—'You have now done your work and may go to play, unless you will fall out among yourselves'—has 'something of prophetic strain,' prompted by the veteran's 'old experience.' The conquerors (who ordered a special thanksgiving for their victory) seem to have borne him no lasting ill-will. His release from Warwick Castle (June) was one of the terms of capitulation granted to Oxford on its surrender to Fairfax. An ordinance (passed 8 March 1648) cleared him of his delinquency. But he had his share of the inconveniences then attaching to conspicuous loyalty. The council of state, in the anxious months before Worcester battle, wrote to Colonel Dixwell (a regicide and ex-state councillor commanding in Kent), to arrest 'and secure in one of your garrisons furthest from their houses, and from the places where they have any influence,' certain old cavaliers. Among them was Astley—'Sir Jacob Astley'—his title not being acknowledged by the parliament. He was brought to London, and on 15 May 1651 order was made that he should be allowed the liberty of the Fleet. On 31 May he was called before the council and allowed to return to his residence in Kent on giving bail in 1,000*l.*, with two sureties in 500*l.* each. He died (February 1651–2) in the old palace of Maidstone (granted by Elizabeth to Sir John Astley). His wife, Agnes Imple, a German lady, brought him two sons and a daughter. One son, Sir Bernard, fell in the siege of Bristol. The barony became extinct in 1668 by the death of Lord Astley's grandson without issue. A portrait of Astley (the property of Mrs. Branfell) was in the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866.

[Clarendon's Hist. of Rebellion; Rushworth's Hist. Collections; Calendars of State Papers, Domestic.] R. C. B.

ASTLEY, JOHN (*d.* 1595), master of the Jewel House, was the eldest son of Thomas Astley, Esq., by his second wife Anne (Wood). He held a confidential position in the household of the Princess Elizabeth, on whom his wife Catherine was in attendance, although she was for a time removed from that charge by a special order of the privy council. In a letter to his friend Roger Ascham (1552) he refers to their friendly fellowship at Cheston, Chelsey, and Hatfield, and their pleasant studies in reading together Aristotle's 'Rhetoric,' Cicero, and Livy. Leaving England in the reign of Queen Mary, he played a conspicuous part in the troubles of the English church at Frankfort. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to this country, and in December 1558 was appointed master of the jewel house and treasurer of her majesty's jewels and plate, with the annual fee of 50*l.* His wife was appointed chief gentlewoman of the privy chamber, and he was also one of the grooms of the chamber. Soon afterwards he obtained from the crown a grant of the mastership of the game in Enfield chace and park, with the office of steward and ranger of the manor of Enfield. Accompanying her majesty on her visit to the university of Cambridge in 1564, he was created M.A. In or about 1568 the queen granted him a lease in reversion of the castle and manor of Allington in Kent, and he also had an estate at Otterden in the same county. He represented Maidstone in the parliaments of 29 Oct. 1586 and 4 Feb. 1588–9, having before sat in the House of Commons. His death appears to have occurred about July 1595.

By his first wife Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernowne of Devonshire, he had no issue. His second wife was Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lord Grey, by whom he had a son, afterwards Sir John Astley, and three daughters.

Astley was the author of 'The Art of Riding, set foorth in a breefe treatise, with a due interpretation of certeine places alledged out of Xenophon, and Gryson, verie expert and excellent Horssemen: Wherein also the true use of the hand by the said Grysons rules and precepts is speciallie touched: and how the Author of this present worke hath put the same in practise, also what profit men maie reape thereby: without the knowledge whereof, all the residu of the order of Riding is but vaine. Lastlie is added a short discourse of the Chaine of Cauezzan, the Trench and the Martingale: written by a Gentleman of great skill and long experience in the said Art,' London, 1584, 4to.

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. ii. 182; Letter prefixed to Ascham's Report and Discourse of the Affairs of Germany; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Wotton's Baronetage, iii. 15; Ames's Typogr. Antiquities, ed. Herbert, 694, 959, 1111; Calendars of State Papers.] T. C.

ASTLEY, JOHN (1730?–1787), portrait painter, was born at Wem in Shropshire, was sent to London and placed under the portrait painter, Hudson. Leaving him, perhaps in 1749, he visited Rome, where he was the companion of Reynolds (from whose accounts a little later it appears that Astley was indebted to him in the sum of 12*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*), of Richard Wilson and other well-known English artists. James Northcote is the author of the story that at Rome Astley was so poor that he was forced to patch the back of his waistcoat with a canvas of his own painting which represented a magnificent waterfall. Returning from Rome, probably with Reynolds, he secured the patronage and high favour of Horace Walpole. In 1759 he left London for Dublin, and in three years of portrait-painting made a large sum of money. Painting his way back to London, he revisited his birth-place, and met, in that neighbourhood, a rich widow, Lady Duckenfield Daniell, whom he married. This lady and her daughter died shortly after the marriage, and Astley, who was now a wealthy man, married a second time. He bought Schomberg House in Pall Mall (afterwards Gainsborough's), and fantastically re-arranged it for his convenience. 'He was a gasconading spendthrift, and a beau of the flashiest order. When the Dublin ladies sat to him, he is said, by way of flourish, to have used his sword as a maulstick.' He had slight gift as a painter, and little merit as a man, but his good fortune never failed him. He had wasted much money in speculation, when the accidental death of a brother put 10,000*l.* in his pocket. Quite late in life he married his third wife: it is recorded that at this time he experienced a strange moral quickening and reflected with gravity on the past. He left a son and two daughters. Leslie enumerates Astley, 'a clever, conceited, out-at-elbows, and reckless fellow,' amongst the forgotten artists who were Sir Joshua's companions in youth. His best works, according to one writer, were copies from Italian pictures.

[Edwards's Anecdotes of Painters, where Michael Adams's 'Biographical History' (Hogg, Paternoster Row) is referred to as the ultimate source of information about Astley; Leslie's Life of Reynolds; Northcote's Life of Reynolds; Redgrave's Dictionary; Nagler, 2nd ed.]

E. R.

ASTLEY, PHILIP (1742–1814), equestrian performer and theatrical manager, was born at Newcastle-under-Lyme. Receiving little education, he was brought up to his father's trade of cabinet-making and veneer-cutting. About 1759 he joined General Elliott's regiment of light horse, became rough-rider and breaker-in, and rose to the rank of sergeant-major. Having distinguished himself at the battles of Emsdorff and Friedburg and upon other occasions, he obtained his discharge, and opened an exhibition of horsemanship in an open field in Lambeth, his only horse being his regimental charger, given him by General Elliott. He travelled through the country, performing at fairs and markets, resorting sometimes to his old trade as a cabinet-maker. In 1770 he opened a wooden theatre, with sheltered seats, but with an unroofed circus, in a timber-yard at the foot of Westminster Bridge. In 1775 Mr. and Mrs. Astley appeared on horseback at Drury Lane in the jubilee in honour of Shakespeare. The theatre in Lambeth was gradually enlarged and improved, and called the Amphitheatre Riding House. In 1781 the theatre was opened in the evening, and a candle-light exhibition first attempted, the earlier performances having been presented in the daytime. He had no license from the magistrates, but he pretended that his theatre was under the special protection of a royal patent. In 1783 he was committed to prison for performing illegally, but he was released upon the intervention of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, whose daughters had been taught to ride by Astley. Presently the magistrates granted him a license; he now called his theatre the Royal Grove, having painted the interior to resemble foliage, and added a stage to his circus, to vie with the attractions of a rival establishment of like kind opened on the site of the present Surrey Theatre. He carried his performers to Dublin and Paris, and established equestrian theatres in both those cities. In Paris he instituted the cirque known in later times as Franconi's. He endeavoured to establish floating baths in the Thames off Westminster Bridge. The French Revolution interrupted his performances in Paris, and his amphitheatre was converted into barracks. He re-entered the army, and served with distinction under the Duke of York. In 1794 the Royal Grove Theatre was burnt to the ground. Astley obtained leave of absence from the duke, hurried home to rebuild his theatre, and meanwhile engaged the old Lyceum building in the Strand for equestrian performances. His new theatre was opened in 1794, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, and in 1798 he was permitted to designate his establishment Astley's Royal Amphitheatre. After the peace of Amiens he returned to Paris, presented his claims before the First Consul, regained pos-

session of his premises, and obtained payment of rent for the whole period of their occupation by the troops of the Revolution. With great difficulty he made his escape from Paris upon the issue of the decree for the detention of all English subjects in France. In 1803 the amphitheatre was again destroyed by fire, Astley's loss being estimated at 25,000*l.* Forthwith he laid the first stone of a new building, which was completed in time to open on Easter Monday, 1804. Astley now retired from active management in favour of his son, receiving, however, one clear half of the annual profits. He next attempted to establish an amphitheatre on the Middlesex side of the Thames, and obtaining a license through the influence of Queen Charlotte for 'music, dancing, burlettas, pantomimes, and equestrian exhibitions,' he opened the Olympic Pavilion on the site of the present Olympic Theatre. By this venture he lost 10,000*l.* In 1812 he sold the Olympic Pavilion to Elliston for 2,800*l.* and a small annuity to be paid during the life of Astley. There was but one payment of the annuity. Astley died in Paris, aged 72, and was buried in the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise. His son, 'Young Astley,' also an admired equestrian performer, to whom he had bequeathed the interest arising from his somewhat encumbered property, survived seven years only. He also died in Paris, and was interred beside his father in Père-la-Chaise. Philip Astley was the best horse-tamer of his time. He usually bought his horses in Smithfield, caring, as he said, 'little for shape, make, or colour: temper was the only consideration.' He rarely gave more than five pounds for a horse. He was a man of violent temper, peremptory of speech and rude of manner, but of great energy and notable integrity; and he was regarded with affection by the members of his company. He constructed in all nineteen amphitheatres for equestrian exhibitions.

[De Castro's Memoirs, 1824; Brayley's Theatres of London, 1833.] D. C.

ASTON, ANTHONY (*fl.* 1712–1731), dramatist and actor, was the son of a gentleman who had been master of the Plea Office in the King's Bench, and was educated as an attorney. He is said to have played in all the London theatres, but never continued long in any. In a pamphlet of 24 pages, entitled 'A brief Supplement to Colley Cibber, Esquire, his Lives of the Famous Actors and Actresses,' and written apparently about 1747, Aston states that he came on the stage at the latter end of the reign of William III. With his wife and son he travelled through England, and at the chief towns presented a medley entertainment of humorous scenes from various plays, with songs and dialogue of his own composition 'to fill up the chinks of the slender meal.' The 'Spectator' for 1 Jan. 1712 contained the advertisement of the popular comedian, Richard Estcourt, that he was about to open the Bumper Tavern in James Street, Covent Garden, and that his wines would be sold with the utmost fidelity by his old servant, Trusty Antony—it has been presumed that Aston was referred to—'who had so often adorned both the theatres in England and Ireland.' In 1717 he is said to have performed three times a week at the Globe and Marlborough Taverns in Fleet Street. In 1735 he petitioned the House of Commons to be heard against the Bill introduced by Sir John Barnard for restraining the number of theatres, and for the better regulating of common players of interludes, when he was permitted to deliver a ludicrous speech upon the subject, which was afterwards published in folio. Chetwood, whose history was published in 1749, believed that Aston was then living and 'travelling still, and as well known as the post-horse that carries the mail.' Aston's 'Brief Supplement' contains interesting mentions of Betterton, Mrs. Bracegirdle, and others. He was the author of 'Love in a Hurry,' a comedy performed without success at the Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, about 1709; and of 'Pastora, or the Coy Shepherdess,' an opera performed by the Duke of Richmond's servants at Tunbridge Wells in 1712. The 'Fool's Opera, or the Taste of the Age,' printed in 1731, 'written by Matthew Medley and performed by his company in Oxford,' has also been attributed to Aston.

[Chetwood's History of the Stage, 1749.] D. C.

ASTON, Sir ARTHUR (*d.* 1649), royalist general, was the younger of the two sons of Sir Arthur Aston, knight, of Fulham, Middlesex, by his first wife, Christiana, daughter of John Ashton, of Penrith, Cumberland, and grandson of Sir Thomas Aston, knight, of Aston, in Bucklow hundred, Cheshire, in which county the 'ancient and knightly family' of Aston had long flourished. Probably he was a native of Fulham, but nothing is recorded concerning his birthplace or education. He went to Russia during the unsettled state of that kingdom which preceded and followed the assumption of the throne by Michael Federowitz in 1613. He was accompanied by a certain number of men, captains, and commanders, and furnished with letters of recommendation from James I, and he pro-

bably remained there till a truce was concluded between this power and its belligerent neighbours, the Poles, in 1618. Returning to England, he again procured letters from King James, and repaired to the camp of Sigismund III, King of Poland—the enemy against whom he had lately striven—with the view of aiding that monarch in his war against the Turks. In this service he consequently witnessed the total overthrow of the Moslem army. With Christopher Radzivill, general-in-chief of the Lithuanian forces, he served throughout the war, attending the invasion of Livonia by Gustavus Adolphus, in 1621; and as a proof of his meritorious services obtained from that general letters testimonal, dated at Vilna, 1 Jan. 1623, in which his military bearing is highly extolled, especially in recovering the castle of Mittivia, which had been captured by the Swedes. For this and other services Sigismund, in a deed dated 23 April 1625, granted him a yearly pension of 700 florins. Upon peace being restored in 1631 to the dominions of Sigismund, Lieutenant-colonel Aston, for he had now attained that rank, once more returned to England.

Having raised here a regiment of native soldiers, he again departed for the continent. Once more he drew his sword in the service of a former adversary. Joining Gustavus Adolphus with his newly raised company, he attended that celebrated commander in his expedition against the Austrian Count Tilly, and probably throughout that splendid campaign which terminated on the plain of Lützen.

At the commencement of the Scottish rebellion he returned home with as many soldiers of note as he could bring with him. On 8 April 1640 he was appointed by the Earl of Northumberland sergeant-major-general of the regiments under Viscount Conway, then lying at Newcastle, and, after the rout at Newburn, retired with that body first to Durham, and then into Yorkshire. On Northumberland's sickness, the command of the army devolving on the Earl of Strafford, he was by that nobleman appointed (7 Sept.) colonel-general of one of the brigades serving against the Scots, who now occupied Newcastle; and on the 17th of the same month sergeant-major of the newly raised train-bands of Yorkshire, in which capacity he served until the return home of the Scots and the disbandment of the English army.

Dodd relates (*Church History*, iii. 57) that on the breaking out of the civil war Sir Arthur Aston—who had been knighted on 15 Feb. 1640–1—'offered his services to King Charles, but was refused; his majesty alleging that the cry of popery already ran so high against him that it would certainly inflame matters if he admitted so many persons of that communion. Afterwards, as 'tis said, Sir Arthur, by way of tryal, made the same offer to Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the parliament's forces, who immediately embraced it. The king, being made acquainted with this passage, not only granted a commission to Sir Arthur, but gave a general invitation to all other catholics to come in to him.' The appointment he received was that of colonel-general of the dragoons, with which regiment he did his majesty good service at Edgehill, beating off the field the right wing of the parliamentary army.

Upon the king's removal to Oxford from Reading (21 Nov. 1642), where he had lain since the attack on Brentford, he left Sir Arthur, who had now succeeded Mr. Wilmot as commissary-general of the horse, governor of that town, with a garrison of about three thousand foot, and a regiment of horse of about as many hundreds. Whilst governor of Reading he hanged one or two of his own men who had been guilty of some notorious crimes, 'to stop the mouths of the people,' said a contemporary journalist, 'for his murdering Master Boys, an honest citizen of London, by a seeming act of justice.' In the 'Weekly Intelligencer' (No. 18) it is stated that this Boys, who was executed in the town, was suspected of being a spy.

During the siege of Reading he three times repulsed the parliament forces under the Earl of Essex; but afterwards, whilst standing under a shed near the enemy's approaches, he received an injury on the head, occasioned by the fall of a tile—an accident which deprived him of his senses for the remainder of the siege. Accordingly, he resigned the command to Colonel Richard Fielding, the senior officer of the garrison. Clarendon, speaking of this accident, says that it 'was then thought of great misfortune to the king, for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had a greater dread.' The siege terminated on 27 April 1643, by the garrison evacuating the town with the honours of war. Sir Arthur, in a horse-litter, led the procession, which made for Wallingford, and the next day joined the king at Oxford. Sir Arthur's wound did not long deprive the king of his assistance; for on 27 July following he came post from Bristol—at the taking of which city he was probably present—to the king at Oxford, informing him of the state of things in the west. In the following month, at the particular request of the queen, who resided in the city, and who imagined herself safer under the protection of a catholic, he

was appointed governor of Oxford on the death of Sir William Pennyman. Here, on 1 May following, the degree of M.D. was conferred upon him by the university. On 19 Sept. 1644 he was thrown from his horse and broke his leg; gangrene set in, and amputation was performed on 7 Dec. This accident was regarded by the puritans (Vicars, *Looking-glass for Malignants*, 1645) as a judgment of God against Aston for an act of revolting cruelty which he had perpetrated a short time before in adjudging that a soldier, against whom he bore a grudge, should have his right hand sawn off. As Sir Arthur thus became incapable of discharging the active duties of his office, the king removed him from the command (25 Dec.), conferring upon him a pension of 1,000*l.* a year. He was removed, says Anthony à Wood, 'to the great rejoycing of the soldiers and others in Oxford, having expressed himself very cruel and imperious while he executed that office.'

In November 1646 we find Aston in Ireland with the Marquis of Ormonde, with whom he probably returned to England on the delivery of Dublin to the parliament. It seems likely that, after the execution of the king, he joined the marquis in Ireland on his resuming the government there. Certain it is, that on 27 July 1649 he sat on a council of war convened by the lord-lieutenant. Being left with a garrison of 3,000 men in defence of Drogheda or Tredagh, Sir Arthur three times repulsed the army of General Cromwell, which approached the works 8 Sept. 1649. This determined perseverance, however, eventually proved unsuccessful. The town was entered on the 10th. No quarter was given, and only about thirty persons escaped, who, with several hundreds of the Irish nation, were shipped off as slaves to the island of Barbadoes (Dodd, *Church History*, iii. 58). Aston perished in the butchery. He was hacked to pieces, and his brains were beaten out with his wooden leg.

Clarendon remarks that the king, in all his armies, had but one general officer of the catholic religion, 'Sir Arthur Aston, whom the papists, notwithstanding, would not acknowledge for a papist.' The same writer, referring to Aston's appointment as governor of Oxford, says he 'had the fortune to be very much esteemed where he was not known, and very much detested where he was; and he was at this time too well known at Oxford to be beloved by any.' Clarendon adds that he was 'a man of a rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it.'

[Memoir by G. Steinman-Steinman, in Gent. Mag. n. s. i. 144, 234; Kippis's Biog. Brit.; Notes and Queries, viii. 126, 302, 480, 629; Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion; Coates's Hist. of Reading, 24 seq.; Addit. MS. 18980 ff. 22, 43; Wood's Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 77; Life of Anthony à Wood, ed. Bliss, p. xx; Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 57; Calendars of State Papers; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches (1850), ii. 205; Faulkner's Fulham, 306.] T. C.

ASTON, or **ASHTON**, JOHN (*fl.* 1382), one of Wycliffe's earliest followers, is described as M.A. and 'scholar' (or, once, 'bachelor') in theology at Oxford, and, according to Anthony à Wood (*History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, i. 492, ed. Gutch), was a member of Merton College. He appears first to have been engaged as one of Wycliffe's band of itinerant priests, and by the year 1382 had become conspicuous for his advocacy of his master's views, particularly of those relating to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Knighton (col. 2658, *sq.*) describes the zeal with which he carried on his mission as a preacher of the new doctrine, and the author of the 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum' (p. 274) makes the well-known rebel, John Ball, in his confession, name Aston in company with Nicholas Hereford and Lawrence Bedeman as the leaders of Wycliffe's party. In 1382 these three men, together with Philip Repyngdon, were singled out among the Oxford Wycliffites as the subjects of a prosecution at the hands of Archbishop Courtney, who first issued, 12 June, an ineffectual mandate restraining them from public functions in the university, and then summoned them to an examination to be held before him at the Blackfriars Priory in London. Wycliffe's specific doctrines had, in fact, been already condemned at the 'earthquake' council of Blackfriars in the preceding month, and there was little difficulty in implicating his disciples in them. Aston appeared on 18 June. He circulated a broadsheet declaring his allegiance to the faith of the church, and won so much sympathy that his final hearing on the 20th was interrupted and nearly broken up by the invasion of a friendly mob. He was, however, condemned, and, by virtue of a subsequent royal patent, dated 13 July, was expelled from his university. By the archbishop's order a search was then made for him and his companions, and at length, in October, Aston was seized. On 27 Nov. he followed the example of Bedeman and Repyngdon (Hereford had left the country), recanted, and returned to Oxford. His recantation, however, was transient. In 1387 Bishop Wakefield of Worcester denounced him as a dangerous Lollard, and prohibited

him from preaching. According to Foxe (*Acts*, iii. 47, ed. Townsend) he was cited and condemned later by Archbishop Arundel; but this statement seems to rest upon the notice in the St. Albans Chronicles (WALSINGHAM, ii. 65 sq., ed. Riley; *Chronicon Angliæ*, 1328–1388, p. 350, ed. Thompson) of the popular disturbance at his trial, which evidently relates to that held by Archbishop Courtney (cf. *Fasc. Ziz.* p. 329).

A few writings by Aston are enumerated by Bale (*Scriptorum Illustrium Catalogus*, p. 495, ed. Basle, 1559).

The name is spelled variously. The authorities last mentioned give 'Astone;' the 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum' alternate between 'Astone' and 'Aston;' while the Lambeth registers (see *Fasc. Ziz.*, p. 310, n. 8) have 'Ashton,' and Wilkins prints 'Asshton.' Other forms are 'Ayston' (WOOD, *l. c.*) and 'Ayshton' (TANNER, *Bibl. Brit.-Hib.*, p. 54).

[Fasciculi Zizaniorum, pp. 273–90, 309–14, 329–33 (ed. Shirley, Rolls series); Knighton, De Event. Angl., coll. 2656–9 (in Twysden's Decem Scriptores); Wilkins's Concil. Magn. Brit. iii. 157–69, 202 et seq. (1737); J. Lewis's Life of Wiclif, pp. 262–6, ed. Oxford, 1820; Lechler's John Wiclif and his English Precursors, pp. 215–22, 433–9, Engl. tr., ed. 1881.]

R. L. P.

ASTON, JOSEPH (1762–1844), journalist, dramatist, and miscellaneous writer, was born in 1762, the son of William Aston, gunsmith, of Deansgate, in Manchester. In 1803 he opened a stationer's shop at 84 Deansgate, where, on 1 Jan. 1805, he issued the prospectus of the 'Manchester Mail,' published at sixpence, and professing 'no political creed.' From 1809 till 1825 he was publisher and editor of the 'Manchester Exchange Herald,' a conservative journal. Afterwards he removed to Rochdale, where he started the 'Rochdale Recorder.' He died at Chadderton Hall, 19 Oct. 1844, and was buried at Tonge, adjoining Middleton. Aston was the friend and executor of Thomas Barritt, the antiquary. For about thirty-four years he also enjoyed the closest intimacy with James Montgomery, the poet, and editor of the 'Sheffield Iris,' who submitted to him most of his manuscripts for revision and criticism. He himself was a facile writer of verses, the majority of which appeared in his own paper. Of his dramatic pieces, 'Conscience,' a comedy, was performed at the Theatre Royal, Manchester, in 1815, with moderate success; and he also wrote 'Retributive Justice,' a tragedy, and 'A Family Story,' a comedy. His published works nearly all relate to Manchester. They include 'The Manchester Guide,' 1804, 2nd edition, 1815, 3rd, with plates, 1826; 'History and Description of the Collegiate Church of Christ, Manchester;' 'Lancashire Gazetteer,' 1st edition 1808, 2nd 1822; 'An Heroic Epistle from the Quadruple Obelisk in the Market Place to the New Exchange,' 1809; 'A Descriptive Account of Manchester Exchange,' 1810; 'Metrical Records of Manchester, in which its History is traced (currente calamo) from the days of the ancient Britons to the present time,' 1822.

[Fishwick, Lancashire Library, 1875, 37, 119, and 285; Procter, Memorials of Manchester Streets, 1874, pp. 164–174; Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery, by John Holland and James Everett, 1854–56; Notes and Queries, vol. xii., 2nd series, 379, and vol. i., 3rd series, 97.]

T. F. H.

ASTON, SIR RICHARD (*d.* 1778), judge, was a younger son of Richard Aston, Esq., of Wadley, Berks, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Warren, Esq., of Oxfordshire, grandson of Sir Willoughby Aston, Bart., and great-grandson of Sir Thomas Aston, created baronet by Charles I, sheriff of Cheshire in 1635, who exerted himself energetically on the side of the king in the constitutional struggle, and lost his life through a wound received in a skirmish in 1645. The Astons derived their name from Aston in Cheshire, where the family had been settled since the time of Henry II. It is not known at what date Richard Aston began practice as a barrister. His name appears with tolerable frequency in the first volume of Sir James Burrow's 'Reports of Cases in the King's Bench' (1756–8), but seldom in connection with cases of first-rate importance. He became king's counsel in 1759, and in 1761 was made lord chief justice of the court of Common Pleas in Ireland, on the resignation of Sir William Yorke. In this office he seems to have displayed considerable energy. Discovering that it was the practice of grand juries in that country to find bills of indictment upon the mere perusal of depositions without examining any witnesses, he set himself to reform so scandalous an abuse. He failed, however, to carry his colleagues with him, only two out of nine disapproving of the practice, which remained unaltered until 1816, when a bill making the examination of witnesses obligatory was introduced into the House of Commons by Horner and passed into law. Few English judges have been popular in Ireland, and Aston was not one of the few. Accordingly, on the resignation of Sir Thomas Denison, one of the judges of the King's Bench in England, which happened in 1765, he resigned his Irish post, and was

transferred to the English court and knighted. In 1768 Aston was a member of the court presided over by Lord Mansfield, which unanimously decided that the writ of outlawry issued against Wilkes upon his conviction for publishing two seditious libels in No. 45 of the 'North Briton' and in the 'Essay on Woman,' was bad by reason of two formal defects. Wilkes, who had kept out of the country until the writ was issued, voluntarily surrendered himself to the sheriff of Middlesex before the execution of it, and then appeared before the court upon a writ of error, claiming to have the writ of outlawry declared invalid upon certain technical grounds. The judges disallowed all the objections urged by the counsel for Wilkes, but the result of a careful examination of precedents conducted by the junior members of the court (Yates, Aston, and Willes) was to show that in the days when the writ of outlawry (*capias utlagatum*) was in common use 'a series of judgments required that . . . after the words "at my county court" should be added the name of the county, and after the word "held" should be added "for the county of ——" (naming it).' The writ being faulty in these respects, the court held that it was invalid. A decision based upon a ground so purely technical, overlooked by the counsel for the applicant, and only discovered by the judges after careful research, excited in the minds of those hostile to Wilkes suspicions of corrupt motives, and a report was circulated to the effect that the judges, or at any rate Willes and Aston, had been bribed by a gift of lottery tickets, that Aston had been seen selling them on 'Change, and had remarked that he had as good a right to sell his tickets as his brother Willes. In 1770, on the sudden death of Yorke, which occurred on 20 Jan., immediately after his acceptance of the office of lord chancellor in succession to Lord Camden, the Rockingham administration, being unable to find any lawyer of ability and character to succeed him, determined to put the great seal in commission; and Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe of the Exchequer, Sir Richard Aston of the King's Bench, and the Hon. Henry Bathurst of the Common Pleas, were selected as commissioners. These three judges, having had no experience of chancery business, in the space of a year (1770–1) committed so many blunders that a change was plainly necessary. Accordingly, on 21 Jan. 1771, the three commissioners delivered up the great seal, and on the same day it was redelivered to one of them, the Hon. Henry Bathurst. It was by Aston, sitting with Lord Mansfield in the court of King's Bench at Westminster, that in 1777 sentence of fine and imprisonment was passed upon Horne (afterwards Horne Tooke) for a seditious libel in advertising a subscription in relief 'of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, and preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at or near Lexington and Concord in the province of Massachusetts.' Aston was married twice, first to a Miss Eldred, and then to Rebecca, daughter of Dr. Rowland, a physician of Aylesbury, and widow of Sir David Williams, Bart., of Rose Hall, Herts. He is said to have been brusque in his manners. He died in 1778, leaving no issue by either of his wives.

[Burke's Extinct Baronetage, 23, 569; Wotton's Baronetage; Cal. of Home Office Papers, 1766–9, 1770–2; Hansard, xxxii. 548, 552; Horner's Life, Letter from Horner to Murray upon the Irish Jury Bill; Smyth's Law Officers of Ireland, 311; Law and Lawyers (reputed author James Grant), ii. 140; Burrow's Settlement Cases, 533; Burrow's Reports, iv. 2527; Howell's State Trials, xix. 1085, 1098, 1109, 1116, xx. 787; Cr. Off. Min. B. No. 2, fol. 16; Annual Reg. xiii. 186.]

J. M. R.

ASTON, Sir THOMAS (1600–1645), royalist, was the heir of an ancient Cheshire family which had been settled at Aston in that county for many generations, and showed undoubted descent from the time of Henry II. Several of these early Astons were knighted, and one of them was treasurer to Philippa, the wife of Edward III, and joined in the wars in Spain. Thomas Aston was born on 29 Sept. 1600. His father, John Aston, who had been sewer to the wife of James I, died in 1615, and presumably his children remained under the care of his widow. Thomas was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. He was made a baronet by Charles I in July 1628, and served as high sheriff of Cheshire in 1635. In this year died his first wife, Magdalene, daughter of Sir John Poulteney, but their four children all died young. She lies buried in the family chapel at Aston Hall, with an epitaph which may have been the work of her husband, and is certainly characteristic of the period. In 1639 Sir Thomas took as his second wife Anne, the heiress of Sir Henry Willoughby, and his only son was named Willoughby.

Sir Thomas was a staunch churchman and loyally attached to the monarchy, and in the civil and ecclesiastical troubles he took his part. The portentous rise of nonconformist sentiment excited alike fear and anger. When what was known as the Cheshire petition against episcopacy was in circulation,

Sir Thomas and his friends set about the preparation of a counter-petition or remonstrance. Sir Thomas was attacked as the framer of the document in an 'answer' which he denounces as the work of 'some brain-sick anabaptist,' and this appears to have provoked him to the hasty compilation of a quarto which is sufficiently described on its title-page: 'A Remonstrance against Presbytery, exhibited by divers of the nobilitie, gentrie, ministers, and inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester, with the motives of that Remonstrance, together with a short survey of the Presbyterian discipline, showing the inconveniences of it, and the inconsistency thereof with the constitution of this state, being in its principles destructive to the laws and liberties of the people. With a briefe review of the institution, succession, jurisdiction of the ancient and venerable order of bishops found to be instituted by the Apostles, continued ever since, grounded on the lawes of God and most agreeable to the law of the land. By Sir Thomas Aston, Baronet. . . . Printed for John Aston, 1641' (B.M.), 4to. Sir Thomas includes in his book the petition to which it is an answer, and also 'certain positions' maintained by Samuel Eaton in his sermons at Chester and Knutsford. Eaton had been resident in New England, and had brought thence a keen appreciation of the congregational form of church government. Aston also made 'A Collection of Sundry Petitions presented to the King's most excellent Majesty, as also to the two Houses now assembled in Parliament. And others already signed by most of the gentry, ministers, and freeholders of several counties,' 1642 (Bodleian). When the war broke out between the king and parliament, Sir Thomas took part with the royalists, and was in command at Middlewich in March 1642-3, when he was defeated by Sir William Brereton. The royalists lost their two cannons and five hundred stand of arms. Few were slain, but the prisoners included many of the principal cavaliers engaged, and the town suffered at the hands of the roundheads, who made free with the property of burgesses and the plate of the church. Sir Thomas escaped, but when a few days later he returned to Chester he was placed under arrest at Pulford, where he wrote a defence of his conduct which furnishes a very minute account of the affair and is an interesting picture of the civil war. Sir Thomas apparently freed himself from censure and rejoined the king's army, and indeed is said to have suffered a second defeat from Brereton at Macclesfield in 1643. He was afterwards captured in a skirmish in Staffordshire. When in prison at Stafford he endeavoured to escape, but the attempted evasion was discovered by a soldier who struck him on the head. This and other wounds received in the war brought on a fever, of which he died at Stafford on 24 March 1645. He was buried at Aston chapel, and is fairly entitled, as Wood says, 'to the character of a stout and learned man.'

[Ormerod's History of Cheshire, ed. Helsby, 1882, ii. 82–3; Earwaker's East Cheshire, 1880, i. 470, ii. 657; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses; Axon's Cheshire Gleanings.] W. E. A. A.

ASTON, WALTER, Baron Aston of Forfar (1584–1639), ambassador, was the eldest son of Sir Edward Aston, of Tixall in Staffordshire, whose rental has been estimated at 10,000*l.*, so that he must have been one of the richest men in England. Walter was one of the knights of the Bath, created at the coronation of James I, and was one of the first baronets. He was sent as ambassador to Spain in 1620, where he remained till diplomatic relations between Spain and England were broken off at the beginning of 1625. James I did not, however, repose sufficient confidence in him to entrust him with the delicate negotiations relating to the Palatinate and the marriage treaty, and in 1622 he was overshadowed by Lord Digby, who at the end of that year became Earl of Bristol, and was appointed extraordinary ambassador to conduct those negotiations. When Prince Charles and Buckingham were in Spain, he gained their confidence by expressing a strong opinion, in opposition to Bristol, against the Spanish proposals for securing the Palatinate to the family of the elector palatine by educating the two eldest sons at the emperor's court. Charles took a liking to him probably on this ground, and in his subsequent letters always addressed him as 'Honest Wat.' In 1627 he created him Lord Aston of Forfar, in the Scottish peerage. From 1635 to 1638 he again served as ambassador in Spain. Shortly after his return he died, on Aug. 13, 1639. He is well known in literary history as the patron of Drayton. His wife was Gertrude Sadler, granddaughter of the Sir Ralph Sadler who played a part in politics in the reign of Henry VIII and his successors.

[Douglas, Peerage of Scotland; MSS., Despatches; State Papers, Spain.] S. R. G.

ASTON, WILLIAM (1735–1800), a Jesuit, whom Dr. Oliver believed to be the son of Edward Aston, by Ann Bayley his wife, was born in London 22 April, 1735. He made his early studies in the college at St. Omer, and at the age of sixteen he joined

the Society of Jesus at Watten (7 Sept., 1751). In 1761 he was professor of poetry at St. Omer. He was admitted to his solemn profession in his order 2 Feb. 1769. His commanding talents and accomplished manners recommended him for the presidency of the Little College at Bruges. On its violent suppression by the Belgic-Austrian privy council of Brussels, he was detained a close prisoner for eight months; but he and his companions were ultimately released, owing to the exertions of Henry, the eighth Lord Arundell of Wardour, who interceded with Prince Staremberg, the Austrian prime minister, on their behalf. A few years later Father Aston established an academy at Liège, and he obtained a canonry in the collegiate church of St. John in that city. He died 15 March, 1800. Besides writing for reviews and journals, Father Aston published D'Azais' 'Compte-rendu,' 'Lettres Ultramontaines,' and 'Le Cosmopolite.'

[Oliver's Collectanea S. J.; Foley's Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, vols. v. and vii.] T. C.

ASTRY, RICHARD (1632?–1714), antiquary, was born in Huntingdonshire in or about 1632. He was admitted of Queens' College, Cambridge, on March 14, 1647–8; proceeded B.A. in 1651; and in 1654 obtained from his college a grace for M.A., though that degree is not recorded in the university registers. After leaving the university he was elected an alderman of Huntingdon, and he was buried at St. Mary's in that town on Aug. 11, 1714, aged 83. He is the author of a quarto volume of collections, heraldic and topographical, relating to the county of Huntingdon, preserved in the Lansdowne MS. 921. The authorship of this MS., which is the only systematic attempt towards a history of Huntingdonshire, has hitherto been erroneously ascribed to Sir Robert Cotton. Mr. Thomas Baker has made copious extracts from this work in the thirty-sixth volume of his MSS. now deposited in the University Library, Cambridge. Astry also drew up 'Alphabetical Catalogues of English Surnames, with the arms belonging to them, and the particular times that the persons recorded lived;' forming three small but rather thick oblong folio volumes, formerly in the possession of the Rev. Henry Freeman, of Norman Cross.

[MS. Baker, 36; MS. Lansd. 921.] T. C.

ASTY, JOHN (1672?–1730), dissenting clergyman, was son of Robert Asty of Norwich and grandson to the 'ejected' of Stratford, whose christian name was John, not Robert (Harmer, *Ancient and Present State of Congregational Churches of Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 45). He was born at Norwich 'about 1672.' Of his early education, and of his education altogether, little or nothing has been transmitted; but in his funeral sermon by Guyse (1730) he is shown to have made 'thankful acknowledgments for his privilege in descending from godly parents' and for 'the advantages received from a religious education.' He spent several years during the earlier part of his ministry in the historic family of the Fleetwoods of Stoke Newington, then outside London. It does not appear that he undertook any pastoral charge proper until 1713. In that year he was 'ordained' as 'pastor' to a congregation at Ropemaker's Alley, Moorfields. Here he laboured most devotedly and self-denyingly until the date of his death. He was involved in a somewhat passionate controversy with a fellow dissenting minister named Martin Tomkins, also 'settled' in Stoke Newington. Tomkins was among the earliest of the originally 'evangelical' protestant dissenters who came to hold Arian-Socinian conceptions of the 'divinity' of Jesus Christ. This touched nearly Asty's beliefs, and he fearlessly and faithfully asserted the Biblical-Athanasian doctrine. Even Tomkins admitted ultimately that his opponent contended not against him as an individual, but for what he believed to be truth necessary to salvation. Later Asty signed the declaration 'on the doctrine of the blessed Trinity,' as promulgated in the first article of the Church of England and in the answer to the fifth and sixth questions of the Assembly's catechism, agreed upon at the Salters' Hall synod, 7 April 1719. He was a great admirer of the practical writings of the illustrious Dr. John Owen, and in his earnest sermons was never weary in setting forth 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.' 'And yet,' witnesses Guyse, 'in my freest converse with him I have with pleasure observed a remarkable tenderness in his spirit as to judging the state of those who differed from him, even in points which he took to be of very great importance' (as before, p. 81). He died on 20 Jan. 1729–30. He is one of the many venerable men laid to rest in Bunhill Fields, not far from John Bunyan's grave. He published only a single sermon, on the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Fleetwood and preached at Stoke Newington on 23 June 1728 from Job ix. 12. He also prefixed to the collective folio volume of the 'Sermons and Tracts of Dr. John Owen' (1721) a well-weighed and loving account of this second greatest of the later puritans. It may be added that among the 1662 farewell sermons is one by John

Asty, the 'ejected' clergyman of Stratford, and that Robert Asty of Norwich published a singularly bright and consolatory book called 'Treatise of Rejoicing in the Lord Jesus in all Cases and Conditions' (1683).

[Calamy and Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. iii. 288; W. Wilson's Dissenting Churches, ii. 537–45; Dr. John Guyse's Funeral Sermon; Harmer, ut supra; for full details on the Asty family, see Browne's History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk, Appendix, p. 614.] A. B. G.

ATHELARD OF BATH. [See ADELARD.]

ATHELM (*d.* 923), archbishop of Canterbury, is said by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Reg.* ii. 184) to have been a monk of Glastonbury. This statement has been disputed (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 556), but there is no conclusive evidence against it. In 909 Athelm was made the first bishop of Wells. Since 705 there had been two West-Saxon sees, at Winchester and at Sherborne [see ALDHELM]. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Reg.* ii. 129) says that Pope Formosus sent a letter to King Edward, excommunicating him and his subjects, because the West-Saxon country had been left without a bishop for seven years; that the king held a synod of great men, who divided the land into five instead of two dioceses, and chose five new bishops; and that, in 909, Archbishop Plegmund consecrated seven bishops in one day, one of these being Athelm to the church of Wells, one of the new dioceses. The story is full of anachronism, for Formosus died in 896, and the names of some of the bishops suggest other difficulties. The division of the dioceses, the creation of the see of Wells, and the consecration of Athelm may, however, be accepted. In 914 Athelm was made archbishop of Canterbury, and obtained the pall from John X. Athelm was the brother of Heorstan, the father of Dunstan. He is said to have been Dunstan's patron, but he died about the time of the birth of that saint. Athelm is said by Florence of Worcester to have crowned Æthelstan. This, however, is a mistake, for he died 8 Jan. 923, and was succeeded by Wulfhelm, who must have officiated at the coronation, which took place the next year.

[William of Malmesbury, Gesta Reg. ii. (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Gesta Pontiff. i. (Rolls Ser.); Florence of Worcester; Wharton, Anglia Sacra, i.; Adelard, Vita Dunstani; Stubbs, Reg. Sac. Anglic. p. 13, note.] W. H.

ATHELSTAN or **ÆTHELSTAN** (895–940), king of the West-Saxons and Mercians, and afterwards of all the English, was the son of Eadward the Elder, and of a noble lady Ecgwyn, according to Florence of Worcester; but another and later story represents his mother as a shepherd's daughter, and not the lawful wife of Eadward. In all probability he was illegitimate, but by a recognised mistress of noble birth. Born during the lifetime of his grandfather Ælfred, Æthelstan was a favourite of the great West-Saxon king, who gave him as a boy a purple cloak, a jewelled belt, and a sword with a golden scabbard, no doubt to mark him out, in spite of his illegitimacy, as a right ætheling. When the young prince was six years old, Ælfred died, and during the stormy years when Eadward was slowly recovering the overlordship of Mercia and Northumbria from the Danish hosts, Æthelstan was sent to be brought up by his aunt Æthelflæd, the Lady of the Mercians, and her husband the ealdorman Æthelred. Probably he took part in the great series of campaigns by which Æthelflæd and Eadward gradually extended the power of the West-Saxon dynasty over the whole of northern England. His education seems to have been sound and literary; the catalogue of his later library (among the Cottonian MSS.) included several good Latin works. In 925, when Æthelstan was aged thirty, Eadward the Elder died, and the ætheling was at once chosen to succeed him. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle specially mentions that he was elected by the Mercians, who still retained their separate national gemót. The West-Saxon election apparently came later. Æthelstan was crowned at Kingston in Surrey (perhaps as being near the borders of Mercia and Wessex), as were most succeeding kings till the building of Eadward the Confessor's abbey at Westminster. Doubts, however, were cast upon the election, on the ground of Æthelstan's dubious legitimacy; and an ætheling named Ælfred (whose exact relationship to the kingly house is unknown) endeavoured to upset the arrangement. A legendary tale in William of Malmesbury states that Ælfred, being accused of conspiracy against the king, went to Rome to clear himself, and there, having sworn a false oath, at once fell down in the pope's presence, and died three days later at the English college. The materials for Æthelstan's personal and regnal history are somewhat deficient. The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' and Florence of Worcester (translating from a lost copy of the 'Chronicle') are here very meagre, while William of Malmesbury, who is very full on this reign, is uncritical, and evidently derives much of his information from ballads and other legendary sources. It is quite clear, however, that 'glorious Æthelstan' was a personally vigorous and able king, a worthy successor of Ælfred and Eadward, and

a precursor of Edward I, definitely pursuing an imperial policy, by which he hoped to unite all Great Britain under the overlordship of a single West-Saxon king. In the year following his accession he had a conference at Tamworth (the royal burgh of Mercia) with Sihtric, Danish king of Northumbria, to whom he gave his sister in marriage, and whom he apparently compelled to acknowledge his suzerainty. A year later Sihtric died, whereupon Æthelstan drove out his son Guthfrith, and annexed Northumbria to his own immediate dominions. A coalition of the minor kings was then formed to resist Æthelstan's imperial policy, and was joined by Howel, king of the West-Welsh (perhaps the Cornish, but more probably Howel Dda of Dyved), Owen, king of Gwent (Monmouthshire), Constantine, king of the Scots, and Ealdred, lord of Bamborough, and leader of the English remnant in the modern county of Northumberland. Æthelstan crushed this coalition, and compelled all the underkings to acknowledge his supremacy 'with pledge and with oaths,' at a congress held at Emmet in 926. He thus perhaps deserves the title of first king of all the English far more fully than Ecgberht or any other prince before Eadgar. At the same time his overlordship was of a loose character; he did not attempt to govern the whole kingdom directly, but left the native princes everywhere as his vassals (to use the language of later feudalism), it being one of his favourite sayings that it was more glorious 'regem facere quam regem esse.' Still he expelled Ealdred of Bamborough altogether, as well as Guthfrith, so that he became direct king of all English and Danish Britain, leaving only the Celtic princes of the west and north as underkings. Towards the Welsh his policy was one of mixed firmness and conciliation. He made the princes of Wales proper do homage to him at Hereford, paying him a stipulated tribute of coin and cattle; and he fixed the Wye as the political boundary between the two races. In West Wales or Damnonia he also pushed forward the West-Saxon boundary, subjugating the Welsh in the northern half of Exeter city, which they had previously held as their own, while the English held the southern half, and fortifying the town as a border fortress with stone fortifications—the earliest mentioned in Anglo-Saxon history. He then conquered the western half of Devonshire, and restricted the Cornish princes to the country beyond the Tamar. At the same time he adopted a conciliatory tone to the conquered Welsh in Wessex itself, dedicating churches and colleges in Dorset and Devon to Welsh saints, and holding his gemót at Exeter, whence some of his laws are dated. As a legislator his enactments are mainly of the nature of amendments of custom, and do not (like those of Ælfred and Cnut) aspire to the character of a code. In 933, according to the 'Chronicle,' or in 934, according to Simeon of Durham (a safer guide on northern matters), Constantine, king of Scots, rebelled (William of Malmesbury says by receiving the banished Guthfrith), and Æthelstan then invaded Scotland 'with land host and ship host, and overharried much of it.' On his way he destroyed the Danish tower at York, which Guthfrith had endeavoured to occupy. In 937 occurred the final grand victory of Æthelstan's life, the campaign and battle of Brunanburh. A dangerous rebellion and coalition of the subject princes with the Danish pirate kings then took place, and threatened seriously to overthrow the newly founded West-Saxon supremacy. One Anlaf, of whom nothing certain is known, came from Ireland with a fleet of long-ships, and stirred up Constantine of Scotland, Owain, Celtic king of Cumberland, and all the Northumbrian Danes and Welshkind to a great revolt. Æthelstan and his brother the ætheling Eadmund led a hasty levy against the combined host, and defeated them with great slaughter at a place called Brunanburh, the exact locality of which is uncertain, but it is probably somewhere in Northumbria. This battle practically established for the time the unity of England and the supremacy of the West-Saxon house. It is commemorated by a fine alliterative ballad, inserted in the 'Chronicle,' and frequently translated into modern English. The battle is there described as the greatest of English victories over the native Welshkind since the first invasion of Britain. The great personal popularity of Æthelstan is shown, not only by the tone of this fine war-song, but also by the numerous ballads and legends implied in William of Malmesbury's narrative. Three years later, on 27 Oct. 940, Æthelstan died at Gloucester, after a reign of fourteen years and ten weeks. We have no record that Æthelstan was ever married or had any children. But the splendour of his family alliances on the continent, unexampled in the case of any other English king before the Norman conquest, specially marks the unusual dignity of his position. Five of his sisters married continental princes, including Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks, Louis, king of Arles, and Hugh the Great, duke of the French; while Henry, king of the East Franks, actually sent ambassadors to ask of Æthelstan one of his sisters in marriage for his son Otto, afterwards the Emperor Otto the Great. Æthelstan royally sent a selection of two, one of whom Otto kept, and

passed on the other to a nameless German princeling. After the murder of Charles the Simple, his widow and her son Louis (d'Outremer) took refuge with Æthelstan, at whose court Louis was brought up. Later on his uncle Hugh sent for Louis to return, and he acquired his familiar surname (Ultramarinus) from this sojourn beyond the sea with his English relations. Æthelstan was buried in Malmesbury Abbey, to which (as to other Celtic shrines) he had been a great benefactor, and where a later mediæval tomb (perhaps remade) is still shown as his. He was succeeded by his brother Eadmund, the hero of Brunanburh. Another brother, the ætheling Eadwine, is said by Simeon of Durham (a late authority) to have been drowned at sea by Æthelstan's orders. William of Malmesbury expands this story, by obviously legendary additions, into an ugly romance; but the 'Chronicle' merely mentions briefly that Eadwine was drowned in 933, an entry which Henry of Huntingdon amplifies by adding (after his usual groundless fashion) that it was much to Æthelstan's sorrow. We may probably acquit the king's memory of the doubtful fratricide.

[The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (here contemporary, but slight); Florence of Worcester (translating a contemporary, but almost equally meagre); William of Malmesbury (full but untrustworthy); Simeon of Durham; Henry of Huntingdon—all under dates 924–940; Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici has many of Æthelstan's charters; Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of the Anglo-Saxons contains Æthelstan's Laws; Freeman's Old-English History (the chief modern critical authority), p. 145; Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. i.; Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 165; Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, ii. 177; Lappenberg; Thomas Kerslake, The Welsh in Dorset, and other pamphlets (Bristol, 1870 and onward).] G. A.

ATHERSTONE, EDWIN (1788–1872), a voluminous writer in verse and prose, was born on 17 April 1788. His first work was a poem entitled 'The Last Days of Herculaneum,' 1821. This was followed, in 1824, by 'A Midsummer Day's Dream.' In 1828 appeared the first six books of his chief work, 'The Fall of Niniveh.' Seven more books were published in 1847; and finally, in 1868, the whole work appeared complete in thirty books. Atherstone was a friend of John Martin, the painter; and the poet and painter worked in friendly rivalry. In 1830 he published an historical romance, 'The Sea Kings in England,' dealing with the times of Ælfred. His other romance is 'The Handwriting on the Wall,' 1858. Afterwards he returned to the writing of epics, and in 1861 was delivered of 'Israel in Egypt,' a poem not far short of twenty thousand lines. The grandiose scale on which his poems were planned attracted some ephemeral notice and applause. Atherstone died at Bath on 29 Jan. 1872. At the time of his death he was in receipt of a pension of 100*l.* a year.

[Athenæum, 10 Feb. 1872; Brit. Mus. Cat.] A. H. B.

ATHERTON, JOHN (1598–1640), bishop of Waterford and Lismore, is believed to have been born at Bawdripp, in Somersetshire, in 1598, where his father, Rev. John Atherton (a canon of St. Paul's), was rector of the parish. At sixteen he went to Gloucester Hall (subsequently Worcester College): but after taking his bachelor's degree he removed to Lincoln College, of which he was a member when he took his master's degree. He entered holy orders, and became rector of Huish Comb Flower in his native county. He acquired a great reputation as a skilful canonist and one learned in ecclesiastical law, and on this account is said to have attracted the notice of Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to have been appointed prebendary of St. John's, Dublin, 22 April 1630. This he held by dispensation with his previous preferment. In 1635 he became chancellor of Christ Church, and held also the rectories of Killaban and Ballintubride, in the diocese of Leighlin. He was chancellor of Killaloe in 1634. His highest promotion was reached in 1636, when (4 May) he became bishop of Waterford and Lismore. In this situation he is said to have 'behaved himself for some time with great prudence, though forward enough, if not too much, against the Roman catholicks in that country' (Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*). He was in 1640 accused of unnatural crime, and being found guilty was first degraded and afterwards hanged at Dublin, 5 Dec. 1640. His body, by his own desire, was buried in the obscurest part of St. John's churchyard, Dublin.

A theory has been set forth that he was in reality innocent of the crime imputed to him, and a victim to the vindictive feelings of powerful enemies. Wentworth, in his position as lord deputy, had recovered from the Earl of Cork some of the great tithes which he had appropriated, and had compelled the earl to compound for some church lands in his possession. Bishop Atherton sued for the remainder of those lands belonging to the see of Waterford which were still retained by the Earl of Cork; and Carte wishes us to believe that the bishop 'fell a sacrifice to that litigation rather than to justice, when he

suffered for a pretended crime upon the testimony of a single witness that deserved no credit. The bishop absolutely denied the fact; and the fellow who swore against him, when he came to be executed himself some time afterwards for his crimes, confessed at the gallows that he had falsely accused him.' Carte's statement is much too strong. Dr. Nicholas Bernard attended him from the time of his sentence to that of his execution, and at the request of Archbishop Usher wrote 'A Relation of the Penitent Death of Bishop Atherton.' From this we learn that Atherton's attitude during the trial was 'by all condemned;' but when the fatal issue became manifest his manner changed. Three times daily Bernard visited the prisoner, and after a time he became penitent, and faced the penalty with equanimity. 'The magnanimity of the man,' says Bernard, 'I did much admire.' When the news of the lord-deputy's death brought some hope of a reprieve, 'it moved him not, as rather choosing a present deserved death than the prolonging of an ignominious life; whereby the scandal would but increase. He did so abhor himself that once a thought rising within him to have petitioned to have been beheaded, he told me he answered himself with indignation "That a dog's death was too good for him," and so judged himself to the last.' Dr. Bernard tells us that the father of Atherton had foretold the shortening of life as a penalty for disrespect to his mother. He had, when a youth, threatened her that he would hang himself with his horse's bridle on a common gallows by which they were riding. On the day of his execution he read the morning service to his fellow-prisoners, and was then escorted by the sheriff of the county, a Roman catholic, who is said to have behaved with much unnecessary harshness. Bernard nowhere expresses an opinion of Atherton's innocence, although he reports his denial 'of the main thing in the inditement, which the law laid hold of, and which hath been since confirmed by the confession of his chief accuser at his execution also, yet in his own conscience applauded and magnified God's justice in it; and so burned a bundle of papers, which he wrote out of law books, in his own defence.' These quotations are clearly incompatible with the idea that Atherton was the innocent victim of a vile conspiracy. It is to be noted that none of his accusers were Roman catholics. His execution was witnessed by an immense crowd, and his last speeches and prayers were broken by a wretch who had climbed upon one end of the gallows in order to interrupt and deride the unhappy man. A penitent and pious letter to his wife, and another to his children, are printed by Bernard.

[Wood's Athen. Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 892; Fasti Eccles. Hiberniæ; Carte's Life of Ormonde; Whole Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, ed. Harris, Dublin, 1739, fol., i. 539, ii. 363; Life and Death of John Atherton, London, 1641 (in verse); Bernard's Penitent Death of John Atherton, Dublin, 1641, London, 1641, 1651, 1709, &c.; Case of John Atherton, London, 1709 (this includes a letter by Thomas Mills, Bishop of Waterford); King's Case of John Atherton, London, 1716.] W. E. A. A.

ATHERTON, WILLIAM (1775–1850), Wesleyan minister, was born at Lamberhead Green, near Wigan in Lancashire, in 1775. At the age of 21 he entered the Wesleyan ministry on the Grimsby circuit, and his fresh and original style of preaching gave him a place among the most famous preachers of England in the first half of this century. He worked under the direction of the Wesleyan Conference for more than fifty years, and was chosen in 1846 the president of that assembly.

After spending some years in London, Atherton became in 1849 superintendent of the Wakefield circuit and chairman of the Leeds district, a position which he held until his death on 26 Sept. 1850, in his 74th year.

Atherton published several works, among which were the following: a sermon on the 'Insecurity of Life,' in 1818; an abridged 'Life of Lady Maxwell,' in 1838; and an 'Address on the Character, Agencies, and Religious Effectiveness of Wesleyan Methodism,' in 1839.

[Minutes of the Methodist Conferences; Dr. Osborn's Outlines of Wesleyan Bibliography.] W. B. L.

ATHERTON, Sir WILLIAM (1806–1864), lawyer, was born at Glasgow in 1806, being the son of the Rev. William Atherton, a well-known Wesleyan preacher, by Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Walter Morison, a minister of the Established Church of Scotland. He was educated in England, adopted the legal profession, and practised from 1832 to 1839 as a special pleader below the bar. In the latter year he was called to the bar at the Inner Temple. He chose the northern circuit, and was not long in securing a high reputation. He was returned to parliament as one of the members for the city of Durham in 1852, and was re-elected by the same constituency in 1857 and 1859. In politics he was an advanced liberal; opposed to the repeal of the Maynooth grant; in favour of the ballot, a large reform in the law, and the

removal of all religious disabilities. He was appointed a queen's counsel in 1852, and became a bencher of his inn the same year. He was judge-advocate of the fleet and standing counsel to the admiralty from 1855 till December 1859, when he succeeded Sir H. S. Keatinge as solicitor-general, and received the honour of knighthood. In June 1861, on the elevation of Sir R. Bethell (Lord Westbury) to the lord chancellorship, Sir William Atherton succeeded to the vacant post of attorney-general. He resigned his office in the autumn of 1863 on account of ill-health; and died at his residence, Westmoreland Terrace, Hyde Park, London, 22 Jan. 1864. He married, in 1843, Agnes Mary, daughter of Mr. Thomas James Hall, chief magistrate at Bow Street. While practising below the bar he published 'An Elementary and Practical Treatise on the Commencement of Personal Actions, and the Proceedings therein to Declaration, in the Superior Courts at Westminster. Comprising the Changes effected by the Uniformity of Process Act (2 W. 4. c. 39) and recent Rules of Court.' Lond. 1833. 12mo.

[Solicitor's Journal, viii. 3, 42, 247; Times, 23 Jan. 1864; Dod's Parliamentary Companion, (1863).] T. C.

ATHLONE, Earl of. [See Ginkel.]

ATHLUMNEY, Lord. [See Somerville.]

ATHOLE, or **ATHOLL**, Dukes of. [See Murray.]

ATHOLE, or **ATHOLL**, Earls of. [See Stewart.]

ATHONE, JOHN. [See Acton, John.]

ATKINE, ATKINS, or **ETKINS**, JAMES (1613?–1687), Scottish bishop, born at Kirkwall about 1613, was the son of Harie Atkine, sheriff of Orkney. He graduated M.A. at Edinburgh, 23 July 1636; and studied divinity at Oxford, 1637–8, under Dr. John Prideaux, then regius professor and rector of Exeter College. He became chaplain to James, marquis of Hamilton, high commissioner to the strongly anti-prelatical general assembly at Glasgow, 1638. He was presented to the living of Birsay, Orkney, 27 July 1641; admitted 26 June 1642, but deposed by the Orkney presbytery, July 1649. In 1650, however, we find Atkine, as moderator of the presbytery, presenting an address to James, marquis of Montrose, expressive of loyalty to Charles II; for this the whole presbytery was deposed by the assembly, and the council of state issued an order for Atkine's apprehension. Warned of this by the clerk of the council, Sir Archibald Primrose, his kinsman, he took refuge in Holland in 1650–3. We find him in Edinburgh in 1653–60, and on 15 May 1661 he received a grant of 100*l.* on account of his sufferings in the loyal cause. He went to London with Thomas Sydserf (the only survivor of the old hierarchy, and now made bishop of Orkney), and obtained the rectory of Winifrith, Dorset. On 1 Nov. 1676, he was elected bishop of Moray; the patent was issued 5 June 1677, but he was not consecrated till 28 Oct. 1679. He was translated to the see of Galloway, 6 Feb. 1680, by a patent dated 6 March. His loyalty was not servile; in 1686 he took a firm stand in parliament against rescinding the acts against popery; the Earl of Moray, royal commissioner, who opened the parliament, and the chancellor, Lord Perth, had both joined the church of Rome. The obnoxious measure was withdrawn. Atkine died of apoplexy, 15 Nov. 1687, aged seventy-four. He married Anna Rutherford, and had four daughters.

[Hew Scott's Fasti Eccl. Scotic.; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 1170; Grub's Eccl. Hist. of Scotland, 1861, vol. iii.] A. G.

ATKINS. [See Atkyns.]

ATKINS, HENRY (1558–1635), physician, was son of a Hertfordshire gentleman, Richard Atkins of Great Berkhamstead, and was born in 1558. He graduated at Oxford, and afterwards took his M.D. degree at Nantes. In 1588 he became a fellow of the College of Physicians, and in 1606 was elected president. He was re-elected in 1607, 1608, 1616, 1617, 1624, and 1625. In 1597 he sailed as physician to the Earl of Essex in the Spanish expedition, but was so seasick that he had to be put on shore and resigned the appointment. In 1604 Dr. Atkins was sent by James I to Scotland to bring back his son Charles. A letter of Dr. Atkins' on the child's health, written from Dunfermline, is extant (Thomas, *Historical Notes*, p. 485). In 1612 he was called into consultation during the last illness of Henry, Prince of Wales, and his opinion (Mayerne, *Opera*, p. 119) was that the disease was a putrid fever 'without malignity, except that attending putridity.' He suggested bleeding. His signature, as one of the king's physicians, stands next to that of Mayerne in the original report of the post-mortem examination (*Original State Papers*, vol. lxxi. No. 29). In 1611 the king is said to have offered Dr. Atkins the first baronet's patent. In 1618, under the presidency of Dr. Atkins, the College of Physicians issued the first 'London

Pharmacopeia.' The doctor married Mary Pigot of Dodershall, Bucks. He lived in Warwick Court, enjoyed a large practice, and died rich on 21 Sept. 1635. He left an only child, afterwards Sir Henry Atkins, and is buried in Cheshunt church, where his monument remains. He was a benefactor of the College of Physicians.

[Munk's College of Physicians, i. 93.]

N. M.

ATKINS, JOHN (1685–1757), naval surgeon, received his professional education as a surgeon's apprentice, and immediately entered the navy. He records wounds which he treated in Sir George Rooke's victory off Malaga (1703). In 1707 he was in some small actions with the French in the Channel, and in 1710 he served in the Lion man-of-war at the battle of Vaia Bay. The ship was commanded by Captain Galfridus Walpole, whose right arm was severely wounded. Atkins cut it off above the elbow and sat up two whole nights with the patient afterwards, 'supposing a tenderness and respect would engage his good opinion and consequently his interest.' This interested attention did not gain its object, for Captain Galfridus gave no thanks for it, being, as Atkins bitterly observes, 'the reverse of his brother (Sir Robert), loving cheapness in all jobs' (*Navy Surgeon*, 137). In February 1721 Atkins sailed from Spithead for the coast of Guinea with the Swallow and the Weymouth, sent to put down piracy on the west coast of Africa. They visited Sierra Leone, Wydah, the Gaboon, Elmina, and captured at Cape Lopez 270 pirates and 10,000*l.* in gold dust. When the pirates were tried, Atkins was made registrary, and complains that for twenty-six hard days' work he only received as many pounds. Three or four of the crew died every day for six weeks, and the surgeon became purser for want of another survivor fit for the office. They sailed to Brazil and the West Indies, where at Port Royal a hurricane carried off the masts. In April 1723 the vessels returned to England and were paid off. Atkins was unsuccessful in getting another ship, and took to writing books. He published two, both of which have had more than one edition. The 'Navy Surgeon' was published first (1732). It is a general treatise on surgery, with remarks on mineral springs, empirics, amulets, and infirmaries. It shows the author to have been an observant but somewhat prejudiced practitioner. The cases are clearly related, and are the best part of the book. Many surgical books are quoted, and enough of other books to show that Atkins was widely read. Horace, Juvenal, Pope, and Milton were known to him, and he admired also Stephen Duck. This book appeared in a shorter form as 'A Treatise on the following Chirurgical Subjects,' &c., without date. In 1735 he published 'A Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, and the West Indies.' This describes the voyage of the Swallow and the Weymouth, and is full of interesting information about the slave trade and the natural history of the Gold Coast. He describes the manatee accurately, and tells much about fetish worship. He shows that there was no evidence of a general cannibalism in any negro tribe, but mentions how an English captain made one slave eat the liver of another as a punishment. He gives full accounts of the winds and currents, and leaves the impression that he was intelligent and truthful. An edition of the 'Navy Surgeon' in 1742 contains several additions.

[Navy Surgeon, 1742.] N. M.

ATKINS, RICHARD (1559?–1581), martyr, was born at Ross in Herefordshire. According to his own confession 'till he was nineteen years old he was a catholic, after that a protestant,' but whether for another nineteen years or only three is not quite clear from the narrative. About Midsummer 1581 we find him at Rome armed with his 'litle new testament turned out of Beza' into English, and an unbounded faith in his mission against the church, the pope, and the city of Rome. After having addressed himself in an unknown tongue to an audience in St. Peter's, who thought him 'distract of his wit,' he was confronted with some of his fellow-countrymen in the English college. For his language towards them on the 'misorder of their lives,' and his denunciations against the church, he was imprisoned for a short time by the Inquisition. Upon his release he proceeded to a series of acts that finally brought him to torture and the stake. He was charged with exclaiming against the catholic religion and the pope in public places of resort, and with an act of sacrilege in attempting to throw down the sacrament while being carried through the streets by a priest. It was also stated that a few days later, he had gone to St. Peter's once again, while divers gentlemen and others were hearing mass, he stepped forward to the altar 'and threw down the chalice with the wine,' and strove to pull the cake out of the priest's hand before its consecration. Being committed to prison a second time and examined, his reply was 'that he came purposely to rebuke the pope's wickedness and their idolatry.' After many exhortations by his own country-

men to recant, but in vain, he was brought to the stake with many tortures and burned before St. Peter's, 2 Aug. 1581.

[Copie of a Double Letter . . . containing the true Advises of the Causes and Maner of the Death of one Richard Atkins, executed by Fire in Rome, 2 Aug. 1581, 12 leaves, sine l. et d.; The English Romayne Life (cap. 8); Report of the Christian Suffering of Richard Atkins, written by A[nthony] M[unday], London, 1582, 4to; to this is added a curious woodcut showing two of the incidents mentioned above, and 'the order of the marterdom of the aforesaid R. A. at Roome;' see also Lansd. MS. 982, 13.] C. H. C.

ATKINS, SAMUEL (*fl.* 1787–1808), marine painter, contributed to the Royal Academy between 1787 and 1796. From 1796 to 1804 he was in the East Indies, when he returned to England, and continued to exhibit until 1808. He worked in oil and water colour. The water-colour collections of South Kensington and the British Museum have each an example of his work. It is rather early in manner, low in tone, quiet, and truthful. A picture of 'Shakespeare's Cliff, Dover,' has been engraved after him by R. and D. Havell. Nagler attributes to this Samuel Atkins the originals of two engravings of sea-subjects after '— Atkins:' 'Ships in Sight of Harbour,' engraved in aquatint by H. Merke; and 'A Sea Piece,' by F. Janinet. A water-colour drawing also, 'Seascape with Ships,' he gives to this painter.

[Nagler's Künstler-Lexicon, 2nd ed., and Redgrave's Dict. of Painters.] E. R.

ATKINS, WILLIAM (1601–1679), a Jesuit, was born in Cambridgeshire in 1601. He became a secular priest, and was sent on the English mission in 1631. Four years later he entered the Society of Jesus. In 1653 he was chosen rector of the 'College of St. Aloysius,' which at that period comprised the counties of Lancaster and Stafford. Father Atkins was one of the most remarkable of the victims of Titus Oates's plot. In 1679 he was living at Wolverhampton, being almost an octogenarian, and for six years he had been completely paralysed, bedridden, and nearly speechless. Nevertheless he was charged with high treason in inciting the people to rebellion. The pursuivants dragged him from his bed, and, forcing him into a most incommodious vehicle, conveyed him to Stafford gaol, eleven miles distant. He was tried at the assizes before Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, 13 Aug. 1679, and condemned to death on account of his sacerdotal character. The sentence was not, however, carried out, and the aged ecclesiastic was allowed to languish in Stafford gaol, where he died, 17 March, 1681.

[The Trial, Conviction, and Condemnation of Andrew Brommich and William Atkins for being Romish Priests, Lond. 1679, fol.; Dodd's Church History, iii. 314; Oliver's Collectanea S. J. 48; Foley's Records, vols. v. and vii.] T. C.

ATKINSON, HENRY (1781–1829), mathematician, the son of Cuthbert Atkinson, a schoolmaster, was born at Great Bavington, in Northumberland, 28 June 1781. He was educated by his father, and at an early age he began to assist in conducting Bavington school. When he reached his thirteenth year his father, considering him capable of managing that school, resigned it to his charge, and opened another at West Woodburn. These two schools were superintended by the father and son alternately. About Henry's sixteenth year his father and he quitted the school at Bavington, and opened another at West Belsay, which they continued to superintend alternately with the school at Woodburn. Henry afterwards removed to Stamfordham, where he kept a school, conjointly with his sister, for upwards of six years. Then, with his sister, he removed to the adjoining village of Hawkwell. Finally, on 14 Nov. 1808, he settled in Newcastle-on-Tyne, where he passed the remainder of his days. In that large town he speedily attained the highest rank in his profession.

Atkinson devoted his leisure to the study of scientific subjects, on which he submitted some remarkable papers to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle. His earliest contribution was entitled 'A New Method of extracting the Roots of Equations of the Higher Orders.' The discovery was first made by himself in 1801, and the essay was read to the society in August 1809. Many years afterwards this paper formed the basis on which its author rested his claim of priority in discovering the mode of handling equations which has been pursued by Holdred Nicholson and Horner with such marked success. In the following year Atkinson read an elaborate essay 'On the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites, and on the Mode of Determining the Longitude by these Means.' In 1811 he produced two papers—one containing 'An Ingenious Proof of Two Curious Properties of Square Numbers,' which Dr. Hutton spoke of in terms of high approbation, and the other 'Demonstrating that no sensible error can arise in the theory of Falling Bodies from assuming Gravity as an uniformly accelerating Force.' In 1813 he read an elaborate paper 'On the Comet of

1811,' and 'An Essay on Proportion;' in 1814 a paper 'On the Difference between the Followers of Newton and Leibnitz concerning the Measure of Forces;' and in 1815 an essay 'On the Possibility and, if possible, on the Consequences of the Lunar Origin of Meteoric Stones.'

About this period he embraced a wider field in the course of his inquiries, and read in 1816 an essay on the 'Nature and Con[n]ection of Cause and Effect.' In 1818 he composed a valuable essay 'On Truth,' and in 1819 'A New Mode of investigating Equations which obtain among the Times, Distances, and Anomalies of Comets moving around the Sun, as their Centre of Attraction, in Parabolic Orbits.' In 1821 Atkinson, who meanwhile had studied Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' and other treatises on political economy, read an essay 'On the Effects produced on the different Classes of Society by an Increase or Decrease of the Price of Corn.' In 1824 he produced a paper 'On the Utility and probable Accuracy of the Mode of determining the Sun's Parallax by Observations on the Planet Mars near his opposition.' This paper was subsequently presented to the Astronomical Society of London. Another paper, submitted to the Newcastle Society, was 'On the true Principles of calculating the Refractive Powers of the Atmosphere.' This he afterwards greatly enlarged, entitling it 'An Essay on Astronomical and other Refraction, with a connected Enquiry into the Law of Temperature in different latitudes and at different altitudes.' In its revised form the paper was presented to the Astronomical Society of London (1825), and it elicited very high encomiums from several of the most learned men in Europe. In 1826 Atkinson read before the society at Newcastle a long paper 'On Suspension Bridges, and on the Possibility of the proposed Bridge between North and South Shields.' The following year he delivered a course of lectures on astronomy. Atkinson likewise contributed solutions of many of the abstruse mathematical questions propounded in the 'Gentlemen's Diary' and the 'Ladies' Diary.'

He died at Newcastle 31 Jan. 1829, and was buried in St. Andrew's churchyard.

[Memorials of his life, by Robert White, in Richardson's Local Historian's Table Book (Legendary Division), iii. 363–75; also the Historical Division of the same work, iv. 8.] T. C.

ATKINSON, JAMES (1759–1839), surgeon and bibliographer, son of a medical practitioner and friend of Sterne in York, is chiefly known by his 'Medical Bibliography,' of which the dedication is thus worded: 'To all idle medical students in Great Britain sit—,' with a picture of that part of the human spinal column known as the 'sacrum.' The author's reason for attempting the work was: 'Wanting better amusement, and through mere accident, I stumbled upon the dry, dusty, tedious, accursed, hateful bibliography (see p. 365).' The subject undoubtedly deserves all these epithets, but Atkinson managed to write a book to which none of them can be truly applied. It is full of anecdote, humour, and out-of-the-way information. The scientific value is, however, small, the bibliography consisting of a simple list of editions arranged alphabetically under names of authors. The notes are merely excuses for the compiler's discursive and amusing remarks on things in general. The book is usually spoken of as unfinished, as it is only devoted to letters A and B; but there is nothing to show that it was the intention of Atkinson to go any further. Dibdin made his acquaintance in York in the course of his bibliographical tour, and speaks of him (p. 213) as 'a gentleman and a man of varied talent: ardent, active, and of the most overflowing goodness of heart. . . . The heartiest of all the octogenarians I ever saw, he scorns a stretch and abhors a gape. . . . His library is suffocated with Koburgers, Frobens, the Ascensii, and the Stephens.' On the title of his book Atkinson is described as 'surgeon to H.R.H. the Duke of York, senior surgeon to the York County Hospital and the York Dispensary, and late V.P. to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.' He was also an enthusiastic member of the Musical Society. He collected portraits of medical writers, and projected a catalogue with memoirs. For many years he was the chief medical man in York, and remained in practice to within a few years of his death, which took place at the age of eighty, at Lendal, in the city of York, on 14 March 1839. He was buried at St. Helen's, Stonegate, his great popularity causing his funeral to assume somewhat of a semi-public character. The 'York Herald' observes (16 March 1839): 'Mr. Atkinson, throughout his long and useful life, has been highly and universally respected. Ever prominent with his aid at every benevolent institution, he possessed the blessing of the poor and afflicted whilst among them, and will live in their grateful remembrance beyond the grave.'

His works are: 1. 'Medical Bibliography, A and B,' London, 1834, 8vo. 2. 'Description of the New Process of perforating and destroying the Stone in the Bladder, illustrated with Cases and a Drawing of the

Instrument, in a Letter addressed to the Medical Board of Calcutta,' London, 1831, 8vo.

[Notes and Queries, 5th series, x. 474; Dibdin's Bibliographical Tour; Index-Cat. of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U.S. Army.] H. R. T.

ATKINSON, JAMES (1780–1852), an accomplished Persian scholar, was born in the county of Durham, 9 March 1780. After studying medicine at Edinburgh and London, he accepted the post of medical officer on board an East Indiaman, and in 1805 was appointed an assistant surgeon in the Bengal service, and placed in medical charge of the station of Backergunj, near Dacca. In the leisure afforded by his not very arduous duties he devoted himself with considerable success to the study of Persian and other oriental tongues; and his linguistic attainments having attracted the attention of the governor-general, Lord Minto, with whom learning was ever a strong recommendation, Atkinson was invited to Calcutta in 1813, and given the appointment of assistant assay master at the mint, which he retained till 1828, with a brief intermission in 1818, when he filled the deputy chair of Persian in Fort William College, and another interval in 1826–7, when he revisited England. In addition to his appointment at the mint, he held the post of superintendent of the 'Government Gazette' from 1817; and when the official connection of the government with that print was discontinued in 1823, the proprietors were induced by the success which had attended Atkinson's management to confide both the 'Gazette' and the 'Press' to his sole charge. Under his editorship the 'Gazette' was supplied with valuable statistical and topographical information on little-known parts of India. After a second visit to England in 1828–33, Atkinson returned to his original profession, as surgeon to the 55th regiment of native infantry. In 1838 he was appointed superintending surgeon to the army of the Indus, and accompanied it on its march to Kabul; but was relieved in ordinary course of routine shortly after the surrender of Dost Mohammad, and, returning to Bengal in 1841, escaped the fate which awaited the army of occupation. He was appointed a member of the medical board in 1845, retired in 1847 after forty-two years of service, and died of apoplexy 7 Aug. 1852.

Atkinson's Persian translations are his chief title to fame, and of these his selections from the 'Shâh Nâmeh' of Firdausi are the most notable, inasmuch as they were the first attempt to make the great Persian 'Epic of Kings' familiar to English readers. He first published the episode of 'Sohrab,' in Persian with a free English translation, in 1814, and after a long interval 'The Shah Nameh, translated and abridged by James Atkinson,' was issued in the publications (and won the gold medal) of the Oriental Translation Fund in 1832, to which the earlier excerpt was appended. Next in importance stands his verse translation of Nizâmi's 'Leyla and Mejnûn' (Orient. Trans. Fund, 1836). The 'Expedition into Affghanistan: Notes and Sketches made in the Campaign 1839–40' (London, 1842), is a valuable and interesting personal narrative, and the supplementary 'Sketches in Affghanistan' (fol. 1842), containing a series of lithographed drawings, serve to complete the picture of what was then an unexplored country. From early youth Atkinson had shown a talent for rhyming. His first published poem was a romance called 'Rodolpho' (Edinburgh, 1801). His selections from the 'Shâh Nâmeh' are partly in verse. He also wrote 'The Aubid: an Eastern Tale,' in verse, 1819; 'The City of Palaces, a Fragment, and other Poems,' 1824; translations from the Italian, Ugo Foscolo's 'Ricciarda,' 1823, and Alessandro Tassoni's 'La Secchia Rapita,' 1825. An edition of the popular Persian romance of 'Hatim Taee,' 1818; 'The Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia,' an amusing translation of a Persian essay on harim life, 1832; his one professional treatise, 'Description of the New Process of perforating and destroying the Stone in the Bladder,' 1831; contributions to the 'Calcutta Annual Register,' 1821–2; and a solitary political squib, 'Prospectus of the Calcutta Liberal,' 1824, complete the list of Atkinson's publications. Accomplished both in literature and art, at once a scholar and a popular writer, James Atkinson holds an honourable place among the pioneers of oriental research.

[Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Proceedings of the Thirtieth Anniversary Meeting, 1853.] S. L.-P.

ATKINSON, JOHN AUGUSTUS (*b.* 1775), painter, was born in London. At the age of nine he was taken by his uncle to St. Petersburg. He studied in the royal galleries, and gained the patronage successively of the Empress Catherine and her son, the Emperor Paul. Kotzebue celebrates two pictures by Atkinson, which in 1799 hung in the palace of St. Michael—the 'Victory of the Cossacks of the Don over the Tartars,' and the 'Baptism of Count Wladimir' (Nagler). In Russia he made many drawings illustrative of native manners and costume,

and furnished designs for a Russian edition of 'Hudibras,' which appeared at Königsberg in 1798. He returned to England in 1801, and first exhibited here at the Academy in 1802. In 1803–4 he prepared the plates for 'A Picturesque Representation of the Manners, Customs, and Amusements of the Russians,' which seems not to have actually appeared till 1812, when it was published by Bulmer in 3 folio volumes. In 1807 he published 'A Picturesque Representation, in one hundred coloured plates, of the Naval, Military, and Miscellaneous Costumes of Great Britain,' and in the same year a set of soft-ground etchings to illustrate the misery of human life. The two first-named of these works will be found in the print-room of the British Museum. The plates are all etched (in soft ground) by the artist himself, and printed in colours. We have few better examples of aquatint engraving than these supply, and no collected specimens of Atkinson's work so readily accessible. In 1805 Boydell published a 'Panorama of St. Petersburg' drawn by Atkinson, and a portrait of Suwarrow, both of which were engraved by Walker. In 1819 he exhibited in London, amongst other pictures, the 'Battle of Waterloo,' some of the portraits in which are by A. W. Devis. The two artists made their studies for the picture upon the battle-field in 1815. It was engraved by John Burnet, on the anniversary of the battle, in 1819. A fine water-colour study for this picture in the print-room attests its merit. Composition and colouring are excellently good, the figure-drawing is spirited and lifelike, though seldom faultless. In the drawing of horses Atkinson was no master. There are various differences between this water-colour study and the engraving from the finished picture. In 1808 he exhibited as an 'associate' at the Water-Colour Society. In 1812 he sent Shakespeare's 'Seven Ages' to the same gallery. He ceased, after 1813, to be a member of the society, but continued to exhibit till 1818. To the Royal Academy he sent many pictures, his last in 1829. The date of his death is not known. At the South Kensington Museum are four good water-colours, which show skilful composition and a fine feeling for colour. His figures, artistically arrested in movement, show rather an actor's sensibility than a draughtsman's skill; they are spirited and interesting, if sometimes faulty. His rustic groups, his soldiers and sailors, are charming, and pleasantly reminiscent of Morland. In 1817, according to Nagler, Atkinson essayed authorship, and published 'Incidents of English Bravery during the late Campaigns on the Continent.' Füssli (*Neue Zusätze zu dem allgemeinen Künstler-Lexikon*, 1824) gives an account of the painter which is largely occupied with a consideration of his masterpiece, the 'Battle of Waterloo.' He comments upon the prominence given to Wellington in the picture, and rather drily remarks (quoting the *Tübinger Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* for 1820) that the rearward position assigned Blücher is not an ungraceful tribute to Germany! the intention undoubtedly being 'der deutschen Bescheidenheit ein Compliment zu machen.'

[Füssli's Neue Zusätze; Nagler's Künstler-Lexicon, 2nd ed.; Redgrave's Dict. of Painters; Tübinger Morgenblatt, 1820.] E. R.

ATKINSON, JOSEPH (1743–1818), dramatist, was born in Ireland, and served in the army until he obtained a captain's commission. In 1785 he produced a comedy in Dublin, the 'Mutual Deception,' which, in the following year, was altered by Colman, the serious scenes being omitted, and, under the title of 'Tit for Tat,' presented at the Haymarket. Atkinson professed himself indebted to an Italian original for the comic portion of his play, which was found closely to resemble the earlier comedies of the 'Double Deceit' and 'Love's Metamorphosis,' first performed in 1735 and 1776 respectively. In 1786 Atkinson produced in Dublin 'A Match for a Widow, or the Frolics of Fancy,' an opera in three acts, the music by Dibdin, founded upon a French comedy which Mrs. Inchbald had previously converted into the English play of the 'Widow's Vow,' and of which Miss Sheridan had availed herself in writing her farce of the 'Ambiguous Lover.' In 1800 Captain Atkinson produced at the Cork Street Theatre a comic opera called 'Love in a Blaze,' borrowed from a French play, which had done duty in an English form as 'Gallic Gratitude' at Covent Garden in 1779. The music to 'Love in a Blaze' was composed by Dr. (afterwards Sir) John Stevenson, to whose assistance the production is said to have been indebted for the success it obtained.

[Thespian Dictionary, 1805; Genest's History of the Stage, 1832.] D. C.

ATKINSON, MILES (1741–1811), divine, second son of the Rev. Christopher Atkinson, rector of Thorp Arch, Yorkshire, was born at Ledsham 28 Sept. 1741, and educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge (B.A. 1763). He became curate of the parish church of Leeds; head-master of the school of Drighlington, near Leeds (1764–70); lecturer of the parish church of Leeds, 1769;

vicar of Kippax, near Leeds, 1783; minister of St. Paul's Church, Leeds, 1793, which he founded at a cost of nearly 10,000*l.*; and died 6 Feb. 1811. He published several pulpit discourses, and a collection of his 'Practical Sermons' was published at London in two volumes, 1812. In Whitaker's 'Loidis and Elmete' there is a fine portrait of him, engraved by W. Holl from a painting by J. Russell, R.A.

[Memoir prefixed to his Practical Sermons; Whitaker's Loidis and Elmete, p. 69.] T. C.

ATKINSON, PAUL (1656–1729), Franciscan friar, was a Yorkshireman by birth, and after holding several important offices in his order, including that of definitor of the English province, was infamously betrayed to the officers of the law by his maid-servant for a reward of 100*l.* under the penal statute of 11 and 12 William III. He was apprehended in London in 1698, and condemned, on account of his priestly character, to perpetual imprisonment, which he underwent in Hurst Castle in Hampshire, where he lived with cheerful composure, beloved and respected by the keeper of the castle and the whole neighbourhood as an ill-fated amiable man. The governor at one time allowed him the privilege of walking out beyond the walls of his prison until some bigots complained of this indulgence being granted, and Father Atkinson voluntarily confined himself ever afterwards to his own miserable apartment, wherein, after thirty years of strict incarceration, he died 15 Oct. 1729. He was buried at St. James's, Winchester, where the following epitaph was placed over his grave:—'H. S. E. R. P. Paulus Atkinson, Franciscanus, qui 15 Oct. 1729 ætat. 74 in castro de Hurst vitam finivit, postquam ibidem 30 peregerat annos. R. I. P.'

His portrait has been engraved.

[Gent. Mag. lx. 234, 332, 412; Oliver's Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, &c., 565; Noble's Continuation of Granger, iii. 172; Bromley's Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits, 274; Evans's Catalogue of Portraits, i. 13, ii. 18.] T. C.

ATKINSON, PETER (1725–1805), architect, was born at Ripon, trained for a carpenter, became the assistant of John Carr, an architect of York, and was engaged upon many works in his employ. He afterwards succeeded to Carr's practice. He erected a large mansion for Sir John V. B. Johnstone at Hackness, near Scarborough.

[Dictionary of Architectural Publication Society, 1853.] E. R.

ATKINSON, PETER (1776–1822), architect, son of the above, was educated in his profession by his father, and succeeded to his business. He built the bridge over the Ouse, begun in 1810. For many years he was steward and surveyor to the corporation of York. To him that city remains grateful for its house of correction and gaol. He erected many churches in the service of the church commissioners. During the last years of his life he resided abroad.

[Dictionary of Architectural Publication Society, 1853.] E. R.

ATKINSON, STEPHEN (*fl.* 1619), metallurgist, was a native of London. After serving an apprenticeship to Francis Tiver, a refiner of gold and silver, he was admitted a 'finer' in the Tower of London about 1586, and subsequently he was engaged in refining silver in Devonshire, from lead brought from Ireland. He tells us that he was taught his mining skill 'by Mr. B. B., an ingenious gent.' (i.e. Mr., afterwards Sir Bevis, Bulmer); that he spent his 'golden time' in different shires in England; and that he was for two years in Ireland with Bulmer, who died in his debt 340*l.*, having left him there 'much in debt for him.' By a grant of the privy council of Scotland in 1616, confirmed by James I, he obtained leave to search for gold and silver in Crawford Muir, on paying the king one-tenth of the metals found. It appears that he was unsuccessful in his mining operations, and consequently he wrote 'The Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland.' This was edited by Mr. Gilbert Laing Meason for the Bannatyne Club in 1825, from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Another manuscript is in the Harleian collection, 4621. The author proposes to the king 'the opening of the secrets of the earth—the gold mines of Scotland, to make his majesty the richest monarch in Europe, yea, in all the world.' This measure was to be accomplished by moving 'twenty-four gentlemen of England, of sufficient land, to disburst 300*l.* each,' by creating them 'for ever Knights of the Golden Mynes, or Golden Knights.' Atkinson failed to make any impression on the king, who had already expended 3,000*l.* on the gold mines of Crawford Muir, and had obtained not quite three ounces of gold.

[Meason's introd. to the Discoverie; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. ed. Bohn, App. 9.] T. C.

ATKINSON, THOMAS (1600–1639), divine and dramatist, entered Merchant Taylors' School in August 1608. Seven years later he was elected scholar of St. John's

College, Oxford, during the presidency of Laud, and, graduating in 1619, proceeded to the degree of B.D. in 1630. After filling the office of senior proctor of the university, Atkinson accepted the living of South Warnborough in Hampshire, to which he was inducted 20 Jan. 1637–8. Towards the end of the same year, by virtue of an exchange with Dr. Peter Heylin, he became rector of Islip, near Oxford, and, dying a few weeks later, was buried in St. John's College chapel 6 Feb. 1638–9.

Atkinson is not known to have published anything; but he wrote two Latin poems, directed against Andrew Melvin, and styled 'Andrei Melvini Anti-Tami-Cunicategoria' and 'Melvinus delirans' respectively. A Latin tragedy entitled 'Homo,' bearing the signature Thomas Atkinson, may (almost certainly) be ascribed to the same author on these grounds: (1) It was dedicated to Laud in his capacity of president (*Præses colendissime*), which implies that a member of St. John's College wrote it; (2) There was at St. John's, during Laud's time, only one Thomas Atkinson of any note as a scholar. The MS. of 'Homo' is preserved in the Harleian library of the British Museum, No. 6925.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 556, iv. 444; Fasti (Bliss), i. 239, 386, 450, 456; Registers of St. John's Coll. Oxford; Parish Registers of South Warnborough and Islip.] J. M. H.

ATKINSON, THOMAS (1801?–1833), poet and miscellaneous writer, was a native of Glasgow, where he carried on business as a bookseller. He published, under his own editorship, the 'Sextuple Alliance' and the 'Chameleon,' and also a weekly periodical, the 'Ant.' After the passing of the Reform Bill, he became a candidate in the liberal interest for the representation of the Stirling burghs in parliament, but was unsuccessful. Over-exertion during the contest brought on a dangerous illness, which assumed the character of consumption, and he died on the passage to the Barbadoes, 10 Oct. 1833. Daniel Macmillan, founder of the publishing house of Macmillan & Co., was for some time Atkinson's shopman.

[Charles Rogers, Scottish Minstrel, 1870, pp. 272–73; J. Grant Wilson, Poets and Poetry of Scotland, vol. ii. 1877, pp. 230–33; Thomas Hughes, Memoir of Daniel Macmillan, 1882, pp. 10–16.] T. F. H.

ATKINSON, WILLIAM, D.D. (*d.* 1509), translator, a native of the diocese of York, was M.A. and fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1477, B.D. in 1485, and D.D. in 1498. He became a prebendary of Southwell in 1501, canon of Lincoln 7 March 1503–4, and canon of Windsor 25 Feb. 1506–7. He died 8 Aug. 1509, and was buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor. At the command of Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of King Henry VII, Dr. Atkinson translated from the French three books of the 'Imitation of Jesus Christ' attributed to John Gerson. This translation was published in 1502, and again in 1503 and 1517, under the title of 'A full deuoute & gostely treatyse of y^e^ Imytacion & folowynge y^e^ blessyd Lyfe of our most mercifull Sauiour Cryst.'

[Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglic.; Ames's Typographical Antiquities, ed. Herbert, 138, 231, 249, 322; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 55; Cooper's Athen. Cantab. i. 13.] T. C.

ATKINSON, WILLIAM (1773?–1839), architect, was born at Bishop's Auckland, near Durham. He began life as a carpenter. Through the patronage of the then bishop of Durham, he became a pupil of James Wyatt. In 1795 he obtained the Academy gold medal for designs for a court of justice. In 1805 he published 'Picturesque Views of Cottages,' 4to, London. He had many pupils, and was practically and theoretically an able architect. He was engaged on many important works, and built several large mansions, amongst them Lord Mansfield's house at Scone. 'He died 22 May 1839, aged 66, at his residence at Cobham, Surrey . . . and is buried at Walton-on-Thames, Surrey. He was a most excellent chemist, geologist, and botanist, excelling in the latter science to an extraordinary degree. The well-known Roman cement, called, from himself, Atkinson's cement, was introduced by him to the London market.'

[Redgrave's Dict. of Painters; the Architectural Publication Society's Dictionary of Architecture, 1853.] E. R.

ATKINSON, WILLIAM (1757–1846), poetical writer, was born at Thorpe Arch, within the bounds of the city of York, in 1757, and was the son of a clergyman. He was admitted a sizar of Jesus College, Cambridge, 29 Dec. 1775, graduated B.A. in 1780, was elected a fellow of his college, and proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1783. Having taken orders he was appointed lecturer at the parish church of Bradford, in Yorkshire, and subsequently, in 1792, he was presented by the lord chancellor to the rectory of Warham All Saints, in Norfolk. He died at Thorpe Arch 30 Sept. 1846. Mr. Atkinson published a small volume of 'Poetical Essays,' Leeds, 1786, 4to, which was most sarcasti-

cally reviewed by a writer calling himself 'Trim' (Edward Baldwyn), in 'A Critique on the Poetical Essays of the Rev. William Atkinson,' London, 1787. 'Trim' also published another pamphlet, abounding in the coarsest personalities, and entitled 'A Congratulatory Letter to the Rev. William Atkinson, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, on his appearance in the character of a printer, with remarks on the several papers that have issued from his press,' London, 1790.

[Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. iii. 166; Norfolk Benefices, 17, 30; Gent. Mag. N. S. xxvi. 662; Hotten's Topographical Catalogue, 1861, No. 3099.] T. C.

ATKYNS, Sir EDWARD (1587–1669), baron of the exchequer, was the third son of Richard Atkyns, and was born in 1587, apparently at Hensington in Oxfordshire (*Harl. MS.* 5801 f. 9; *Cal. State Papers*, 1653–4, p. 398). Admitted, 5 Feb. 1600–1, a student of Lincoln's Inn, where his father and grandfather had both attained legal honours, he was called to the bar 25 Jan. 1613–14, became governor of the society in 1630, and was two years later nominated 'autumn reader.' On 7 Feb. 1622–3 Atkyns appeared before the Star Chamber as counsel for William Prynne, charged with libelling the queen in his 'Histriomastix,' and defended his client's character from his personal acquaintance with him 'in a society of inns of court, where he has lived.' It is probable that he gave similar aid to Henry Burton and Dr. John Bastwick when brought before the same tribunal in 1637: for in 1640 Burton and Bastwick, while petitioning the Long parliament to reconsider their sentence of imprisonment, requested permission to obtain Atkyns's legal assistance in stating their case. Atkyns had so far identified himself with the popular cause that his promotion to a serjeanty by the king on 19 May 1640—a fortnight after the dissolution of the Short parliament—must be regarded as an endeavour either to conciliate the parliamentarians or to alienate Atkyns from them. Atkyns, however, accepted the honour, and made no change in his conduct. But a royal patent, issued on 7 Oct. 1640 (Rymer, *Fœdera*, xx. 447), appointing Atkyns a baron of the exchequer, did not, for reasons that we have been unable to ascertain, take effect. In 1643, when the Commons entered into negotiations with Charles I, they demanded that 'Mr. Serjeant Atkyns should be made justice of the King's Bench' (Clarendon, ii. 478), and on 28 Oct. 1645, despairing of any settlement with the crown, they created him, by their own order, baron of the exchequer. That post Atkyns held till 4 Aug. 1648, when, by an order of the Lords (*Journal*, x. 419 a), he was removed to the court of Common Pleas. After the king's death, Atkyns, according to Foss, refused to accept a commission from the provisional council of state continuing him in his office, but on 9 Dec. 1650 he was nominated, without any protest on his part, one of the judges to try disturbers of the peace in the eastern counties, and was consulted by Cromwell on legal business. On 16 Jan. 1653–4, he delivered before the protector and his council the opinion of the judges stating the liability of an alien, Don Pantaleone, the brother of the Portuguese ambassador, to be tried in an English court of law on a charge of murder alleged to have been committed during a riot in the New Exchange, London, and at Pantaleone's trial Atkyns was one of the presiding judges. The only instance in which Atkyns openly refused to act with the Commonwealth authorities was in June 1654 at the trial, by special commission, of Gerard and others for conspiracy to murder Cromwell, an offence described in the indictment as high treason. An ordinance of the council had in the previous January brought the crime within the legal definition of treason, and before the trial commenced, Atkyns, with the other judges, was requested to bind himself by oath to give the ordinance effect. But this he declined to do: 'By the law,' he said, 'no man indicted for treason but ought to be tried by a jury: by this ordinance it is otherwise; and therefore this oath [seems] contrary to the other oaths I have taken.'

This episode did not affect Atkyns's position. In succeeding years he continued on the bench, and maintained his former relations with Cromwell. He was renominated a judge on the first return of the Long parliament to Westminster in May 1659, but on its second return in the following year his name was omitted from the list of duly appointed judges. After the Restoration, in May 1660, Atkyns, however, was created anew (23 June) a baron of the exchequer and knighted. On 9 Oct. following, he was one of the presiding judges at the trial of the regicides, but took no prominent part in the proceedings. On 9 March 1660–1 he fell seriously ill on the midland circuit; on 20 April 1661 he arranged, with others, the procedure to be followed at the trial of Lord Morley for murder; and on 1 April 1668 he took part in an important trial of certain rioters charged with high treason. He died 9 Oct. 1669, at Albury Hall, Hertfordshire, an estate that he had purchased in 1661. He is described by Chauncy as 'a grave and

learned judge,' and in spite of his political conduct, which was somewhat variable, as 'a most just and charitable man.'

Atkyns married (1) Ursula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, by whom he had two sons, Robert and Edward, who both became judges of eminence, and three daughters; and (2) Frances, daughter of John Berry, of Lydd, Kent, by whom he had no issue. His first wife died 26 June 1644, and was buried in Cheshunt Church, Hertfordshire (Cussans's *Hertfordshire*, ii. 225). His second wife, whom Atkyns married 16 Sept. 1645, long survived him, and died 2 March 1703-4, at the reputed age of 100.

[Foss's Lives of the Judges, vii. 53 et seq.; State Trials, vols. iii. v. vi.; State Paper Calendars, 1640–1667; Whitelocke's Memorials (1853), iv. 107, 246; Noble's continuation of Granger, ii. 295; Chauncy's Hertfordshire (1817), i. 294, &c.; Harl. MS. 5801 f. 9 *b*; Notes and Queries (2nd series) ix. 197, 294.] S. L. L.

ATKYNS, Sir EDWARD (1630–1698), baron of the exchequer and younger son of Sir Edward Atkyns, who held a similar office, was born in 1630. He became a student at Lincoln's Inn at the age of 18, and five years later was called to the bar. In 1675 he was appointed 'autumn reader' at his inn of court, and in Easter term, 1679, was made a serjeant-at-law. A few weeks afterwards (22 June 1679) Atkyns, who had secured some reputation for legal learning and for hospitality, was raised to the bench as one of the barons of the exchequer, and knighted. He took a prominent part in the trial of Thomas Twining and Mary Pressicks, who were charged on 29 July 1680, at the instigation of the anti-catholic agitators of the day, with compassing the death of the king and seeking the overthrow of the protestant religion; in his summing up Atkyns placed the case before the jury with becoming impartiality. At the close of the same year he was one of the judges appointed to try Lord Stafford and other catholic peers on a charge of high treason, but he there supported his colleagues in their contention that the law, which demanded two witnesses to every overt act of treason, might on occasion be waived. On 21 April 1686, when lord chief baron Montagu was removed from the bench for refusing to certify to the legality of the dispensing power exercised by James II, Atkyns was promoted to his place. After the revolution of 1688 he consistently refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William III, and consequently resigned his office, to which Sir Robert Atkyns, his elder brother, was immediately appointed [see Atkyns, Sir Robert]. Shortly afterwards Atkyns retired from public life, and withdrew to his country seat at Pickenham, in Norfolk. Although he continued to hold Jacobite opinions, he showed no bitterness of spirit to those who differed from him, and earned the gratitude of all classes of his neighbours by his tact in settling their disputes. He died of the stone in London during October 1698.

[Foss's Judges of England, vii. 210–11; State Trials, vii. 1179, 1258; Noble's Continuation of Granger, ii. 296; Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 149; Blomefield's History of Norfolk, vi. 71, viii. 349, ix. 69, 70.] S. L. L.

ATKYNS, JOHN TRACY (*d.* 1773), barrister-at-law, was the third son of John Tracy, of Stanway, Gloucestershire, and great-grandson of the third Viscount Tracy, of Toddington. His mother was a daughter of Sir Robert Atkyns, lord chief baron, and it was probably on account of the legal eminence of his grandfather that he adopted the name of Atkyns. He entered Lincoln's Inn in 1724, and was called to the bar in 1732. In 1755 he was appointed cursitor baron of the exchequer. He had taken notes of the cases in the court of Chancery from Hilary term 1736 to Michaelmas term 1754, and he published condensed reports of them in three volumes, 1765–7–8; a second edition appeared 1781–2, and a third, edited by Francis William Sanders, in 1794. In 1768 he made a codicil to his will under the name of Tracy. By his wife, whose name was Katherine Lindsay, he left no children. He died 25 July 1773. Lord Chief-Justice Wilmot describes him in his diary as 'a cheerful, good-humoured, honest man, a good husband, master, and friend.'

[Britton's Graphic Illustrations of Toddington, Gloucestershire; Foss's Judges of England, viii. 101, 238; Wilmot's Life of Chief-Justice Wilmot, p. 199.] T. F. H.

ATKYNS, RICHARD (1615–1677), writer on typography, was descended from an old Gloucestershire family that for upwards of a century leased from the dean and chapter of Gloucester the manor of Tuffley, two miles south-south-east from the cathedral city. After receiving a home education at the hands of two inefficient clerical tutors, he was sent to the Free (Crypt) Grammar School in Gloucester. Thence, at the age of fourteen, he proceeded to Balliol College, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner, where he remained two years, probably without taking a degree, as he afterwards informs us 'that he was not so well grounded as he ought to have been to read a Greek or Latin

author with pleasure.' Several members of his family on his father's side having already distinguished themselves in the study of the law, it was resolved to send him to Lincoln's Inn, where several of them 'had anciently been and some of them there; but receiving some disgust at his entrance' he was recalled thence and sent to travel abroad with the only son of Lord Arundel of Wardour, who was about his own age. The Arundels being staunch Roman catholics, while Atkyns was a protestant, each youth was accompanied by a tutor of his own faith. The party left Dover in October 1636 or 1637, and travelled, by way of Calais, to Douay, where they stayed some time at the English College; thence they set out, by way of Cambray and St. Quentin, to Paris. Before the winter was ended the three years' travel was abruptly terminated by the death of young Arundel, who, 'getting a heat and cold at tennis,' probably in Paris, died from fever at Orleans. Soon afterwards Atkyns returned to England and betook himself to country affairs. On the death of his father, in 1636, he succeeded to the family estates at the age of twenty-one. After the days of mourning for his father were ended, 'he put off his hounds,' came to London, 'and kept his coach,' and made his bow at court, where he was invited by the queen to assist at masques. He does not appear to have shone as a courtier, having, as he informs us, 'found himself guilty of three imperfections, a blushing modesty, a flexible disposition, and no great diligence.' These festive scenes at the court of Henrietta Maria were, however, soon to terminate in the turmoil of the civil war. In 1642 we find him engaged in raising a troop of horse for the king at his own expense. His first skirmish appears to have taken place with Sir William Waller at Little Dean near Newnham-by-Gloucester. In the following year he was engaged at Reading and Bath, also at the taking of Bristol and at the raising of the siege of Gloucester in September. For his loyalty to the royal cause his estate was sequestrated by the parliament. In 1646, however, both houses passed an ordinance pardoning his delinquency after imposing a fine of 140*l.* (*Commons' Journal*, 4, 530; *Lords' ib.* 9, 5[b], 11[b]). After the Restoration he was made deputy-lieutenant for Gloucestershire, and was also re-appointed to an agency for the crown connected in some way with printing, a post which he appears to have held originally as early as 1631, as he had already involved himself 'in several great and chargeable suites against the Company of Stationers at the cost of more than 1,000*l.*'

About 1660 there was discovered in the public library of Cambridge an early work, said to have been printed at Oxford in 1468, on the Apostles' Creed. Its title ran 'Exposicio sancti Jeronimi in simbolum apostolorum ad papam Laurentium. Impressa Oxonie et finita anno Domini 1468,' 4to (copy in Roy. Lib. Brit. Mus., show case viii. 15). Shortly after its appearance Atkyns printed and published an anonymous broadside entitled 'The Original and Growth of Printing,' with what object will be shown in the sequel. This was afterwards, in 1664, enlarged, with answers to objections, and published in his own name in quarto. It is to this broadside and its reprint that Atkyns owes his fame, and by means of which, it is supposed, he hoped to repair his shattered fortunes by proving that the right and title of printing belonged to the crown alone, and by securing for himself the office of patentee for the printing of law books. He first endeavoured to establish that printing in England began at Oxford; and that Stow, Sir Richard Baker, and Howell, in asserting that the art of printing was introduced into England in 1472, 'do most erroneously agree together,' although their error might have arisen 'through the mistake of the first writer only.' His discovery of the 'Exposicio' is his leading argument. 'A Book came into my hands,' he writes, 'Printed at Oxford in 1468, which was three years before any of the recited authors would allow it to be in England.' 'The same most worthy Person,' he continues, 'who trusted me with the aforesaid Book, did also present him with a copy of a Record and MS. in Lambeth House, heretofore in his custody, belonging to the See, and not to any particular Archbishop of Canterbury, the substance wereof was (of which the following is an outline) "That Thos. Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, moved the then King (Hen. VI) to use all possible means for procuring a Printing Mold" . . . to which the King readily harkened and committed the Management of the Design to Mr. R. Turnour . . . who took to his assistance Mr. Caxton.' After having spent 1,500 marks in gifts and expenses they succeeded in bringing over from Harlem one of Cuthenburg's (*sic*) under-workmen, whose name was Frederick Corsells, or rather Corsellis, and brought him safe to London. It not being thought prudent to set him on work there, 'Corsellis was carried with a guard to Oxford, which guard constantly watched, to prevent Corsellis from any possible escape till he had made good his Promise in teaching how to Print. So that at Oxford Printing was first set up in England.' Atkyns naively adds that he

would not have undertaken this work were it not for a double notion that he was too much a friend to truth and a friend to himself 'not to love one of my best arguments of Instituting the King to this Art [of printing] in his private capacity,' for which of course Atkyns was to be one of the agents. Atkyns's story has long since been discredited. It is only by implication that Atkyns himself infers from the manuscript that the printer of the 'Exposicio' was one Corsellis; the researches of a host of bibliographers, from the learned Dr. Conyers Middleton downwards, have proved, moreover, that the book was antedated by ten years, probably by the omission of an X by the printer by design or accident; it has also been shown that no other book was printed at Oxford until 1479. As to 'the Record and MS. in Lambeth House,' one fatal objection to the story of Caxton and Corsellis contained in it is, that the former has not made the slightest allusion to it even in his 'Polychronicon,' which is brought down to the end of the reign of Henry VI. Again, Dr. Ducarel, the librarian at Lambeth, one of the greatest antiquarians of his time, and who made complete indexes to the registers and manuscripts under his care, after fruitless research for the record alluded to by Atkyns, declared its existence to be a myth, and the whole story of Corsellis 'a mere fable.' Whether Atkyns was the inventor of it, or a dupe of others, cannot now be determined; but one thing is clear, that he was an interested person, and had it not been from a private motive he would not have advanced such a story, which has in almost every sentence a ring of falsehood and improbability. Whatever immediate advantage he may have gained by its publication, misfortune swiftly overtook him; within three years he was committed to the Marshalsea in Southwark for debt, brought about partly by his own imprudence, partly by the vagaries and extravagances of his wife. He died without issue on 14 Sept. 1677, and was buried two days later by relatives in the adjoining church of St. George-the-Martyr without any religious ceremony.

The writings of Atkyns are: 1. 'The Original and Growth of Printing, collected out of History and the Records of this Kingdom,' &c., London, 1664, 4to, 24 pp. 2. 'The King's Grant of Privilege for Sole Printing of Common Law Books Defended,' &c., London, 1669, 4to, 17 pp., b.l. (anonymous, ascribed to Atkyns from internal evidence). 3. 'Vindication of Richard Atkyns, Esq., as also a Relation of several Passages in the Western War wherein he was concerned, together with certaine Sighs or Ejaculations at the end of every chapter,' London, 1669, 4to, 80 pp. This last work has been wholly misunderstood by his biographers, the three paragraphs in the title having been taken for three separate works. It is an exceedingly curious 'Apologia,' with only one reference to his printing troubles, 'dedicated to his particular Friends and intended to no other.'

[Biog. Britannica, vol. ii. art. 'Caxton;' Singer's Account of the Book printed at Oxford in 1468, 1812; Timperley's Encycl. of Literary and Typographical Anecdote, 1842; Encycl. Brit. 8th edition, art. 'Printing' by Hansard, x. 534; Bigmore and Wyman's Bibliography of Printing, 1880, part i. p. 21.] C. H. C.

ATKYNS, Sir ROBERT (1621–1709), lord chief baron of the exchequer, was the eldest son of Sir Edward Atkyns, one of the barons of the exchequer during the Commonwealth, and the elder brother of Sir Edward Atkyns, who preceded him as lord chief baron. There had been lawyers in the family for many generations: 'He himself, and his three immediate ancestors, having been of the profession for near two hundred years, and in judicial places; and (through the blessing of Almighty God) have prospered by it' (Epistle dedicatory to his *Enquiry into the Jurisdiction of the Chancery*). In his son's 'History of Glocestershire' the record of the family is carried still further back, in an unbroken legal line, to a Richard Atkyns who lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and 'followed the profession of the law in Monmouthshire.' Robert Atkyns was born in Gloucestershire in 1621. It is not certain whether he went to Oxford or to Cambridge, Chalmers (i. 60) including him among the famous men of Balliol College, and Dyer (ii. 437) among those of Sidney Sussex College. Chalmers's statement may have originated in the fact that in 1663 Atkyns received from Oxford the degree of master of arts (*Catalogue of Oxford Graduates*; Wood mentions this, but does not connect him otherwise with Oxford (*Fasti*, ed. Bliss, ii. 273)). In 1638 he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar in 1645. Mention of his name is made in some reported cases, but beyond that nothing is heard of him until 1659, when he entered Richard Cromwell's parliament as member for Evesham. Probably he was already known to sympathise with the king's party, for we find him among the sixty-eight who were made knights of the Bath at Charles's coronation (Kennet, *Register*, 410). His name does not appear in the list of members of Charles's first parliament, but in that of 1661 he sat for Eastlow, speaking frequently

upon legal questions, and, as appears from the record of the debates, with acknowledged authority. In 1661 he was made a bencher of his inn, and about the same time was appointed recorder of Bristol (3 *Mod. Rep.* 23; but see Willis's *Not. Parl.*, where he is mentioned as a recorder in 1659). On the death of Sir Thomas Tyrrell in 1672 he became a judge of the court of Common Pleas. Along with Scroggs he was engaged in some of the trials for the popish plot, but there is little trace of the part which he took. He shared in the opinion that papists should be sternly dealt with (see trial of Lewis the Jesuit, 7 *St. Tr.* 249); yet, to judge from his writings and his later life, it is inconceivable that he could have shared in the passion of the time. The chief civil case in which Atkyns took part during this period was that brought by Sir S. Barnardiston against Sir W. Soame, the sheriff of Suffolk, which led ultimately to the passing of the act 7 & 8 Wm. III, c. 7, declaring it illegal for a sheriff to make a double return in the election of members of parliament. The points of the case are technical, but it excited keen political interest, and Atkyns's judgment, in which he differed from the majority of the court, marks the beginning of his separation from the party in power (reprinted in his *Tracts*, and in 6 *St. Tr.* 1074; see case in Broom's *Const. Law*, 796; also North's description of the trial, *Examen*, 521). In 1679 he retired from the bench in circumstances which lead one to believe that he was practically dismissed. Being questioned before a committee of the House of Commons in 1689, he mentioned several causes for his enforced retirement. His judgment in 'Barnardiston *v.* Soame' had given offence; he had declared against pensions to parliament men; he had quarrelled with Scroggs about the right to petition; and he had offended North by speaking against the sale of offices. 'As to pensions, Lord Clifford took occasion to tell me "that I had attended diligently in parliament, and was taken from my profession, therefore the king had thought fit to send me 500*l.*" I replied: "I thank you. I will not accept anything for my attendance in parliament." . . . I did take occasion upon this to advise my countrymen "that those who took pensions were not fit to be sent up to parliament again"' (Grey's *Debates*, ix. 307–9). In fact Atkyns was marked out as a disaffected man. He settled in Gloucestershire, with the intention of abandoning the law, but his political opinions again brought him into trouble. When the Oxford parliament was summoned, he was persuaded, though unwillingly, to stand for Bristol, but was defeated by Sir R. Hart and Sir T. Earle, both tories. A strong party in the city, not content with his defeat, sought to force him to resign the recordership. The occasion was found in an illegality of which Atkyns along with others was said to be guilty in proceeding to the election of an alderman in the absence of the mayor, who was the same Sir R. Hart. The prosecution failed, but 'Sir Robert Atkyns, on the Lord Pemberton's and his brother's persuasion, resigned his recordership; which was all that the city of Bristol aimed at by their indictment' (2 *Shower*, 238; see Atkyns's argument, which is ingenious and learned, in 3 *Mod. Rep.* 3). In the following year came the trial of Lord Russell; he could not appear by counsel, but his friends exerted themselves in the preparation of his defence, and applied to Atkyns, who wrote to them a statement of the law. 'And the like assistance being afterwards desired from me, by many more persons of the best quality, who soon after fell into the same danger, I, living at some distance from London, did venture by letters, to find the best rules and directions I could, towards the making of their just defence, being heartily concerned with them' (*Tracts*, 334; and see Braddon's case, 9 *St. Tr.* 1127, 1162). Five years afterwards he published the letters, together with 'A Defence of the late Lord Russel's Innocency,' a spirited and eloquent reply to an anonymous pamphlet called 'An Antidote against Poyson.' To a rejoinder from the same pen, 'The Magistracy and Government of England vindicated,' he wrote in answer 'The Lord Russel's Innocency further defended,' assailing his opponent with merited abuse and almost expressly naming him as Sir Bartholomew Shower. In point of legal criticism Atkyns's letters and pamphlets are effective and still worth reading, but they do not shake the received opinion that the law of treason was not strained against Lord Russell. They are reprinted in his 'Tracts,' and, along with Shower's 'Magistracy' and Sir J. Hawle's 'Remarks on Lord Russel's Trial,' in 9 'St. Tr.' 719. In 1684 we find his name associated with another great case, when Sir William Williams, the speaker of the House of Commons, was indicted for printing and publishing Dangerfield's narrative of the popish plot. Williams had acted under the orders of the house, so that the case raised the whole question of the powers and privileges of parliament. Atkyns's argument in his defence (*Tracts*: reprinted 13 *St. Tr.* 1380) is an elaborate review of the authorities, to show that the actions of parliament, itself the highest court of the nation,

were beyond the jurisdiction of inferior courts. Judgment was given against Williams, but in later cases the decision has been described as disgraceful (see R. *v.* Wright, 8 *Term Rep.* 297). The report in the 'State Trials' says that Atkyns took part in the case, and even notices that he had to borrow a wig for the purpose; but in the other reports (2 *Shower*, 471; *Comb.* 18) there is no mention of his name as counsel. His steady attitude of resistance during these years of misgovernment met with recognition at the revolution. In 1689 he succeeded his brother as chief baron, and in October of the same year, the great seal being in commission, he was appointed speaker of the House of Lords in the place of the Marquis of Halifax. He held the speakership until 1693, and for his services was recommended by the house to the king's favour. Towards the end of the following year he retired from the bench—through disappointment, it has been said, at not being chosen master of the rolls, but more likely owing to advancing age. Yet he still gave proof of continued vigour. In a pamphlet published in 1695, and 'humbly submitted to the consideration of the House of Lords, to whom it belongeth to keep the inferior courts within their bounds,' he renewed Coke's protest against the insidious encroachments of the court of Chancery, tracing the growth of equitable jurisdiction, and suggesting how the common law might be restored. This was followed a few years afterwards by another tract, addressed as a petition to the House of Commons, in which, while repeating his complaint against the court of Chancery, and lamenting the uncertainty of the law, he argued from the history of parliament that the exercise of judicial functions by the lords was a usurpation. It should be read along with Skinner's case, in which the lords failed in their attempt to exercise an original jurisdiction, and Dr. Shirley's case, in which they maintained their right to an appellate jurisdiction. An account of the whole struggle, in the first part of which Atkyns himself, while in parliament, had taken a vigorous part, will be found in Hargrave's preface to Hale's 'Jurisdiction of the House of Lords,' and in Hatsell's 'Precedents,' vol. iii. After 1699 we hear nothing more of him till his death. He spent his later years at Saperton Hall in Gloucestershire, and died 18 Feb. 1709. After Hale, there was no more learned lawyer of his time, and there was none more honest. Lord Campbell calls him a 'virtuous judge,' and he merited the praise in an age of judicial scandals. His political attitude moreover displayed a moderation and an independence of spirit which make him a type of what was best in the period of the revolution.

1. 'Parliamentary and Political Tracts,' collected 1734, 2nd ed. 1741. Besides those already mentioned it contains other tracts published in Atkyns's lifetime: 'An Enquiry into the Power of dispensing with Penal Statutes,' which sums up the whole history of dispensations and denies their antiquity; a reply to Chief-Justice Herbert's review of the authorities in Hale's case, which raised the question of the dispensing power (see both tracts, 11 *St. Tr.* 1200); a discourse on the ecclesiastical commission of 1686 (in 11 *St. Tr.* 1148); and his speech as chief baron to the lord mayor in 1693 (also in 2 *St. Tr.* 361), a word of warning as to Louis XIV's designs for a universal and arbitrary monarchy. 2. 'An Enquiry into the Jurisdiction of the Chancery in Causes of Equity,' 1695. 3. 'A Treatise of the True and Ancient Jurisdiction of the House of Peers,' 1699. In many copies of this work is included the case of 'Tooke *v.* Atkyns,' in which he was defendant, and which, as he allows, makes him write warmly on the subject of equitable jurisdiction.

[Biographia Britannica; Foss's Judges; Atkyns's Hist. of Glocestershire, 638, 2nd ed. 335; Grey's Debates; Parl. Hist., iv. and v.; Lords' Journals, xiv. 319, xv. 122–4; Seyer's Mem. of Bristol; Luttrell's Diary; Howell's State Trials; Hargrave's preface to Hale's Jurisdiction of the House of Lords, clxxxviii.] G. P. M.

ATKYNS, Sir ROBERT (1647–1711), topographer, was the only son of Sir Robert Atkyns, chief baron of the Exchequer, and sometime speaker of the House of Lords [see Atkyns, Sir Robert, 1621–1709]. Thomas Atkyns, who died in London 1401, was succeeded in the fourth generation by one David, an eminent merchant in Chepstow, who removed before his death in 1552 to Tuffley, near Gloucester, which continued to be the family seat until the purchase of Saperton by Baron Atkyns in 1660. Sir Robert was born in 1647; he was knighted by Charles II on his visit to Bristol 5 Sept. 1663 (Seyer, *infra*), and was elected M.P. for the borough of Cirencester (33 Car. II) 1680–1, and afterwards for the county of Gloucester (1 Jac. II) 1684–5. He died at his house in Westminster of dysentery, at the age of sixty-five, and was buried at Saperton, where his monument is preserved. He is the author of the 'Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire,' London, 1712, fol. 2nd edition, 1768.

The first edition, now scarce, contains a

fine portrait of the author by Van der Gucht, together with a series of views of seats in the county, drawn and engraved by J. Kip in his earliest manner.

[Biog. Dict. S.D.U.K. iv. 3; Seyer's Memoirs of Bristol, 1823, ii. 511; Malcom's Lives of Topographers and Antiquaries, London, 1824.]

C. H. C.

ATMORE, CHARLES (1759–1826), Wesleyan minister, was born at Heacham, near King's Lynn, Norfolk, 17 Aug. 1759, his father being the captain of a ship belonging to Lynn. In June 1779 he turned his attention to the Wesleyan ministry, and in February 1781 he was sent forth by the venerable John Wesley as an itinerant evangelist. At the conference which met in the following August, he was appointed a regular preacher. Wesley formed so high an estimate of his character that three years afterwards he caused his name, although he was then only twenty-four years of age, to be inserted in the deed of declaration as one of the members of the legal conference. In the discussions on the polity and position of Methodism which took place immediately after Wesley's death, Atmore bore a leading part, and his influence and prudent counsels largely contributed to the consolidation of the Wesleyan methodist church.

His ministry until 1825 was exercised in the following towns: York, Edinburgh, Halifax, Bristol, London, Birminghain, Manchester, Wakefield, Liverpool, Leeds, Hull, Salford, Sheffield. In 1811, while stationed in Hull, he was elected to the presidency of the Wesleyan conference.

He was author of the 'Methodist Memorial' (a perfect treasury of information on early methodism), first published in 1801, and since re-issued; 'Discourses on the Lord's Prayer,' 1807, also republished; besides several pamphlets and occasional sermons

Atmore, who was twice married, died in Fountain Court, Cheapside, London, on 30 June 1826, aged 66 years.

[Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, especially vol. vi.; Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1845; Dr. Osborn's Outlines of Wesleyan Bibliography.]

W. B. L.

ATSLOWE, EDWARD, M.D. (*d.* 1594), a well-known physician in Elizabeth's reign, was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. After being elected to a fellowship at his college he was created 'doctor of physic' at Oxford on 27 Aug. 1566, and was one of the four doctors appointed by convocation to dispute before Queen Elizabeth when she was entertained at the university in September of that year. Shortly afterwards Atslowe settled in London and was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians, and between 1569 and 1583 he filled successively most of the offices of distinction connected with the society. Among his patients Astlowe reckoned the chief noblemen of his time, and he was probably attached for some years as physician to the household of the Earl of Sussex. But he did not wholly confine himself to the practice of medicine. If not a catholic himself, he strongly sympathised with the professors of that faith, and he proved himself an ardent supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots. As early as December 1570 he paid her a visit at Tutbury (Walsingham's *Journal* (1570–83), p. 1, in Camden Soc. *Miscellanies*, vi.). For many years he is alleged to have aided the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, and others, in a conspiracy to obtain assistance in her behalf from the continent, and in 1579 he was arrested on that charge, but released. In 1585 he was again sent to the Tower; but on being privately examined by the lord chancellor and other officials as to his relations with the papists he vehemently denied having had any treasonable 'intelligence' with any of them. A spy of the Queen of Scots wrote to her, however, in July of the same year: 'I heare that Dr. Atslowe was racked twice almost to the death in the Towre about the Earl of Arundell his matters and intentions to depart Englande, wherein he was betrayed' (Murdin's *State Papers*, ii. 452). Atslowe was apparently released soon afterwards, for we find him in attendance on a son of the Earl of Northumberland during a fatal illness in 1587. His death occurred some seven years later; a private letter describes him as 'newly deade' on 2 May 1594. On 2 Nov. 1573 Atslowe married Frances Wingfield at Stoke Newington, and upon her the Earl of Arundel settled an annuity after her husband's death.

[Munk's Roll of the College of Physicians, i. 66; Wood's Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, i. 176; State Paper Calendars, 1547–80, 1581–90; Hist. MSS. Commiss. Rep. vi. 227 *a*, vii. 523 *a*; Lodge's Illustrations, ii. 143; Egerton MS. 2074, ff. 32, 39, 52; Addit. MS. 6251, p. 78.]

S. L. L.

ATTAWELL, HUGH. [See Atwell.]

ATTERBURY, FRANCIS (1662–1732), bishop of Rochester, was born at Milton or Middleton Keynes in Buckinghamshire. His father, Lewis Atterbury, was rector of the parish, and educated both Francis and his elder brother Lewis until they were old enough to go to Westminster, then in the zenith of its fame under Dr. Busby. From

Westminster Francis proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, being at the head of the four Westminster students elected in 1680. After he had graduated, he continued to reside at Oxford, taking part in the tutorial work at Christ Church, and acting as a sort of right-hand man to Dean Aldrich. In 1682 he published a translation into Latin verse of Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel,' in 1684 an 'Anthologia,' or selection of Latin poems, and about the same time two or three little treatises on classical subjects. But he was soon engaged in more important literary work. The attempt of James II to force his creed upon an unwilling university called forth many champions of the faith, and among others the able young tutor of Christ Church. One of the chiefs of the romanising party at Oxford, Obadiah Walker, who had been thrust by the king into the mastership of University College, had written, under the pseudonym of Abraham Woodhead, an attack upon the Reformation. In reply to this Atterbury published (1687) 'An Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation,' which Bishop Burnet pronounces to be one of the ablest of the many vindications of the church of England which were about that time issued from Oxford. Atterbury's next essay at controversy, though its contemporary reputation was much higher, was in reality very far from being so successful. It was a defence of the genuineness of the 'Epistles of Phalaris' against the great Dr. Bentley, and was nominally written by Atterbury's pupil, the Hon. Charles Boyle, but in reality by Atterbury himself. Though written earlier, it was not published until 1698, and for Atterbury's sake it would have been well if it had never been published at all. It is now universally acknowledged that Bentley was in the right, but that was by no means the opinion even of the ablest contemporaries. Swift in his 'Battle of the Books' describes Boyle as 'advancing immediately against his trembling foe clad in a suit of armour given him by all the gods,' and ending the battle very quickly by 'transfixing Bentley and Wotton.' 'The gods' were the Christ Church wits, chief among whom was Atterbury, who accordingly figures as Apollo, the god of wisdom. About 1687 Atterbury received holy orders, and he soon won considerable reputation as a preacher. He was in the habit of preaching occasionally in London, and his sermons were so well appreciated that he was appointed, over the heads of many candidates, lecturer of St. Bride's by the Bishop of London in 1691; he was next made chaplain to King William and Queen Mary, and preacher at Bridewell Hospital. While at Oxford he married Miss Katherine Osborn, who, in the words of his biographer, 'was the inspiration of his youth and the solace of his riper years.' After his marriage he left Oxford for London. In 1700 Atterbury again came prominently before the public as a controversialist. For ten years convocation had not been suffered to meet for the despatch of business; by a series of successive prorogations the church's parliament had practically become a dead letter. But not without remonstrance. Among other protests 'A Letter to a Convocation Man' (1697) attributed the irreligion and immorality, of which there was so general a complaint, to the virtual suppression of convocation. The 'Letter' caused a great sensation, and was answered in a 'Letter to a Member of Parliament' and also in a work by Dr. Wake, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, entitled 'The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods.' In opposition to Dr. Wake, and in defence of the 'Letter to a Convocation Man,' Atterbury published his 'Rights and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vindicated,' in which he roundly charged Dr. Wake with subjecting the liberties both of church and state to the arbitrary will of one man. The subject is treated historically, so that it is impossible to describe the work in detail; but its general object is stated in the preface, 'to perpetuate to the church the use of her parliamentary assemblies, and of that free debate which is inseparable from such assemblies.' Dr. Wake was supported by Dr. White Kennett and Dr. Edmund Gibson, both men of learning and ability, and both afterwards bishops. The most contradictory opinions have been expressed as to the side on which the victory lay; but the general mass of the clergy gratefully recognised Atterbury as an able champion of their order against Erastianism in high places both in church and state; and it really is difficult to controvert the assertion of Warburton, who was no friend to convocation, but whose lawyer-like mind at once grasped the real gist of the dispute. 'Atterbury,' he writes to Hurd, 'goes upon *principles*, and all that Wake and Kennett could possibly oppose are *precedents*.' One result of Atterbury's work was that he was made in 1701 archdeacon of Totnes, and in the same year a prebendary of Exeter Cathedral by his faithful and lifelong friend, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, then bishop of Exeter, 'in reward,' writes Atterbury himself, 'for my honest endeavours to retrieve the synodical rights of the clergy.' The lower house of convo-

cation passed a vote of thanks to him, and his own university conferred upon him the degree of D.D. without the usual fees.

Atterbury did not lose his favour at court through his bold advocacy of the rights of the clergy. He had long been a favourite preacher at the Chapel Royal, and on Queen Mary's death in 1694 he was the only royal chaplain who was still retained. The Princess Anne and her husband highly esteemed him, and when the former succeeded to the throne she made him her chaplain in ordinary, and in 1704 dean of Carlisle. In 1709 he was appointed preacher at the Rolls Chapel, where several of his printed sermons were delivered. The tory reaction which marked the last four years of Queen Anne's reign naturally brought Atterbury into still greater prominence. In fact, if the tradition be true (and there is no reason to doubt its truth) that he took a chief part in the composition of Dr. Sacheverel's speech before the House of Lords in 1710, he had no small share in bringing about that reaction. Queen Anne consulted him largely about church matters, and in 1711–12 appointed him as successor to his old friend and chief, Dr. Aldrich, in the deanery of Christ Church. Since the time when convocation, largely through Atterbury's means, had resumed its active functions, he had been a most prominent figure in the assemblies of the lower house. He was the life and soul of the party which carried on its long warfare against the latitudinarian bishops. In 1709 he was associated with the excellent Archbishop Sharp's scheme to bring before convocation the question of providing bishops for the plantations. In 1710 he was elected prolocutor of the lower house by a large majority, and in that capacity, in 1711, he drew up by the queen's command that famous 'Representation of the State of Religion' which has been so often quoted in histories of the times, but for which the bishops insisted upon substituting a less unfavourable report. No doubt Atterbury took a gloomy view of the situation in this 'Representation,' but he expressed his honest convictions, and did not pen it for mere political purposes; his tone is quite as desponding in his charges as archdeacon of Totnes. In 1713 he was made bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster, two posts which, according to the objectionable custom of the times, always went together. 'Thus,' says his enemy, Bishop Burnet, 'he was promoted and rewarded for all the flame he had raised in our church.' As a debater and public speaker he had long held the highest rank among the representatives of the clergy in convocation, and he soon became almost as prominent a figure in the House of Lords. A fine person and graceful delivery contributed to his success, and, to judge by the almost unanimous testimony of contemporaries, he must have been one of the greatest orators of his day.

There is no doubt that, during the lifetime of Queen Anne, Atterbury had, like a vast number of his contemporaries, shown a leaning to the Jacobite cause; but the oft-repeated story, that he offered to head the procession in his lawn sleeves to proclaim King James III at Charing Cross, rests on doubtful authority. At any rate, he submitted to the new *régime*, and took part officially, as bishop of Rochester, at the coronation of George I. He was entitled to the throne and canopy as his perquisites, but gracefully offered them to the king. The present was rejected, and Atterbury could scarcely help regarding this as a studied affront. Again, the declaration of confidence in the government after the rebellion of 1715 contained many reflections upon the high-church party, the very party of which Atterbury was the undoubted chief. He refused to sign it, and became more and more alienated from the ruling powers, which he attacked frequently and vehemently, and at last drifted away entirely into the service of him whom he considered to be the rightful monarch. It was about the year 1717 that Atterbury began to hold direct communication with the Jacobites. The climax was reached about five years later. The birth of a son to the exiled 'Chevalier' in 1720 raised the hopes of the Jacobites in England. The bursting of the South Sea bubble increased the prevalent disaffection to the reigning dynasty, and the conjuncture was regarded as favourable for another attempt to restore the ancient line. That Atterbury was really involved in this attempt there can be no doubt; but whether the mode of proceeding against him was justifiable is another question. He was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower, and a bill of pains and penalties was brought against him in the House of Commons. He declined to plead his cause before the house, declaring, with some dignity, that he was 'content with the opportunity (if the bill went on) to make his defence before another house, of which he had the honour to be a member.' After the bill had passed its third reading in the Commons, it was sent up to the Lords, and Atterbury was sent for from the Tower, where he had been confined for seven months, to plead his cause. The evidence which chiefly contributed to condemn him was curious. A Mrs. Bates, being examined by the crown,

admitted that a little spotted dog, named Harlequin, was sent by the Earl of Mar as a present to the Bishop of Rochester. This dog was often mentioned in correspondence which contained treasonable matter, and thus the bishop was compromised. He employed his wonted eloquence in making his memorable defence, but all to no purpose. He was condemned by a majority of 83 to 43, and the sentence pronounced against him was that he should be deprived of all his ecclesiastical offices, be incapacitated for holding any civil offices, and be banished for ever from the realm, and that no British subject should hold any intercourse with him, except by the royal permission. In the majority were all his brother prelates except one (Bishop Gastrell, of Chester, an 'old Westminster'), and so strong was the feeling against him that Lord Bathurst (Pope's, and therefore Atterbury's, firm friend) declared that the inveterate hatred could only be accounted for on the principle of the 'wild Americans, who fondly hoped to inherit not only the spoils but the abilities of him whom they should destroy.' But outside the walls of parliament the deepest sympathy with him was displayed, especially among the clergy. He was publicly prayed for in the London churches 'as one afflicted with the gout;' verses were written in his honour; and a print was circulated representing him as looking through the bars of his prison, and holding in his hand a portrait of the martyred Laud. An attempt was made to raise a prejudice against him as a papist in disguise; but his life and opinions were too well known to allow reasonable people long to doubt his attachment to the church of England. In fact, from first to last he was conspicuously and aggressively anti-Roman. The sympathy with him was heightened by the rumour that he had been harshly treated in the Tower. For some time his dearly loved and loving daughter had not been allowed to see him, except in the presence of the officers; but this restriction was removed through the kindness of Lord Townshend.

In the summer of 1723 he left England never to return, accompanied by his daughter and her husband (Mr. and Mrs. Morice) and a kind clergyman, the Rev. B. Hughes. By a curious coincidence he met at Calais Lord Bolingbroke returning from the exile to which he himself was condemned, and exclaimed, 'Then we are exchanged!' To appreciate the severity of his sentence, it must be remembered that he was verging upon old age, that he was a constant martyr to the gout and the stone, that his health was generally delicate, and that he had an unusually large circle of friends in England. To add to his sorrows, he had just lost his wife.

Atterbury was regarded as indisputably the best preacher of his day. To this reputation no doubt his manner and person contributed greatly. The 'Tatler' (No. 66, by Steele), in a well-known passage, contrasts the apathy of the greater part of the clergy in the pulpit with 'the dean we heard the other day,' who 'is an orator. He has so much regard to his congregation that he commits to his memory what he has to say to them, and has so soft and graceful a behaviour that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage, and adding to the propriety of speech, which might pass the criticism of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes.' The writer then goes on to praise the matter of the dean's sermons, a point on which a reader may judge for himself, as many of them are still extant. They are not for a moment to be compared with the sermons, e.g., of Jeremy Taylor, or South, or Barrow; but they are written in plain and lucid English; the preacher adheres closely to his text, and is always earnest and sensible. His sermon on the power of charity to cover sin brought him into controversy with Hoadly, and that on the 'Scorner incapable of True Wisdom' gave offence as containing a supposed reflection on Tillotson's orthodoxy.

Atterbury was far more intimate with the great men of letters who adorned the reign of Queen Anne than most of the clergy of his day. He held constant intercourse with Swift, who for some time lodged near him at Chelsea, and frequently alludes in his correspondence to 'my neighbour over the way.' The letters between these two celebrated men are singularly courteous and interesting. His intimacy with Pope was still closer; and when Atterbury became bishop of Rochester, the poet was a frequent guest at Bromley. Atterbury strove to convert Pope from Romanism, and though he did not succeed he elicited from the poet expressions of a deeper sense of religion than he has been sometimes credited with. Pope gave evidence in favour of Atterbury at his trial, and to the last believed him innocent. One of the most touching of all Atterbury's letters was that which he addressed to Pope 'from the Tower, 19 April 1723,' which he concludes with the fine lines of his favourite poet—

> Some natural tears he dropped, but wiped them soon.
> The world was all before him, where to choose
> His place of rest, and Providence his guide.

Atterbury was also on terms of intimacy with Sir Isaac Newton and with Arbuthnot, Gay, and Prior; and in spite of political and religious differences, he was friendly with Addison, who describes him as 'one of the greatest geniuses of his age.' Atterbury officiated, as dean of Westminster, at Addison's funeral, and was observed to be deeply affected during the ceremony. Bolingbroke also was a friend of Atterbury, and so was Dr. South, whose funeral sermon he preached. But the man for whom, next to his own family, Atterbury had the deepest affection, and of whose kindness and sympathy he is never tired of speaking, was Sir Jonathan Trelawney, bishop of Exeter, and subsequently of Winchester. His intimacy with Bishop Trelawney enabled him to do a service to one of the most learned and least appreciated clergymen of the day, Joseph Bingham, to whom he had the honour of first drawing the bishop's attention. He was also a friend to another learned clergyman of retiring habits, John Strype, the antiquary; and among his most enthusiastic admirers was Samuel Wesley the younger, who knew him when Atterbury was dean and Wesley one of the masters at Westminster. Lastly, he numbered among his most intimate friends the amiable and able Dr. Smalridge, the 'Favonius' of the 'Tatler.' Smalridge succeeded him both at Carlisle and Christ Church, and is reported to have said: 'Atterbury comes first, and sets everything on fire, and I follow with a bucket of water.'

Atterbury lived in exile nearly nine years. His first residence was at Brussels, but his health was so bad there that he removed to Paris, his faithful daughter acting as 'the kindest of nurses to the best of fathers,' as her husband expressed it. At Paris she left him, recovered in health, and the bishop threw himself heart and soul into James's cause, acting as a general adviser and supervisor of his affairs at home and abroad. The service was not a smooth one, owing partly to the impracticable character of the master, and partly to the petty jealousies and self-seeking of the followers. James, in 1725, described Atterbury as 'one in whose fidelity and ability he placed the greatest trust and confidence,' but he acted towards him in so different a spirit that in 1728 Atterbury quitted his service. The lonely old man had other troubles. His only surviving son, Osborn, was a constant source of anxiety to him. His brother Lewis, whom he had declined to appoint archdeacon of Rochester, never quite forgave the slight, and behaved shabbily in money transactions between them [see Atterbury, Lewis, 1656-1731]. He was once nearly involved in trouble with the French police, being suspected of having helped Père Courayer in his escape to England. Courayer's offence was simply an inclination towards the Anglican in preference to the Gallican church, and it is highly probable that Atterbury, who was from first to last a staunch Anglican, may have influenced the father, with whom he had certainly been intimate. But Atterbury's great sorrow was the loss of that daughter who, with her husband, had been his greatest earthly comfort and support. After Atterbury's rupture with James he left Paris for the south of France, in the hope of restoring his failing health, and settled at Montpelier. His daughter in England, whose health was also failing, felt a longing desire to see her father once more: and as he could not go to her she determined at all hazards to go to him. Unfortunately, the weather proved most unfavourable for a sea voyage; and when Bordeaux was at length reached, Mrs. Morice was all but a dying woman. Her father had been as anxious to see her as she to see him. 'I live only,' he writes with real pathos, 'to help towards lengthening your life, and rendering it, if I can, more agreeable to you. I see not of what use I can be in other respects.' The meeting took place at Toulouse, it being found impossible to convey the dying woman as far as Montpelier. The bishop was just in time to administer to her the last rites of the church: she died within twenty hours after her arrival. A most interesting correspondence between the bereaved father and his faithful friend Pope on the sad subject is extant. Atterbury had not many friends left; his Jacobite helpers in England had dropped off one by one; his son-in-law, Mr. Morice, was most faithful to him; and the old man took the greatest interest in his grandchildren, who paid him a visit. He had also a most devoted friend in the Dowager Duchess of Buckingham. He survived his daughter two years, and actually entered once more into James's service, and his last letter was one of advice to that very impracticable master. He also wrote in his last days a dignified vindication of himself against the aspersions of Oldmixon, who accused him of tampering with the new edition of Lord Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion.' The end came suddenly at last, in 1732. His body was conveyed to England, and buried privately in Westminster Abbey.

Atterbury cannot be regarded as a perfect character or as a great divine; but he was a very able man, and in his way a brave and faithful son of the church. If he mingled

politics too much with religion, it must be remembered, in justice to him, that the two subjects were so strangely mixed up in that eventful time that it was all but impossible for a public character to disentangle the one from the other. His name will always be a prominent one in the complicated history of the church and nation of England in the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century.

[Bishop Atterbury's Works, passim; The Stuart Papers; The Atterbury Papers; Williams's Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Atterbury; Stackhouse's Memoirs of Atterbury, from his Birth to his Banishment; Macaulay's Biographies, 'Francis Atterbury;' Atterbury's Correspondence, edited by Nichols.] J. H. O.

ATTERBURY, LEWIS, D.D., the elder (*d.* 1693), was the son of Francis Atterbury, rector of Middleton-Malsor, Northamptonshire. He became a student of Christ Church in 1647; submitted to the authority of the visitors appointed by the parliament; took the degree of B.A. on 23 Feb. 1649, and was created M.A. on 1 March 1651, by dispensation from Oliver Cromwell, at that time chancellor of the university. In 1654 he was made rector of Great or Broad Risington in Gloucestershire, and in 1657 received the living of Middleton-Keynes, near Newport Pagnell, Bucks. At the Restoration he was careful to have his titles to these benefices confirmed by taking a presentation under the great seal. On 25 July 1660, he became chaplain to Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who died at the end of the year; and on 1 Dec. 1660 he took the degree of D.D. He seems to have been, in his later years, involved in litigation, which necessitated his frequent attendance in town. On 7 Dec. 1693, as he was returning home after one of his visits to London, he was drowned near Middleton-Keynes, and there buried. Atterbury married and left two sons—Lewis Atterbury the younger, and the famous Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. He published the following sermons: 1. 'A Good Subject, or the Right Test of Religion and Loyalty' (on Prov. xxiv. 21, 22), 17 July 1684. 2. 'The Grand Charter of Christian Feasts, with the right way of keeping them' (on 1 Cor. v. 8), 30 Nov. 1685. 3. 'Babylon's Downfall, or England's Happy Deliverance from Popery and Slavery' (on Revelation xviii. 2), preached at Guildhall Chapel on 28 June 1691, and published at the desire of the court of aldermen.

[Yardley's Preface to the Sermons of Lewis Atterbury the younger, 1743; Wood's Athen. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv. 395.] A. H. B.

ATTERBURY, LEWIS, LL.D., the younger (1656–1731), the eldest son of Lewis Atterbury the elder, and brother of Bishop Atterbury, was born at Caldecot, in the parish of Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, on 2 May 1656. After being educated at Westminster School, under Dr. Busby, he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated on 10 April 1674. He was ordained deacon by Dr. John Fell, bishop of Oxford, on 21 Sept. 1679, when he had already taken his bachelor's degree; and on 5 July 1680 he proceeded M.A., taking priest's orders on 25 Sept. of the following year. In 1683 he became chaplain to Sir William Pritchard, then lord mayor of London: and in February 1684 he was appointed rector of Sywell, Northamptonshire. On 8 July 1687 he took by accumulation the degrees of bachelor and doctor of civil law. He was appointed, in 1691, lecturer of St. Mary Hill, London, and on 16 June 1695 he became preacher of Highgate Chapel, where he had been officiating for some time previously, during the illness of his predecessor. Before this date he had been appointed one of the six chaplains to Princess Anne of Denmark at Whitehall and St. James's, a position which he continued to hold after she came to the throne, and during part of the reign of George I. On coming to reside at Highgate, struck with the difficulties against which the neighbouring poor had to contend in obtaining good medical advice, he applied himself to the study of medicine, and used his knowledge gratuitously for the benefit of his parishioners. In 1707 he was presented by the queen to the rectory of Shepperton, in Middlesex, the incumbent having been deprived for neglecting to take the oaths within the time required by law; and in 1719 he was collated by the Bishop of London to the rectory of Hornsey, continuing at the same time to hold the office of preacher at Highgate. The archdeaconry of Rochester becoming vacant by the death of Dr. Sprat in 1720, Atterbury wrote to his younger brother, the bishop, applying for the post. Archdeacon Yardley printed (in the preface to Atterbury's 'Sermons,' 1743) the correspondence that passed on the subject. The bishop thought that such an appointment would be 'the most unseemly, indecent thing in the world;' to which the elder brother replied that he could not see where the 'indecency' lay, and that, though there might be 'some show of reason for the non-acceptance,' there was 'none for the not giving it.' At the age of seventy, up to which time he had enjoyed good health, he was compelled by the in-

firmities of age and an attack of the palsy to pay frequent visits to Bath. Here he died 20 Oct. 1731, in his seventy-sixth year. He was buried in Highgate Chapel. He left a collection of pamphlets, in some two hundred volumes, to the library of Christ Church, Oxford, and a few books to the libraries at Bedford and Newport-Pagnell. To his brother, the bishop, 'in token of his true esteem and affection,' he left one hundred pounds; and the remainder of his property, first to his granddaughter (who survived him but a short time), and afterwards to his nephew Osborn, the bishop's son. He also left ten pounds a year for the support of a schoolmistress for girls at Newport-Pagnell. In 1688 he had married Penelope, sister of Sir Robert Bedingfield, lord mayor of London in 1707. Two of his sons died in infancy; a third, Bedingfield Atterbury, who was educated at Oxford, died in 1718; a married daughter died in 1725; and his wife in 1723.

A list of Atterbury's works is given in Yardley's preface to the 'Sermons,' 1743. Among them may be mentioned:—1. 'The Penitent Lady, or Reflections on the Mercy of God, from the French of Madame de la Vallière,' 12mo, 1684. 2. 'Ten Sermons preached before her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, at the chapel of St. James's,' 8vo, 1699. 3. 'Twelve Sermons preached at St. James's and Whitehall: dedicated to the Queen,' 8vo, 1703. 4. 'Some Letters relating to the History of the Council of Trent,' 4to, 1705. 5. 'An Answer to a Popish Book intitled "A True and Modest Account of the Chief Points of Controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants," &c.,' 8vo, 1709. 6. 'The Reunion of Christians; translated from the French,' 8vo, 1708. 7. 'Sermons on Select Subjects; now published from the originals,' two vols., 8vo, 1743. A portrait, engraved by Vertue, is prefixed to vol. i.

[Archdeacon Yardley's Brief Account of the Author, prefixed to Sermons on Select Subjects, 1743; Atterbury's Correspondence, ed. Nichols, i. 484, ii. 99.] A. H. B.

ATTERBURY, LUFFMAN (*d.* 1796), a carpenter and builder by trade, but a musician by inclination, studied the harpsichord, composition, and harmony in the leisure time he could spare from his business, which was carried on in Turn Again Lane, Fleet Market. He acquired considerable proficiency in music, and on the death of his father, being left tolerably well off, gave up his business and retired to Teddington. He obtained several prizes from the Catch Club for his glees, and was appointed a musician in ordinary to George III. On 15 May 1765 Atterbury was elected a performing member of the Madrigal Society (*Records of Madrigal Soc.*). In 1770, he seems to have been connected with Marylebone Gardens, as he paid Chatterton five guineas for the copyright of 'The Revenge' on 6 July of the same year in which the burletta was performed. On 5 May, 1773, he produced at the Haymarket theatre an oratorio, 'Goliah,' which failed disastrously, though it was afterwards repeated at West Wycombe on 13 Aug. 1775, on the occasion of the burial of the heart of Paul Whitehead in the mausoleum of Lord Le Despencer. In 1784 Atterbury sang in the chorus of the Handel commemoration, and in 1787, on the establishment of the glee club at the Newcastle Coffee House, Castle Street, Strand, his name occurs as one of the original members. In September 1790 he married Miss Ancell, of Downing Street. He was at this time still living at Teddington, but his improvidence forced him to remove to Marsham Street, Westminster, and to give concerts in aid of his finances. It was in the middle of one of these concerts that he is said to have died, 11 June, 1796.

[Gent. Mag. for 1790, 1814, 1821; Busby's Concert-room Anecdotes, 1825; Grove's Dictionary of Music, vol. i.] W. B. S.

ATTERSOLL, WILLIAM (*d.* 1640), puritan divine and author, was apparently for a time a member of Jesus College, Cambridge, when, as he writes in his 'Historie of Balak' (1610), his patron of later years, Sir Henry Fanshaw, was 'a chiefe and choise ornament' there. But in that case he must have early passed from it; for he proceeded A.B. 1582 at Clare Hall, and A.M. 1586 at Peterhouse. Attersoll succeeded William Bishoppe in the living of Isfield, in Sussex, soon after 18 Jan. 1599–1600, the date of Bishoppe's burial. In the Epistle-dedicatory to Sir Henry Fanshaw, knight, the king's remembrancer in his highness's court of Exchequer, prefixed to Attersoll's 'Historie of Balak,' he speaks, among other of Fanshaw's acts of kindness shown towards him, 'of the fauour you shewed me at my repaire vnto you, in that trouble which befell me about the poore liuing that now I enioy.' Succeeding sentences state that the 'trouble' was occasioned by a suspicion on the part of Attersoll's parishioners that the new parson was too much of a scholar, and unlikely to be a preacher after the type of their former.

Attersoll was the author of many biblical commentaries and religious treatises. His earliest works were entitled 'The Pathway

to Canaan' (1609) and 'The Historie of Balak the King and Balaam the false Prophet' (1610). These, with others of the same kind, all in quarto, were, severally, expositions of portions of the book of Numbers, and were ultimately brought together in a noble folio of 1300 pages in 1618. In the quartos and folio alike there is abundant evidence of wide if somewhat undigested learning, penetrative insight, and felicitous application in the most unexpected ways of old facts and truths to present-day circumstances and experiences. All this applies especially to his 'New Covenant' (1614), and to his next important work, which reached a second edition in 1633, viz. 'A Commentarie vpon the Epistle of Saint Pavle to Philemon. Written by William Attersoll, Minister of the Word of God, at Isfield in Sussex. The second edition, corrected and enlarged' (1633). It is this volume that has been wrongly assigned to William Aspinwall [q. v.]. In 1632 Attersoll published a volume called the 'Conversion of Nineveh.' In the Epistle-dedicatory to Sir John Rivers he writes of himself as an old man: 'Having heretofore upon sundry occasions divulged sundry bookes which are abroad in the world, whereby I received much encouragement, I resolved, notwithstanding being now in yeares, and as it were *donatus rude* (Horat. lib. i. epist. 1), preparing for a *nunc dimittis*, utterly to give over and to enjoyne myselfe a perpetuall silence touching this kind of writing, and content myselfe with performing the other more necessary duty of teaching. Nevertheless, being requested, or rather importuned, by friends to publish some things which had been a long time by mee . . . I deliuered into their hands these three treatises.' The other two treatises (besides 'Nineveh') are 'God's Trvmpet sovnding the Alarme' (1632) and 'Phisicke against Famine, or a Soueraigne Preseruatiue' (1632).

As shown by the Isfield Register, Attersoll was buried '30 May 1640,' and thus had remained in his original 'poore liuing' for upwards of forty years. He describes himself as 'a poore labourer in the Lord's vineyard, and a simple watchman in his house.' He also speaks of 'the poore cottage' in which he resided (Ep. to *Nineveh*). His works are now extremely rare.

Another William Attersoll, probably his son, proceeded A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615 at Peterhouse; and a third of the same names proceeded A.B. 1672 at Catherine Hall. In all likelihood the former was the William Attersoll of Calamy, whose name is simply entered under 'Hoadley (East), Sussex,' as among the ejected of 1662, and so, too, in Palmer's 'Nonconformist's Memorial' (iii. 320).

[Information from Rev. S. F. Russell, M.A. Isfield; H. R. Luard, LL.D., and W. Aldis Wright, LL.D. Cambridge; Kippis's Biog. Brit. s. 'Fanshawe;' Attersoll's works.] A. B. G.

ATTWOOD, THOMAS (1765–1838), musician, born in London, 23 Nov. 1765, was the son of a coal merchant. When nine years old he was admitted as a chorister to the Chapel Royal, where he attracted the attention of the Prince of Wales (George IV), who invited him to Buckingham House, and was so pleased by his pianoforte playing and musical talent that in 1783 he sent him to Naples to study under Cinque and Latilla. From Naples Attwood went (1785) to Vienna, where he studied under Mozart, who expressed a favourable opinion of his talent. He left Vienna in company with the Storaces in February 1787. Shortly after his return to London he was appointed music master to the Duchess of York; he also subsequently occupied the same post with the Duchess of Cumberland and the Princess of Wales. In the following year (1792) he produced a musical afterpiece, 'The Prisoner,' at the Opera House, where the Drury Lane company was then performing. This was the first of several similar pieces he composed; in all his writings for the stage, after the fashion of the time, he eked out his own music by considerable interpolations from the works of other composers, particularly those of Mozart and Cherubini. In 1793 Attwood married Mary, the only child of Matthew Denton, of Stotfold, Bedfordshire. His eldest son, a lieutenant in the army, was assassinated at Madrid in October 1821; another son, after a distinguished career at Cambridge, became in 1837 rector of Framlingham, Suffolk. In 1796, on the death of John Jones, Attwood was appointed organist and vicar choral of St. Paul's, and in June of the same year he succeeded Dr. Dupuis as composer to the Chapel Royal. For the coronation of George IV (19 July 1821) Attwood wrote an anthem, 'I was glad.' In the same year the king appointed him organist of the chapel in the Pavilion, Brighton. He wrote an anthem, 'O Lord, grant the King,' for the coronation of William IV, and had begun another for the coronation of Queen Victoria when he was interrupted by his last illness. On the death of Stafford Smith (1836) he was appointed organist to the Chapel Royal, a post he did not live long to occupy. He was taken ill soon after Christmas 1837, and, preferring some peculiar mode of treating his

complaint, neglected the proper remedies, and died at his house, 17 Cheyne Walk, on 24 March 1838. He was buried in St. Paul's on 31 March. Besides the works mentioned above, Attwood wrote some chamber music, many songs, glees, and pianoforte pieces. His music is melodious and graceful, as would be expected from a pupil of Mozart, but it is deficient in individuality and force. During the latter part of his life he made the acquaintance of Mendelssohn, who often stayed with the English composer at his house at Norwood.

[Biog. Dict. S. D. U. K.; Add. MS. 31587; Gent. Mag. for 1821; Annual Register for 1838; Kelly's Reminiscences, i. (1826); Grove's Dictionary, i.] W. B. S.

ATWATER, WILLIAM (1440–1521), bishop of Lincoln, was, according to his epitaph, born about 1440. Wood connects his parentage with Davington, in Somersetshire; but no such place is known. A family of the name was, however, resident near Downton, in Wiltshire, and a Philemon Attwater and a William Attwater held property in the neighbourhood in the eighteenth century (Hoare's *Wiltshire*, sub 'Downton,' iii. 61). Wood also states that Atwater was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was first demy and afterwards fellow. His name does not appear in the college registers, which only date from the latest years of the fifteenth century, but it is probable that he was a fellow in 1480 (Bloxam's *Magdalen College Registers*, iv. 27 *n.*). He was doubtless tutor at Magdalen when Thomas Wolsey was studying there, and thus formed an acquaintance that proved of service to him. In 1492–3 Atwater took the degree of D.D., and in 1497 became for the first time vice-chancellor of the university. Three years later he was reappointed to the office, which he held in conjunction with others till 1502. In 1500 the post of chancellor of the university, vacated by the death of Archbishop Morton, was temporarily filled by him. William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, one of the founders of Brasenose College, on succeeding Morton as chancellor, continued Atwater in the vice-chancellorship, and highly commended his 'merits and diligence.' He effectually aided the bishop in reforming academical discipline. But Atwater did not derive all his income from university work; he held an unusually large number of ecclesiastical benefices. He was appointed on 19 Dec. 1489 to the living of Hawkridge, in Wiltshire, and subsequently held, among many other small benefices, that of Ditcheat, in Somersetshire. The deanery of the Chapel Royal was conferred on him in 1502. On 21 June 1504 he became canon of Windsor and registrar of the order of the Garter. From 1506 to 1512 he was chancellor of the cathedral of Lincoln, a dignity bestowed on him by his friend William Smith, the bishop; on 30 Oct. 1512 he exchanged the chancellorship for a prebend in the cathedral. On 5 Sept. 1509 he was appointed dean of Salisbury, having become prebendary of Ruscomb in Salisbury cathedral on 20 July, and was granted a coat of arms. For a short time, between 1509 and 1512, he was archdeacon of Lewes. In Browne-Willis's 'Cathedrals' Atwater is stated to have been fellow of Eton. From 3 June 1514 till 18 Nov. following he held the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. His elevation to the bishopric of Lincoln, in September 1514, in succession to Wolsey, whose patronage had doubtless secured him many of his honours, closes the long list of his preferments. He was consecrated at Lambeth 12 Nov. 1514. He resigned the canonry of Windsor on 22 Oct. 1514, but he continued in the deanery of the Chapel Royal. On 15 Nov. 1515 he took part in the formal reception by Wolsey at Westminster of the cardinal's hat.

Atwater died at Wooburn, Buckinghamshire, 4 Feb. 1520–1, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. A brass above his grave stated that he was then eighty-one years old. Among the state papers is an autograph letter (11 Nov. 1516) from Atwater to Pope Leo X, praying for the appointment of a suffragan bishop at an annuity of 200 ducats. An entry in Henry VIII's accounts for 1 Oct. 1514 shows that the king lent Atwater 600*l.* A license to import one hundred tuns of Gascon wine was granted to Atwater 1 Dec. 1513. A popular book, printed by Pynson in 1519 and reprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, entitled 'Vulgaria viri doctissimi Guil. Hormanni Cæsarisburgensis,' was dedicated to Atwater in highly flattering terms.

[Wood's Athen. Oxon. (ed. Bliss), ii. 716; Wood's Fasti (ed. Bliss), i. 3, 6, 9; Le Neve's Fasti; Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1512–1516; Churton's Lives of the Founders of Brasenose College, pp. 156, 360, 496; Ames's Typograph. Antiq. (ed. Herbert and Dibdin), ii. 286–7, 479–82.] S. L. L.

ATWELL, ATTAWEL, or **ATTEWELL**, HUGH (*d.* 1621), actor, was one of the 'Children of her Majesty's Revels,' who is known to have taken part in the first representation of Ben Jonson's 'Epicœne' in 1609. From a funeral elegy by William Rowley, upon the death of Hugh Atwell, 'servant of Prince Charles,' on Sept. 25, 1621, he has been

accounted an actor of some note. In the 'Alleyn Papers' Atwell's name is mentioned as the witness of a loan from Philip Henslowe to Robert Duborne of twenty shillings in 1613. Atwell's name also appears as one of Alleyn's company, applying to him for an advance of money. Another player of the same surname in Henslowe's company, George Attwell, has been regarded as the father of Hugh Atwell.

[The Alleyn Papers, 1843; Collier's Annals of the Stage, 1831.] D. C.

ATWOOD, GEORGE (1746–1807), a distinguished mathematician, was born in 1746, entered Westminster School in 1759, and was elected to a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1765. He graduated B.A. in 1769 as third wrangler and first Smith's prizeman, became subsequently a fellow and tutor of his college, took a degree of M.A. in 1772, and was chosen fellow of the Royal Society in 1776. His lectures were remarkable both for the fluent ease of their delivery, and for the ingenuity of their experimental illustrations, and exercised much influence on the scientific studies of the university. Amongst his auditors and admirers was William Pitt, who bestowed upon him, on leaving Cambridge in 1784, a sinecure place as one of the patent searchers of the customs, with a salary of 500*l.* a year. This, however, was only an indirect mode of remunerating financial services of a very arduous kind, all the calculations connected with the revenue being executed by him until failing health forbade the intense application said to have been its cause. He died at his house in Westminster, in July 1807, at the age of 61, and was buried in St. Margaret's Church. As a writer he was less gifted than as a lecturer. His treatises, though marked by considerable ability, are deficient both in power and elegance, and are now completely superseded. In accuracy of calculation he could scarcely be surpassed, and he possessed musical as well as mathematical accomplishments.

He wrote: 1. 'A Description of the Experiments intended to illustrate a Course of Lectures on the Principles of Natural Philosophy,' London, 1776. 2. 'A Treatise on the Rectilinear Motion and Rotation of Bodies, with a Description of Original Experiments relative to the Subject,' Cambridge, 1784, in which occurs (p. 298) the first description of the ingenious apparatus since so well known as 'Atwood's Machine,' for exhibiting and verifying the accelerative action of gravity. 3. 'An Analysis of a Course of Lectures on the Principles of Natural Philosophy,' London, 1784, still of interest as illustrating the state of science at Cambridge a century ago. 4. 'A Dissertation on the Construction and Properties of Arches,' 1801, with a supplement, 1804, written at the request of a committee of the House of Commons, then engaged in considering Telford's plan for replacing London Bridge with a one-arched iron construction. 5. 'A general Theory for the Mensuration of the Angle subtended by two Objects,' *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxi., 1781. 6. 'Investigations founded on the Theory of Motion for determining the Times of Vibration of Watch Balances,' *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxxiv., 1794. 7. 'The Construction and Analysis of Geometrical Propositions determining the Positions assumed by homogeneal Bodies which float freely, and at rest, on a Fluid's Surface,' *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxxvi., 1796, honoured with the Copley medal (1796). 8. 'A Disquisition on the Stability of Ships,' *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxxviii., 1798.

[Gent. Mag. lxxvii. pt. ii. 690; Hutton's Phil. and Math. Dict. (1815), i. 189; De Morgan in Biog. Dict. Soc. D. U. K. iv. 44.] A. M. C.

ATWOOD, PETER (1643–1712), Dominican friar, was a native of Warwickshire, joined the order in 1678, and was ordained priest five years later. He was several times cast into prison, and at length was condemned to death on account of his sacerdotal character. The hurdle was actually at the gate of the gaol to convey him to Tyburn when Charles II sent him a reprieve. Father Atwood, who governed his brethren as provincial from 1698 to 1706, died in London, 12 Aug. 1712.

[Oliver's Hist. of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 450.] T. C.

ATWOOD, THOMAS (*d.* 1793), chief judge of the island of Dominica, and afterwards of the Bahamas, died in the King's Bench prison, at an advanced age, broken down with misfortunes, on 27 May 1793. He is the reputed author of the 'History of the Island of Dominica,' published in 1791, and of a pamphlet published in 1790 entitled 'Observations on the True Method of Treatment and Usage of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands.'

[Gent. Mag. lxiii. 576, 669.] T. F. H.

ATWOOD, WILLIAM (*d.* 1705?), political writer, chief justice of New York, was an English barrister, and the author of a large number of controversial pamphlets on political questions during the last two decades of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth. In politics

he was a staunch whig, and a resolute upholder of the rights of parliament and the people against the pretensions of Filmer, Brady, and the extreme tories and high-churchmen. As a disputant, he is rather clumsy and ineffective; but his constitutional theories are grounded upon a considerable knowledge of early charters and other documents, and of the older writers of English history, in which he seems to have been unusually well read. Among his works are: 'Jus Anglorum ab Antiquo,' 1681; 'The Fundamental Constitution of the English Government,' 1690; 'The Antiquity and Justice of an Oath of Abjuration,' 1694; 'The History and Reasons of the Dependency of Ireland,' &c., 1698. In August 1701 he arrived in New York, where he had been appointed chief justice and judge of the court of admiralty. He was almost immediately involved in violent quarrels with some of the inhabitants, and afterwards with Lord Cornbury, the governor. He was accused of gross corruption and maladministration, and was finally (June 1702) suspended from his employments by Lord Cornbury, and compelled to escape from the colony. On his return to England he published a statement of his 'Case' (London, 1703), in which he endeavoured to prove that his difficulties in the colony were due to his rigorous administration of English law, especially in its application to maritime and commercial matters; but he met with no redress, and the lords commissioners of trade and plantations endorsed Lord Cornbury's action. In 1704 he published 'The Superiority and Direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of England over the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland,' and in 1705 'The Scotch Patriot unmask'd.' Both these pamphlets excited great indignation in Scotland, and were ordered by the Scotch parliament to be burnt by the common hangman. The year of Atwood's death is uncertain. He appears to have published nothing later than 1705.

[Bishop Nicolson, English Historical Library, 1736, p. 193; Boyer, Annals of Queen Anne, iv. 52; O'Callaghan, New York Colonial Documents, iv. 971, 1010, v. 105–8, &c.; The Case of William Atwood, Lond. 1703, fol.]

S. J. L.

AUBERT, ALEXANDER (1730–1805), astronomer, was born at Austin Friars, London, 11 May 1730. The appearance of the magnificent comet of 1744 gave him, then a schoolboy at Geneva, a permanent bias towards astronomy; he diligently prepared, however, for a mercantile career in counting-houses at Geneva, Leghorn, and Genoa; visited Rome in the jubilee year (1750), and, returning to London in 1751, was, in the following year, taken into partnership by his father. In 1753 he became a director, and some years later governor, of the London Assurance Company. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1772, and of the Society of Antiquaries in 1784, receiving moreover, in 1793, a diploma of admission to the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. The transit of Venus, of 3 June 1769, was observed by him at Austin Friars (*Phil. Trans.* lix. 378), and that of Mercury, 4 May 1786 (*Phil. Trans.* lxxvii. 47) at an observatory built by him at Loampit Hill, near Deptford, and furnished with the best instruments by Short, Bird, Ramsden, and Dollond. Except that of Count Brühl, it was at that period the only well-equipped private establishment of the kind in England. In 1788 he purchased Highbury House, Islington, for 6,000 guineas, and erected on the grounds, with the assistance of his friend Smeaton, the celebrated engineer, a new observatory on improved plans of his own. His mechanical knowledge caused him to be appointed chairman of the trustees for the completion of Ramsgate harbour, and his energy contributed materially to the ultimate success of Smeaton's designs. In 1792 Aubert headed a society for the suppression of sedition, and in 1797 he organised, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of, the 'Loyal Islington Volunteers.' While staying in the house of Mr. John Lloyd, of Wygfair, St. Asaph, he was struck with apoplexy, and died 19 Oct. 1805, at the age of 75, highly esteemed both in scientific and commercial circles, and widely popular, owing to his genial manners and unstinted hospitality. His valuable astronomical library and instruments were sold and dispersed after his death. Amongst the latter were a Dollond 46-inch achromatic, aperture $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the *one* Cassegrain reflector constructed by Short, of 24 inches focus and 6 aperture, known among opticians as 'Short's Dumpy.' Both had been originally made for Topham Beauclerk. Two slight papers by Aubert appeared in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' viz., 'A New Method of finding Time by Equal Altitudes' (lxvi. 92–8), and 'An Account of the Meteors of 18 Aug. and 4 Oct. 1783' (lxxiv. 112–15).

[Europ. Mag. xxxiv. 291, xxxvi. 79; Gent. Mag. lxxv. 982; Lysons's Environs of London (1795), iii. 135; Lewis's History of Islington (1842), 185; Kitchiner's Practical Observations on Telescopes (3rd ed. 1818), pp. 16, 108; Watt's Bib. Brit. i. 54.]

A. M. C.

AUBREY, JOHN (1626–1697), antiquary, was born at Easton Pierse, or Percy, in the parish of Kington in Wiltshire, on 12 March 1625–6, and not on 3 Nov. as stated by some of his biographers. His father, Richard Aubrey, was a gentleman of fortune, possessed of estates in Wiltshire, Herefordshire, and Wales. Young Aubrey was a sickly boy, and received the first part of his education privately under the Rev. Robert Latimer, vicar of Leigh Delamere near Malmesbury, the preceptor of Hobbes. He afterwards went to Blandford grammar school, and in May 1642 was entered a gentleman commoner at Trinity College, Oxford. While yet an undergraduate he evinced his antiquarian tastes by contributing a plate of Oseney Abbey to Dugdale's 'Monasticon.' In 1643 he was driven from the university by small-pox and civil war, 'and for three years led a sad life in the country.' In 1646 he became a student at the Middle Temple, but was never called to the bar, and returned from time to time to Oxford, where he declares he enjoyed the greatest felicity of his life. He was also frequently at home upon his father's business, and in 1649 brought to light the extraordinary megalithic remains at Avebury, which had been unheeded till then. In 1652, on his father's death, he inherited the family estates, and along with them numerous lawsuits, which, combined with his careless and extravagant habits of living, eventually reduced him to poverty. 'Several love and lawe suits,' he notes of the year 1656. He must, nevertheless, have kept up his literary and scientific interests, for he belonged to the club of 'Commonwealth Men,' founded on the principles of Harrington, of which he has left an entertaining description, and in May 1663 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1662 he sold his Herefordshire property. In 1665 'I made my first address (in an ill hour) to Joane Sumner.' His biographers, previous to Mr. Britton, have not unnaturally concluded that he espoused this lady, but the register of his death and passages in his autobiographical notes prove that this cannot have been the case. Instead of going to the altar she went to law with him, and 'all my business and affairs ran kim kam.' He nevertheless gained several causes, but in 1670 was compelled to sell his remaining landed property. 'From 1670 to this very day,' he notes, 'I have enjoyed a happy delitescency.' The term is emphasised by the entry for the following year, 'Danger of arrests.' In 1677 he was obliged to part with his books, but this year seems to have been the term of his misfortunes. Having lost everything, he was no longer disquieted by lawsuits; and his good humour made him a welcome guest in many families, especially that of 'the Earl of Thanet, with whom I was delitescent near a year,' and of 'Mr. Edmund Wyld, with whom I most commonly take my diet and sweet otiums.' To these protectors may be added Sir William Petty, Hobbes, Ashmole, and Lady Long, of Draycott, in Wilts, with whom he frequently resided during his latter years. When not thus enacting the part of a highly accomplished Will Wimble, he spent his time in country excursions, collecting materials for his antiquarian works. He had in 1671 received a patent empowering him to make antiquarian surveys under the crown, and had perambulated Surrey in 1673, forming copious topographical collections. He had also since 1659 been more or less engaged on a similar undertaking for North Wilts, and in 1685 'tumultuarily stitched up' his notes on the natural history of that county. He also composed, by order of Charles II, as is said, an unpublished discourse on Stonehenge and other ancient stone monuments, which he regarded as druidical. In 1667 he had made the acquaintance of Anthony à Wood, and aided him materially in his 'Antiquities of Oxford,' published in 1674. His correspondence with Wood was continued until, in 1680, he sent the latter his 'Minutes of Lives,' with a highly characteristic letter. Wood made great use of his information, which continued to be furnished until the publication of the 'Athenæ Oxonienses' in 1690. Unfortunately one of Aubrey's notes, reflecting upon Lord Chancellor Clarendon, caused Wood to be visited by a prosecution; and this seems to have occasioned an estrangement, and to have prompted the unfavourable character which Wood has left of his disinterested if not always judicious ally. Aubrey continued to occupy himself with his history of Wiltshire, but, feeling that he should not live to finish the work, in 1695 imparted his papers to Tanner, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph. In 1696 he issued the only book he ever printed himself, the 'Miscellanies,' a highly entertaining collection of ghost stories and other anecdotes of the supernatural. In June 1697 he died at Oxford, on his way from London to Draycott, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Magdalene.

Aubrey left a mass of manuscript material behind him, which long remained unpublished. His 'Perambulation of Surrey' was incorporated in Rawlinson's 'Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey,' printed in 1719, which is indeed substantially Aubrey's

work. Part of his Wiltshire collections was used by Tanner for Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden. Aubrey's own manuscript was presented by the writer to the Ashmolean Library. It was in two volumes, one of which was borrowed by his brother and lost. Portions of the other were privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillips in 1821 and 1838, but the edition, which is far from correct, was never completed. The work was finally edited for the Wiltshire Topographical Society by the Rev. J. S. Jackson (Devizes, 1862). 'The Natural History of Wilts,' abstracted by the author from his larger work, was left by him in two manuscripts, one at Oxford, the other in the library of the Royal Society. The portions immediately concerning Wiltshire were edited for the Wiltshire Topographical Society by Mr. John Britton. The 'Minutes of Lives,' given to Wood, were first published in a collection entitled 'Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' (London, 1813). The most recent edition of the 'Miscellanies' is that in Russell Smith's Library of Old Authors, in 1857. Aubrey also wrote a life of Hobbes, which formed the groundwork of Blackburn's Latin biography. The manuscript of his 'Monumenta Britannica' is in the Bodleian. His 'Architectonica Sacra,' 'Idea of Education of Young Gentlemen,' and other works of less importance, are extant in the Ashmolean Library or in private hands. His 'Remains of Gentilism and Judaism' is preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. Extracts from it have been given in Brand's 'Popular Antiquities' and Thoms's 'Anecdotes and Traditions,' and the entire text, with White Kennet's additions, was issued by the Folk-lore Society in 1880.

Aubrey was the very type of the man who is no man's enemy but his own. He possessed every virtue usually associated with an easy careless temper, and an industry in his own pursuits which would have done credit to one of robuster mould. 'My head,' he says, 'was always working, never idle, and even travelling did glean some observations, some whereof are to be valued.' They assuredly are, and many, especially those on the alteration of manners in his time, exhibit real shrewdness. He was well aware of his failings, and it is impossible not to sympathise with his regret for the abolition of the monasteries which would have afforded him a congenial refuge; and his verdict that 'if ever I had been good for anything, 'twould have been a painter.' His buoyant cheerfulness defied calamity, and preserved his self-respect under the hard trial of dependence. His character as an antiquary has been unworthily traduced by Anthony à Wood, but fully vindicated by his recent editors and biographers. He certainly is devoid of literary talent, except as a retailer of anecdotes; his head teems with particulars which he lacks the faculty to reduce to order or combine into a whole. As a gossip, however, he is a kind of immature Boswell; and we are infinitely beholden to him for the minute but vivid traits of Bacon, Milton, Raleigh, Hobbes, and other great men preserved in his 'Minutes of Lives.' His 'Natural History of Wilts' is full of quaint lore, and one need not believe in spirits to enjoy his 'Miscellanies.' Half the charm is in the simple credulity of the narrator, who seems, nevertheless, to have inclined to the philosophy of his friend Hobbes.

[Aubrey left two papers of autobiographical memoranda. Every circumstance respecting him has been collected and carefully investigated in the excellent biography by J. Britton (London, 1845), the only work of authority. The best criticism upon his life and writings is an admirable essay by Professor Masson in vol. xxiv. of the British Quarterly Review.] R. G.

AUBREY, WILLIAM, LL.D. (1529–1595), an eminent civilian and grandfather of the antiquary, John Aubrey, was born at Cantre [Cantreff], Brecknockshire, in or about 1529, and was educated at Oxford, where he graduated B.C.L. in 1549. He became fellow of All Souls', was appointed principal of New Inn Hall in 1550, and professor of civil law in 1553. It appears that he discharged the duties of his professorship by deputies; for William Mowse filled the chair in 1554. In 1559 he resigned in favour of John Griffith (Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. 503). Having taken the degree of D.C.L. (1554), Aubrey was admitted an advocate in the court of Arches, and afterwards officiated as judge-advocate in the expedition against St. Quentin. By Archbishop Grindal he was appointed auditor and vicar-general in spirituals for the province of Canterbury, and in 1577, during Grindal's sequestration, he was one of the civilians chosen to carry on the visitation. He was afterwards chancellor to Archbishop Whitgift, and was created by Queen Elizabeth a member of the Council of Marches for Wales, a master in chancery, and a master of requests in ordinary. He died on 23 July 1595, leaving three sons and six daughters. In Dugdale's 'History of St. Paul's Cathedral' there is a drawing of Aubrey's monument and effigy in St. Paul's. His grandson, the antiquary, writes: 'I have his originall picture. He had a delicate, quick, lively, and piercing black eie, a severe eie browe, and a fresh complexion. The figure in his monument

at St. Paules is not like him—it is too big' (*Letters from the Bodleian*, 1813, ii. 219).

Some letters of Aubrey's are printed in Strype's 'Life of Grindal.' Two of his judgments are preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. (lxviii. lxix.) A letter to John Dee, in criticism of his 'Soveraignty of the Sea,' is printed in vol. ii. pp. 214–18 of 'Letters from the Bodleian,' 1813. The original letter, with transcripts by Dee and Ashmole, is among the Ashmolean MSS. (1789, 33). The Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian contain 'Tractatus duo in causa matrimonii dominæ Katherinæ Grey et comitis Hertfordiæ, per Gul. Aubrey et Hen. Jones,' and a letter of Aubrey's to Grindal 'On the Abuses in the Ecclesiastical Courts.' Among the Ashmolean MSS. (1788, 132–3) is preserved Ashmole's transcript of a 'Letter from Dr. W. Aubrey to Dr. Dee upon his perusall of the British Monarchy. Kew, 28 July, 1577.'

[Wood's Fasti, ed. Bliss, i. 127, 143; Strype's Grindal; Strype's Cranmer; Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral; Black's Catalogue of Ashmolean MSS.; Catalogue of Tanner MSS.; Letters from the Bodleian Library. 1813, ii. 207–21, where an account of Aubrey is printed from a manuscript (supposed to be) in the writing of his son-in-law, Sir Daniel Dun, supplemented by notes of John Aubrey, the antiquary.]

A. H. B.

AUCHER, JOHN, D.D. (1619–1700), royalist divine, was son of Sir Anthony Aucher, knight, of Hautsbourne in Kent. He was nominated to a Canterbury scholarship in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Archbishop Laud in 1634, but after taking the degree of B.A. he removed to Peterhouse for a fellowship, where he commenced M.A. in 1641. He was ejected from his fellowship on account of his loyalty, and during the Commonwealth he wrote two treatises against the dominant party, which, however, were not printed till long afterwards. At the Restoration he was created D.D. by royal mandate, and further rewarded with a prebend in the church of Canterbury (1660). He also held the rectory of Allhallows in Lombard Street, London, for many years (1662–85). Dr. Aucher died at Canterbury on 12 March 1700-1, and was buried in the cathedral.

His works are: 1. 'The Personal Reign of Christ upon Earth,' 1642, 4to. 2. A treatise against the 'Engagement.' 3. 'The Arraignment of Rebellion, or the irresistibility of sovereign powers vindicated and maintained in reply to a letter,' London, 1684, 4to; reprinted London, 1718, 8vo.

[Peter Barwick's Life of Dr. John Barwick, 283 *n.*; Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 255; Kennett's Register and Chron. 185, 186; Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglic. ed. Hardy, i. 54; MS. Lansd. 987 f. 144; Somner's Antiq. of Canterbury, ed. Battely, append. to the supplement, p. 9; Masters's Hist. of C. C. C. C. 219; Cat. Librorum Impress. Bibl. Bodl. (1843), i. 142; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, ii. 153; Carter's Hist. of the Univ. of Camb. 44, 49.]

T. C.

AUCHINOUL, LORD. [See BELLENDEN.]

AUCHMUTY, SIR SAMUEL, G.C.B. (1756–1822), a distinguished general, who attained his rank by merit alone, was born at New York in 1756. His grandfather, a distinguished Scotch lawyer, had established himself at Boston in the reign of William III, and his father, after being educated at Harvard and Oxford, had become rector of the principal Church of England church in New York. When the colonies declared war, Dr. Auchmuty and his brother, who was judge of the high court of admiralty at Boston, at once declared for the king, and young Samuel was present with the 45th regiment as a volunteer at the battles of Brooklyn and Whiteplains. The need of rewarding the loyal colonists caused to be given to young Auchmuty in 1777 an ensigncy, and in 1778 a lieutenancy in the 45th without purchase. On the conclusion of peace he went to England with his regiment, but soon found it impossible to live on his lieutenant's pay, or to expect any promotion in England; so in 1783 he exchanged into the 52nd regiment, then under orders for India, and was at once made adjutant. He saw service in the last war with Hyder Ali, and was promoted captain in the 75th regiment for his services in 1788. Lord Cornwallis perceived his aptitude for Indian warfare, and made him a brigade-major in 1790, in which capacity he served in the campaigns of 1790 and 1791 against Tippoo Sultan, and with Baird's division at the siege of Seringapatam in 1792. Lord Cornwallis was so pleased with his conduct that he took him to Calcutta, made him deputy-quartermaster-general to the king's troops there, and soon afterwards major by brevet in 1794. Sir Robert Abercromby, the successor of Cornwallis as commander-in-chief, found him equally useful, and made him lieutenant-colonel by brevet in 1795. He acted as Sir Robert's military secretary for three years, and, after serving with him in the short campaign against the Rohillas, went home with him in 1797. He had left England a poor lieutenant, and now returned after fourteen years' service a lieutenant-colonel, with two powerful patrons in Cornwallis and Sir Robert Abercromby. He was promoted brevet-colonel and lieutenant-

colonel of the 10th regiment in 1800, and ordered at once to the Cape; there he took command of a mixed force, which was sent to the Red Sea to co-operate with the army coming from India under Sir David Baird to assist Sir Ralph Abercromby in subduing the French in Egypt. Baird had learned his merit at Seringapatam, and on his arrival made him adjutant-general of his whole army. It was now that he first gained popular reputation; Baird's march across the desert and passage down the Nile read like a story of romance, and was enjoyed accordingly by the English people, and the general's chief lieutenants, notably Beresford and Auchmuty, became popular heroes. After the capture of Alexandria, Colonel Auchmuty was for a short time adjutant-general of the whole army in Egypt, and on his return to England in 1803 was made a knight of the Bath. From 1803 to 1806 he was commandant in the Isle of Thanet, and in the latter year was made colonel of the 103rd regiment, and ordered to command the reinforcements for South America.

The English expedition to Buenos Ayres in 1806 had been nothing less than a filibustering expedition. It had occurred to Sir Home Popham when at the Cape, that though England was at peace with Spain, the English people and ministers would not object to his seizing a rich city like Buenos Ayres, which would open a new channel for trade. He made an easy conquest with the help of a small force under Colonel Beresford, which he had borrowed from Baird, and sent home a glowing account of his new possession. People and ministers were alike delighted, and Sir Samuel Auchmuty was made a brigadier-general, and ordered to reinforce Beresford as advanced guard of a still larger reinforcement. On reaching the river Plate he found matters very different from what he had expected. The Spaniards had arisen, and their militia had reoccupied Buenos Ayres, and captured Beresford and his small force. Sir Samuel disembarked; but found it impossible to retake Buenos Ayres, or to remain encamped in safety on the banks of the river with only 4,800 men. He decided therefore to attack the city of Monte Video, which, though strongly fortified, was much smaller than Buenos Ayres, and succeeded in storming it, after a desperate defence, with a loss of 600 men, or one-eighth of his whole army. When the news of his success reached England, he was voted the thanks of parliament, and the news of the capture of Buenos Ayres was confidently expected. But General Whitelocke, who superseded him, had not his military ability. He prepared, indeed, to take Buenos Ayres, but instead of one or at most two strong attacks on the important points, he divided his force into five columns, each too weak to make a real impression. Nevertheless, two of the columns, including Auchmuty's, did what they were ordered; but on hearing that two more had capitulated, General Whitelocke made terms with the Spanish commandant, Liniers, to leave South America and give up Monte Video. On his return he was tried by court martial and cashiered, but Auchmuty, who had done well what he was ordered, was marked out for further advancement.

In 1808 he was promoted major-general, and in 1810 appointed commander-in-chief at Madras. At this time Lord Minto was governor-general of India, and had a fixed intention to seize all the French possessions in Asia, and also those of their allies, the Dutch, in order to secure safe communication with England, and to be the only European power in Asia. He had therefore sent General John Abercromby to take the Mauritius in 1810, and in 1811 ordered Sir Samuel Auchmuty to organise a force for the capture of Java. The governor-general himself accompanied the expedition, which reached Java on 4 Aug. and occupied Batavia on 8 Aug. Gen. Janssens, the Dutch governor, had given up the capital as indefensible, and had retired to a strong position at Cornelis, which he had fortified. This position Auchmuty attacked on 28 Aug., but the Dutch made a stubborn resistance, and were only defeated by a gallant charge of Major-general Rollo Gillespie, who got behind the position, and was the hero of the day. The last resistance of the Dutch was overcome at Samarang on 8 Sept., after which General Janssens surrendered, and in October Lord Minto and Auchmuty returned to India. For his services on this occasion he received a second time the thanks of parliament, and was made colonel of the 78th regiment. In 1813 he handed over his command to John Abercromby, and left for England. On his return he was promoted lieutenant-general, but the peace of 1815 prevented his again seeing active service. After being unemployed some years, Auchmuty was in 1821 appointed to succeed Beckwith as commander-in-chief in Ireland, and was sworn of the Irish privy council. He did not long enjoy this high command; for he fell off his horse dead on 11 Aug. 1822, in Phœnix Park, and was buried in Christchurch Cathedral. Sir Samuel Auchmuty was an extremely able Indian officer, and had served with distinction in every quarter of the globe but Europe; his great merit is shown by the high rank which he, the son of

a loyal and therefore ruined American colonist, without money or political influence, had managed to attain.

[For General Auchmuty's services see the Royal Military Calendar, 3rd edition, 1820. For his Egyptian campaign see Sir R. Wilson's History of the Campaign in Egypt, 1803; Hook's Life of Sir David Baird; and more particularly the Count de Noe's Mémoires relatifs à l'Expédition Anglaise partie du Bengale en 1800 pour aller combattre en Egypte l'Armée de l'Orient, Paris, 1826. For the capture of Monte Video see the despatches in the Annual Register; Whitelocke's Court Martial; and the Memoir of Sir S. F. Whittingham. The despatches on the capture of Java are printed at length in the Royal Military Calendar; and see also Lady Minto's Lord Minto in India.] H. M. S.

AUCKLAND, Earls of. [See Eden.]

AUDELAY. [See Awdelay.]

AUDINET, PHILIP (1766–1837), line-engraver, was descended from a French family which came over to England in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was born in Soho, London, in 1766, and, after having served his apprenticeship to John Hall, was employed to engrave the portraits for Harrison's 'Biographical Magazine' and other works. He also engraved 'Lear with the dead body of Cordelia,' after Fuseli, for Bell's 'British Theatre,' and several portraits after pictures by Danloux, a French painter who resided in England during the time of the revolution in France. Among his later works are portraits of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, Bart., and Sir William Domville, Bart., lord mayor of London, after William Owen, and an excellent engraving of Barry's unfinished portrait of Dr. Johnson, as well as the illustrations designed by Samuel Wale for the edition of Walton's 'Angler' published in 1808. There is one plate in mezzotinto by him, a portrait of his brother, S. Audinet, a watchmaker. It is said to have been done for improvement when the artist was a boy, and to be the only impression that was taken off the plate. Audinet died in London 18 Dec. 1837, and was buried in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

[Ottley's Notices of Engravers, 1831; Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 1878; Smith's British Mezzotinto Portraits, 1878, i. 4.] R. E. G.

AUDLEY, Lords. [See Tuchet.]

AUDLEY, EDMUND (*d.* 1524), bishop of Rochester, was the son of James, Lord Audley, by Eleanor his wife. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, and took the degree of B.A. in 1463. It is presumed, though no record is found of the fact, that he afterwards took the degree of M.A. also. In 1464 he was collated to the prebend of Colwall in Hereford Cathedral, and three years later to that of Iwern in Salisbury. In 1472 he was made a canon of Windsor. In the same year he received the prebend of Farrendon in Lincoln Cathedral, in 1474 that of Gaia Minor in Hereford, and in 1475 that of Codeworth in Wells. On Christmas day in the same year he was made archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and in 1479 archdeacon of Essex. These substantial preferments he does not seem to have found at all incompatible with each other; and though we find that he resigned the rectory of Bursted Parva in Essex on 9 April 1471, he had no difficulty in accepting another prebend, that of Gevendale in York, on 18 Oct. 1478. In 1480 he was made bishop of Rochester, when he resigned his two archdeaconries and most of his other preferments. In 1492 he was translated to Hereford, and in 1502 to Salisbury. About the time of this last preferment he was also made chancellor of the order of the Garter —an office which in the sixteenth century Dr. Seth Ward endeavoured to unite, or, as he put it, to restore, to the see of Salisbury, for which he maintained it was intended when given to Bishop Audley.

This catalogue of his honours and church preferments really comprises almost all we know about the man; and it may be remarked that whereas his two last bishoprics are supposed to have been given him for the fidelity of his family to the house of Lancaster, all his previous benefices, including the bishopric of Rochester, were bestowed upon him during the reign of Edward IV. It will be asked, what then was his claim to distinction? The answer is that although not an author he was a patron of letters, and was complimented as such by the university of Oxford for having bestowed a prebend in Salisbury on Dr. Edward Powell (afterwards a martyr at Smithfield for denying Henry VIII's supremacy) who had written a book against Luther. He was a benefactor to Lincoln College, Oxford, to which he gave, in 1518, 400*l.* to purchase lands. He also bestowed upon it the patronage of a chantry in Salisbury Cathedral. He seems, moreover, to have been a contributor to the erection of a stone pulpit in St. Mary's Church at Oxford, at the bottom of which, according to Wood, his arms were seen carved along with those of Cardinal Morton and Fitz-James, bishop of London. But of this pulpit even Anthony à Wood, writing in the seven-

teenth century, speaks in the past tense, and what became of it we are not informed. Godwin says that Bishop Audley also gave the organs to St. Mary's Church; but this is doubted by Anthony à Wood. In 1509 he gave a donation of 200 marks to Chichele's chest at Oxford, which had been robbed. It further appears that he was a legatee and executor of King Henry VII, and one of the trustees for the foundation of the Savoy Hospital (*Calendar of Henry VIII*, i. 776, 3292); that in 1516 he obtained from Henry VIII a license to found and endow two chantries, one in his own cathedral and one in Hereford (*ib.* ii. 2660); and that in 1521 he suppressed the nunnery of Bromehall in his diocese on account of the misconduct of its inmates, for which he received a letter of thanks from the king (*ib.* iii. 1863). He died at Ramsbury in Wilts on 23 Aug. 1524, and was buried in a chapel erected by himself in his own cathedral of Salisbury in honour of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

[Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, i. 662, ii. 722, 725; Wood's Antiq. of Univ. Oxf. i. 667; Wood's Antiq. of Colleges, 239, 248; Hardy's Le Neve; Godwin de Præsulibus; Biographia Britannica.] J. G.

AUDLEY, ALDITHEL, or ALDITHELEY, HENRY DE (*d.* 1246), a royalist baron, was son of Adam de Aldithelev, who held Aldithelev (Staff.) from the Verdons in 1186 (*Pipe Roll* 32, 33 Hen. II.). He began his career as constable to Hugh de Lacy (whose first wife was a Verdon) when Earl of Ulster, and, on Hugh's disgrace (1214), attached himself to Ranulph, the great royalist Earl of Chester, and was rewarded by the crown with a forfeited estate (1215–16). He served as sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire 1216–1221, as deputy for the Earl of Chester, from whom he obtained large grants of lands (*Cart.* 11 Hen. III. p. 1, m. 6). On acquiring Heleigh Castle he made it his chief seat, but was entrusted by the crown, as a lord-marcher, with the constableship of several castles on the Welsh borders from 1223 to his death, which took place shortly before 11 Nov. 1246, when his son did homage (*Fin.* 31 Hen. III. m. 12).

[Dugdale's Baronage (1675), i. 746; Eyton's Shropshire (1858), vii. 183–5.] J. H. R.

AUDLEY, HUGH (*d.* 1662), notorious moneylender, amassed a large fortune in the first half of the seventeenth century by frugal living and hard dealings. In 1605 he possessed only 200*l.*, and died in November 1662 worth 400,000*l.* He held a very lucrative post in the court of wards, and is said to have lost not less than 100,000*l.* by the disestablishment of the court at the time of the civil wars. At his elbow he usually had some devotional book, especially when he expected clients, and he was very regular in his attendance at church. The expensive habits of the clergy caused him some anxiety, and he would often sigh for the simplicity of living that prevailed in the days of his youth. He was always willing to advance money to improvident young gallants; he was, indeed, a most heartless bloodsucker. Occasionally he met with checks and reverses, but his indomitable energy bore him through everything. In the lofty language of his biographer, he lived 'a life of intricacies and misteries, wherein he walked as in a maze, and went on as in a labyrinth with the clue of a resolved mind, which made plaine to him all the rough passages he met with; he, with a round and solid mind, fashioned his own fate, fixed and unmoveable in the great tumults and stir of business, the hard rocke in the middest of the waves.' He is the subject of an article in D'Israeli's 'Curiosities of Literature.'

[The Way to be Rich according to the Practice of the Great Audley, 1662.] A. H. B.

AUDLEY, ALDITHEL, or ALDITHELEY, JAMES DE, knight (*d.* 1272), a royalist baron, was son and heir of Henry de Audley [q.v.], and, like him, a lord-marcher. In 1257 he accompanied Richard, king of the Romans, to his coronation at Aachen (MATT. PARIS), sailing on 29 April (RYMER) and returning to England in the autumn to take part in the Welsh campaign (1257–1260). In the following year (1258) he was one of the royalist members of the council of fifteen nominated by the Provisions of Oxford, and witnessed, as 'James of Aldithel,' their confirmation by the king (18 Oct.). He also, with his brother-in-law, Peter de Montfort [see MONTFORT, PETER DE], was appointed commissioner to treat with Llewelyn (18 Aug.), and two years later (44 Hen. III.) he acted as an itinerant justice. On Llewelyn of Wales attacking Mortimer, a royalist marcher, Audley joined Prince Edward at Hereford, 9 Jan. 1263 (Claus. 47 Hen. III. m. 5 dors.) to resist the invasion. But the barons, coming to Llewelyn's assistance, dispersed the royalist forces, and seized on his castles and estates. He is wrongly said by Dugdale and Foss to have been made 'justice of Ireland' in this year, but in December he was one of the royalist sureties in the appeal to Louis of France. At the time of the battle of Lewes (May 1264) he was in

arms for the king on the Welsh marches (Matthew Paris), and he was one of the first to rise against the government of Simon de Montfort (*Ypodigma Neustriæ*). On Gloucester embracing the royal cause, early in 1265, Audley joined him with the other marchers, and took part in the campaign of Evesham and the overthrow of the baronial party. He appears to have gone on a pilgrimage to Galicia in 1268, and also, it is stated, to Palestine in 1270; but though his name occurs among the 'Crucesignati' of 21 May 1270, it is clear that he never went, for he was appointed justiciary of Ireland a few months later, his name first occurring in connection with that office 5 Sept. 1270 (*Rot. Pat.* 54 Hen. III. m. 4). During his tenure of the post he led several expeditions against 'the Irish rebels,' but died by 'breaking his neck' about 11 June 1272 (when he is last mentioned as justiciary), and was succeeded by his son James, who did homage 29 July 1272.

[Dugdale's Baronage (1675), i. 747; Foss's Judges (1848), ii. 212; Eyton's Shropshire (1858), vii. 185–8; Chancery Misc. Rolls, No. 28, Rot. 1, 2.] J. H. R.

AUDLEY, or **AUDELEY**, JAMES DE (1316?–1369), one of the original knights or founders of the order of the Garter, was, according to the best authorities, the eldest son of Sir James Audeley, of Stretton Audeley, Oxon, who served in the expedition to Gascony in 1324 and to Scotland in 1327, and Eva, daughter of Sir John Clavering, and widow, first, of Thomas de Audeley and, secondly, of Sir Thomas Ufford. In 1346 letters of protection were granted him to proceed beyond the seas upon an expedition to France in the retinue of Edward III and the Black Prince. In 1350 he took part in the naval battle with the Spaniards off Sluys. After the expiration of the truce in 1354, the Black Prince advanced on Bordeaux, accompanied by Sir James Audeley and his brother, Sir Peter. At this time Sir James was in constant attendance on the prince; he distinguished himself by many brave exploits, particularly in the taking of Chastiel Sacra by assault, and at the battle of Poitiers on 19 Sept. 1356. According to Froissart, Sir James had made a vow that if ever he was engaged in any battle in company with the king or any of his sons, he 'would be the foremost in the attack and the best combatant on his side, or die in the attempt.' Having obtained the prince's permission, he posted himself with his four esquires in front of the English army. In his eagerness for the fray he advanced so far that he engaged the Lord Arnold d'Audreghen, marshal of France, whom he severely wounded, and whose battalion was finally routed. So energetic was Sir James, that Froissart says of him that 'he never stopped to make any one his prisoner that day, but was the whole time employed in fighting and following the enemy.' He was severely wounded in the body, head, and face, but, covered with blood as he was, he continued to fight as long as he was able. At last, overcome with exhaustion, he was carried out of the battle by his four esquires.

Upon the Black Prince inquiring for him after the fighting had ceased, he was taken on a litter to the royal tent. There the prince told him that he had been the bravest knight on his side, and granted him an annuity of 500 marks. On his return to his own tent, Sir James made over the royal gift to his four esquires (Dutton of Dutton, Delves of Doddington, Foulehurst of Crewe, and Hawkestone of Wainehill). Hearing of this generous conduct, the Black Prince confirmed the grant to the esquires, and granted to Sir James a further pension of 600 marks. In 1359 Sir James was one of the principal commanders of a fresh expedition to France. In the next year he carried the fortress of Chaven, in Brittany, by assault, and was present with the king when the treaty of peace was signed at Calais. During the expedition of the Black Prince into Spain, in the year 1362, Sir James was appointed governor of Acquitaine. In 1369 we find him filling the important office of great seneschal of Poitou.

After taking part with the Earl of Cambridge in the capture of the town of La Roche-sur-Yon in that year, he went to reside at Fontenay-le-Comte, where, in the words of Froissart, 'he was attacked with so severe a disorder that it ended his life.' His obsequies were performed in the city of Poitiers, and were attended by the prince in person. On the foundation of the order of the Garter in 1344, Sir James was instituted as one of the 'first founders,' as they were described on their plates of arms in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. His stall was the eleventh on the prince's side; his plate of arms, though in existence in 1569, has long since disappeared. Sir Thomas Granson succeeded to the stall which became vacant on Audeley's death.

[Beltz's Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, 75–84; Sir N. H. Nicolas' History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire, i. 37, ii. li; Dictionary of the D. U. K. Society, iv. pt. i. p. 91; Burke's Extinct Peerage; Sir John Froissart's Chronicles, translated

by Thomas Johnes, i.; Notes and Queries, 4th series, iii. 596, iv. 44.] G. F. R. B.

AUDLEY, THOMAS, Baron Audley of Walden (1488–1544), lord chancellor, was an Essex man, whose family, though unknown to good genealogists, is surmised by some to have had a distant connection with that of the Lords Audley of an earlier date. He is believed to have studied at Magdalen College, Cambridge, to which he was afterwards a benefactor. He then came to London, and gave himself to the law in the Inner Temple, where he was autumn reader in 1526. Meanwhile he had been admitted a burgess of Colchester in 1516, and was appointed town clerk there. His name occurs on the commission of the peace for Essex as early as 1521 (Brewer, *Calendar of Henry VIII*, iii. 1081, 12 Nov.), and in commissions for levying the subsidy at Colchester in 1523 and 1524 (*ib.* pp. 1367, 1458, and iv. 236). It is said that he was steward to the Duke of Suffolk, and that the way he discharged the duties of that office first recommended him to the king's notice. In 1523 he was returned to parliament; and in 1525 he had become a man of so much weight that, when it was thought necessary to make a private search for suspicious characters in London, and the work was committed to men like the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Lord Edmund Howard, and the principal residents in the different suburbs, we find Audley's name suggested with some others to assist in examining the district from Temple Bar to Charing Cross (*ib.* iv. 1082). The same year he was appointed a member of the Princess Mary's council, then newly established in the marches of Wales (Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, introd. xxx). A little later he was appointed attorney of the duchy of Lancaster, and was candidate for the office of common serjeant of the city of London (*Calendar of Henry VIII*, iv. 2639). In 1527 he was groom of the chamber, and an annuity of 20*l.* was granted to him on 10 July out of the subsidy and ulnage of cloth in Bristol and Gloucester (*ib.* p. 3324). Soon afterwards he was a member of Cardinal Wolsey's household (*ib.* p. 1331). On the fall of his master in 1529, some changes took place in which he attained further advancement. Sir Thomas More was made lord chancellor in the room of the cardinal, and Audley was made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster in the room of Sir Thomas More. Another office which More had filled a few years before was that of speaker of the House of Commons, and in this too he was succeeded by Audley when parliament met in November. On being elected and sent up to the House of Lords, in which the king that day was present, he made an eloquent oration in which he 'disabled himself' with conventional modesty for the high office imposed upon him, and besought the king to cause the commons to return to their house and choose another speaker. This sort of excuse was a time-honoured form, and its refusal was equally a matter of course. 'The king,' says Hall, 'by the mouth of the lord chancellor, answered that were he disabled himself in wit and learning, his own ornate oration there made testified the contrary; and as touching his discretion and other qualities, the king himself had well known him and his doings, sith he was in his service, to be both wise and discreet; and so for an able man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted.'

It must be observed that this was the parliament by whose aid Henry VIII ultimately separated himself and his kingdom from all allegiance to the see of Rome. Its sittings continued, with several prorogations, over a period of six years and a half; and it is clear that from the first the Commons were encouraged to attack the clergy and urge complaints against them. In the House of Lords, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, took notice of the character of their proceedings. 'My lords,' he said, 'you see daily what bills come hither from the Common house, and all is to the destruction of the church. For God's sake, see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom. Now with the Commons is nothing but "Down with the church!" And all this, meseemeth, is for lack of faith only.' But the words only furnished the Lower House with another grievance, and a deputation of the Commons, with Audley as speaker at their head, waited on the king in his palace at Westminster, complaining that they who had been elected as the wisest men in their several constituencies should be reproached as little better than Turks or infidels. The king (at whose secret prompting, beyond a doubt, this remonstrance was really made) assumed a tone of moderation in his reply, saying he would send for the bishop and report to them how he explained his words; after which he summoned Fisher to his presence, along with the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops, to give an account of his language in the House of Peers. The bishop really had nothing to retract, as his brother prelates bore witness along with him that he had imputed lack of faith not to the

Commons, but to the Bohemians only. The warning, however, was significant.

Audley's professional advancement at this time scarcely kept pace with his political distinction. It was just two years after his election as speaker that we find him called to the degree of serjeant-at-law, and a day or two later, on 14 Nov. 1531, he was appointed a king's serjeant (Dugdale, *Origines*, 83). He received, however, from the crown, on 2 March 1531, a grant of lands in Colchester and Mile End in Essex (*Calendar of Henry VIII*, v. 166, 1); and next year he attained all at once a degree of professional eminence which his antecedents scarcely seemed to justify. An incident related by Hall the chronicler will perhaps enable us to comprehend why this promotion was conferred on him.

During the prorogued session of parliament held in April 1532, a motion was made in the House of Commons by a member named Temse that the king, who had now for some months separated from Queen Katharine, though he had not yet obtained his divorce, should be urged to take back his queen and avoid the grave dangers that might arise from the bastardising of his only daughter Mary. This was a degree of independence that Henry did not expect of his faithful Commons, though their remonstrances on other subjects very often suited his purposes well enough. On the last day of April he sent for Audley, the speaker, and some others, and reminded them in the first place how they had exhibited last year a bill of grievances against the clergy, which he had delivered to his spiritual subjects to make answer to, and how he had just received their reply, which he delivered into Audley's hands, intimating that he thought himself it would scarcely satisfy them. 'But,' said the king, 'you be a great sort of wise men. I doubt not but you will look circumspectly on the matter, and we will be indifferent between you.' Having thus, with a pretence of neutrality, assured them of his support against the clergy, he went on to express his astonishment that one of their House should have ventured to speak of his separation from the queen, a matter which it was not their province to determine, seeing that it touched his conscience. He added that he wished with all his heart that he could find the marriage good, but he had received the decisions of many universities that it was invalid and detestable in the sight of God; that he had not been moved by a wanton appetite at forty-one years of age to abandon the queen for the sake of some one else; but that he felt it a positive duty to part company with her. For nowhere but in Spain and Portugal had a man been known to marry two sisters, and as for the marriage with a brother's wife, it was so abhorred among all christian nations, that he had never heard of any christian doing so except himself. This disgraceful piece of hypocrisy Audley was commissioned to report to the House of Commons as the sincere grounds of the king's conduct, and he did so as in duty bound.

Before the session ended he was sent for again to come before the king, along with twelve of his own house and eight peers, to whom the king made an address, declaring that he had discovered that the clergy were but half his subjects. They had taken an oath, indeed, to him, but they had taken an oath to the pope as well, which was quite inconsistent with their allegiance to him. This matter he wished the Commons to take carefully into consideration, and Audley accordingly caused the two oaths to be read in parliament, thus preparing the way for the Act of Supremacy, which was passed two years later.

This conference with the king was on 11 May 1532. On the 16th of the same month Sir Thomas More, not liking the king's proceedings, was allowed to resign the office of lord chancellor, and surrendered the great seal into the king's own keeping. Four days later Henry delivered it to Audley with instructions to discharge all the duties of a lord chancellor, though he was only to be called, for the present, keeper of the great seal. That same day the king made him a knight, and on 5 June following, being the first day of Trinity term, he took his oath in the court of Chancery as keeper of the great seal. His powers were more formally set forth in a commission dated 5 Oct. following; but in the beginning of next year it was found advisable to give him the name as well as the duties of lord chancellor, and he was appointed to that office on 26 Jan. 1533 (*ib.* v. 1075, 1295, 1499 (9), vi. 73).

The name of lord chancellor, apparently, had been withheld from him at first in order that he might still act as speaker of the House of Commons; but now Humphrey Wingfield was chosen speaker in his place, and Audley took his seat upon the woolsack in the House of Lords. During the time he was lord keeper the king ordered the old great seal (in which the lettering was very much worn) to be destroyed and a new one to be made.

From this time his whole career is that of a submissive instrument in the hands of Henry VIII and his great minister Cromwell. Sickly in his physical constitution,

for he complains even at this time of the stone, of a feeble heart and stomach, and of intermittent fever (*ib.* vi. 2, 976, 1049, 1063), his moral constitution, apparently, was not more robust, and he could not maintain the expenses of his new position without a good deal of begging. He was in debt as keeper of the great seal, and he complained of poverty as chancellor (*ib.* 2, 927). As some relief he was allowed, in the quaint language of Fuller, to 'carve for himself the first cut' of the monastic property, the priory of Christchurch in the city of London, which was suppressed some years before the general supression and given to him by patent (*ib.* vii. 419 (28), 587 (10), 1601 (35)). But it was not quite such 'a dainty morsel' as the historian insinuates, being in fact only surrendered by the prior because it was very much in debt. Nor was the office of chancellor otherwise greatly honoured in Audley's tenure, especially considering who was his predecessor. The lord chancellor, according to the legal theory, is the keeper of the sovereign's conscience, and what the custody of such a conscience as that of Henry VIII involved there could be no doubt, even from the time of his appointment. The first thing he had to do was to sanction what More could not sanction—the divorce from Katharine of Arragon and the marriage with Anne Boleyn; then to assist next year (1534) in procuring a new Act of Succession, and taking the oaths of the Lords and Commons and of the king's subjects generally in conformity therewith (*ib.* vii. 392, 434). Next he was commissioned, along with Cromwell, to examine his predecessor, Sir Thomas More, whom the court was endeavouring to implicate in the follies and treason of the Nun of Kent (*ib.* 296). Then, when that failed, he had to examine him touching his refusal to take the oath of succession (*ib.* 575). It must not be supposed that he was void of humanity. His conversations with More's daughter, Lady Alington, seem to show that he was simply a man of low moral tone, who would have saved More if he could, but wondered why any man should entertain such scruples. 'In good faith,' he said satirically, 'I am very glad that I have no learning but in a few of Æsop's fables,' insinuating that too much learning only gave rise to moral scruples that men would be far better without. And the two fables he immediately after related to Lady Alington with a laugh were distinctly designed to illustrate these principles—that when fools are stronger than wise men it is better to go with fools, and that life is vastly simplified by suiting your conscience to your convenience.

What were his feelings next year when the play developed into a tragedy it is unnecessary to inquire. On 15 June 1535 he presided at the trial of Bishop Fisher, who like More had refused the oath; and on 1 July he presided at that of More himself. His conduct in both these trials is universally reprobated. He was even ready to have passed sentence upon More without addressing the usual question to the prisoner beforehand. In 1536 he conducted Anne Boleyn a prisoner to the Tower, and her supposed accomplices were tried before him, while she herself was brought before the court of the lord high steward and found guilty by a jury of peers. That same year he opened a new parliament with a speech showing the necessity of a fresh Act of Succession and the repeal of some former statutes connected with the marriage of Anne Boleyn. Next year he tried the Lincolnshire rebels at Easter, and the Yorkshire rebels—Aske, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Francis Bigot, and others—on 16 May. Never was so much criminal jurisdiction committed to a lord chancellor. On 29 Nov. 1538 he was created a peer by the name of Baron Audley of Walden, apparently for the express purpose that he might fill the office of lord high steward at the trial of the Marquis of Exeter and other lords, whose chief guilt was being either of the blood royal or in some way connected with Cardinal Pole. In reward for services like these a few more of the suppressed monasteries were granted to him at the general dissolution, among which, at his own very earnest suit, was the abbey of Walden in Essex. It is not true, as stated by Dugdale and carelessly repeated by others, that he asked for this expressly on the ground that he had incurred infamy in the king's service. The words used in his letter to Cromwell are 'damage and injury;' but what sort of injuries he could have incurred beyond the expenses of a prominent position in the state, we are left free to speculate. Walden became his country seat as Christchurch had been converted into his town house. At Walden he constructed a tomb for himself during his own life, and his grandson, Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk, built the mansion of Audley End, which is now the seat of Lord Braybrooke.

On 28 April 1539, at the opening of a new parliament, Audley as chancellor made an oration in presence of the king and the assembled lords; and on 5 May he conveyed to the peers a message from the king declaring his majesty's desire that measures should be taken as soon as possible for the abolition of differences of opinion concerning

the christian religion. The bloody 'Act of the Six Articles' was the result. Next year, on 24 April, Audley was made a knight of the Garter, and within less than three months after it became his duty to carry through parliament an act for the attainder of Cromwell, earl of Essex, the hitherto powerful minister, on whom he had been for eight years dependent, and another for the dissolution of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves. In 1541 he was again appointed lord steward for the trial of a peer—Lord Dacres of the South, who confessed a homicide he had committed while hunting in Kent, and was accordingly hanged. In December of the same year he passed judgment on the paramour of Queen Katharine Howard, the queen's own case being reserved for the parliament which met in January following, which the lord chancellor opened with a very long speech.

In the spring of 1542 a remarkable case involving the privileges of the House of Commons was brought before the lord chancellor. George Ferrers, member for Plymouth, was arrested in London on some private suit in which judgment was passed against him, and he was committed to the Counter. The Commons sent their serjeant-at-arms to fetch him out of prison; but he was resisted, and a scuffle took place in the streets with the sheriffs' officers. The house, on this, refused to attend to other business till their member was delivered, and desired a conference with the lords. The lord chancellor declared it a flagrant contempt, and left the punishment to the House of Commons, on which the sheriffs and their officers were committed to the Tower by the speaker's warrant. It was a precedent of some importance in parliamentary history. Yet even here the conduct of Audley was governed simply by the convenience of the court, which required a subsidy of the House of Commons; for it seems to have been the opinion of good authorities that the commitment was strictly legal, and the privilege unjust.

Nothing more is known of the public life of Audley. He may have opened the session of 1543, and even that of January 1544; but in all probability he was prevented, at least as regards the latter, by increasing infirmity. On 21 April in that year he sent the great seal to the king, praying his majesty to accept his resignation of an office which he was now unable to discharge from mere physical weakness, and on the 30th of the same month he breathed his last. His remains were deposited in the magnificent tomb which he had erected for himself at Saffron Walden, and a doggrel epitaph engraved upon it is believed to have been his own composition also. Beneath the verses is given the date of his death, which is said to have been in the thirteenth year of his chancellorship and the fifty-sixth of his age (Weever, *Fun. Mon.* 624).

In person he is said to have been tall and majestic—the sort of man Henry VIII loved to see at his court. He was twice married, but left no son to succeed him. His first wife was a Suffolk lady, daughter of Sir Thomas Barnardiston, by whom he had no children. His second, whom he married in April 1538, was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset. By her he had two daughters, of whom the elder, Mary, died unmarried; the second, Margaret, married, first, a son of Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and afterwards Thomas, duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The nobleman who built Audley End was a son of this duke of Norfolk and of Margaret Audley.

[Wriothesley's Chronicle; Hall's Chronicle; Dugdale's Baronage; Lloyd's State Worthies, 72 (a rather doubtful authority, being mainly an encomium which has the effect of a satire); Biographia Britannica; Campbell's Lord Chancellors; Foss's Judges.] J. G.

AUFRERE, ANTHONY (1756-1833), antiquary, of Old Foulsham Hall, Norfolk, born in 1756, was the eldest son of Anthony Aufrere, of Hoveton Hall, Norfolk, who died in 1814. His mother was Anna, only daughter of John Norris, of Witton, in the same county, and sister to John Norris, founder of the Norrisian professorship at Cambridge. On 19 Feb. 1791 he married Matilda, youngest daughter of General James Lockhart, of Lee and Carnwath, by whom he had a son and daughter, the former marrying the youngest daughter of a Hamburg merchant, named Whertman, and the latter George Barclay, a merchant of New York. To Anthony Aufrere, who had a great taste for literature, the task of editing the 'Lockhart Letters' (1817, 2 vols. 4to) was entrusted by his brother-in-law, Charles Count Lockhart, three years before his death, which took place in August 1802. These letters contain much curious correspondence between the ancestors of the Lockhart family and the confidential supporters of the Pretender, previous to and during the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the publication of which was delayed for more than half a century, in order that every one concerned in it might be dead before it became public property. In early life Anthony Aufrere showed a great aptitude for learning foreign languages, and among

the works he translated was 'A Tribute to the Memory of Ulric von Hütten, from the German of Goethe,' 1789, in the preface to which he pays a graceful tribute to the memory of one who took, he says, 'so distinguished and so useful a part' in the reformation. In 1795 he published a translation of 'Travels through various Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples,' 1789, from the German of Salis; and in 1822 'A Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli to the Western Frontier of Egypt,' from the Italian of Della Cella. A small work which excited much attention was his 'Warning to Britons against French Perfidy and Cruelty; or a Short Account of the Treacherous and Inhuman Conduct of the French Officers and Soldiers towards the Peasants of Suabia, during the Invasion of Germany in 1796, selected from well-authenticated German publications, with an address to the people of Great Britain by the translator,' 1798. He was also a frequent contributor to the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' under the pseudonym of 'Viator A.' He died at Pisa on 29 Nov. 1833, in his seventy-seventh year.

[Gent. Mag. 1816, lxxxvi. 381, 1834, n. s. i. 555; Annual Register, 1834, lxxvi. 247; Brit. Mus. Cat.; the Lockhart Papers, 1817, Preface; Annual Biography and Obituary, 1835, xix. 386.]
T. F. T. D.

AUGUSTA SOPHIA (1768–1840), princess, daughter of George III and his sixth child, was born at Buckingham House, London, 8 Nov. 1768. The public reception on her birth took place on Sunday, 13 Nov., when two young girls, discovered carrying away the cups in which their caudle had been served, and secreting cake, were reprimanded on their knees (*George III, his Court and Family*, vol. i. p. 317). Princess Augusta is several times mentioned in Mme. d'Arblay's diary; she was sprightly enough in her manner to endure considerable banter from 'Mr. Turbulent' 1 March 1787, and to be called 'la Coquette corrigée' by him, on her supposed attachment to the Prince Royal of Denmark, then visiting at the castle (*ibid.* pp. 281 et seq.). She was partner to her brother, the Duke of York, in the historical country dance on the evening of the day, 1 June, 1789, when the duke had fought the duel with Colonel Lennox, and the Prince of Wales had resented the colonel's presence amongst his sisters by breaking up the ball (*Annual Register*, 1827, p. 438). She accompanied the king and queen later in the month to Weymouth, joining in the chorus of 'God save the King' at Lyndhurst (*Diary of Royal Tour*, 1789). In 1810 she was in attendance on her father, helping him to take exercise at Windsor. In 1816, 2 May, she was at Carlton House at the marriage of her niece, the Princess Charlotte. In May 1818 she gave 50*l.* to the National Society for the Education of the Poor. On 15 July 1819, she played and sang some of her own musical compositions to Mme. d'Arblay (*Diary*, vol. vii. p. 270). In 1820 she was again at Windsor attending to her father, whose death in that year was the occasion of her being supplied with residences of her own at Frogmore, and at Clarence House, St. James's. In this position of head of an establishment the princess showed the same pleasantness and patience she had shown in her parents' homes; and died at Clarence House 22 Sept. 1840 in her 72nd year (*Annual Register*, 1840, p. 176). She was buried at Windsor 2 Oct.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxvi. i. 462; lxxxvii. i. 559; ii. 270, 333, 334; lxxxviii. i. 462.]
J. H.

AUGUSTINE, St. (*d.* 604), was the first archbishop of Canterbury. A famous story tells how the Roman deacon Gregory was attracted by the sight of some fair-haired boys exposed for sale in the slave-market of Rome, and vowed to convert these Angles into angels. Pope Gregory I carried out the design which he had formed, and sent to England a body of monks headed by Augustine, of whom we only know that he was prior of Gregory's monastery of St. Andrew in Rome. Augustine does not seem to have had much of the missionary spirit. He had not gone far before he returned to the pope, with a request from his comrades that they should not be compelled to undertake so dangerous a journey. Gregory I sent back Augustine with words of exhortation and encouragement. He had already secured for his missionaries a safe-conduct from the Frankish rulers of Gaul; and Ethelbert, king of Kent, had married a Frankish wife, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris. Thus Augustine was not called upon to go into an entirely unknown land, nor one where christianity was unheard of. Bertha was a christian, and on her marriage had stipulated that she should remain so. She brought with her as chaplain Liudhard, bishop of Senlis, and was allowed to use for christian services the ruined church of St. Martin outside Canterbury, which survived from Roman times (Bede, *H. E.* i. 26).

Thus Augustine came to England neither unexpected nor unbefriended. He and his company of forty monks landed in Thanet, and announced their arrival to Ethelbert. After a little consideration Ethelbert crossed to

Thanet, and summoned the missionaries to his presence. They found him seated in the open air for fear of magical arts. They advanced to meet him in procession, bearing a silver cross and a picture of the Crucifixion, and chanting the litany. Augustine, by means of an interpreter, preached to the king, who answered, 'Your words are fair, but of doubtful meaning; I cannot forsake what I have so long believed. But as you have come from far we will not molest you; you may preach, and gain as many as you can to your religion.' Ethelbert gave a worthy example of good sense and tolerance. He allowed Augustine to come to Canterbury, which the monks entered in procession, chanting the litany.

They worshipped with the queen in St. Martin's church, and the influence of their self-denying life rapidly attracted followers. When Ethelbert saw that there was little opposition to christianity amongst his people, he also was converted. The old churches were rebuilt, and numbers of the Kentish men were baptised. Now that success was assured to the mission, Augustine went to Arles, and was consecrated 'Bishop of the English.' In Canterbury he founded the monastery of Christchurch, on the site of an old Roman basilica, which he restored. This foundation of Augustine's was destroyed by fire in 1067, and the present cathedral was begun by Lanfranc in 1070. The other foundation of Augustine was the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, the patron saints of Rome. This, the modern St. Augustine's, was built outside the walls of Canterbury. It would seem that Augustine wished to keep separate his episcopal seat and the seat of the monastic system on which his missionary work was founded. Augustine does not seem to have been a man of great energy or decision. The traditions of his monastic training had sunk deeply into his mind. He was beset by small difficulties of organisation, and referred to the pope for instructions. His inquiries of the pope and Gregory's answers (Bede, *H. E.* i. 27) present the picture of a painstaking official, who had great trouble in adapting his former principles to the altered circumstances in which he was placed.

Augustine would have rested content with the conversion of the Kentish kingdom; but Gregory I had greater schemes. In 601 he sent Augustine the pallium, together with a supply of sacred vessels, vestments, relics, and books. He unfolded a complete plan for the ecclesiastical organisation of England. Augustine was to be bishop of London and head of the southern province, and was to have under him twelve suffragans. He was, as soon as possible, to send a bishop to York, who should likewise appoint twelve suffragans, and was to be of equal dignity with the bishop of London. With these letters Gregory I sent a new body of missionaries, and a series of instructions to Augustine which are marked with extreme sympathy for missionary difficulties (Bede, *H. E.* i. 30). At the same time he urged Ethelbert to use his influence in spreading christianity amongst the other English kingdoms.

Ethelbert and Augustine both considered that the best mode for the spread of christianity in England was to unite the Kentish church with the church that still existed in the west of Britain. Aided by Ethelbert, Augustine crossed the territory of the West Saxons to the borders of the Hwiccas, and summoned the Welsh clergy to a conference at a place called, in Bede's time, Augustine's Oak, which is generally identified with Aust on the Severn (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 2). The Welsh church differed from Roman usage in the date of the celebration of Easter, the ritual used at baptism, and a few other points of detail. The first discussion led to no agreement; even a miracle wrought by Augustine failed to convince the obstinate Britons. Before coming to a second conference they agreed to be guided by a sign as to the acceptance of Augustine's teaching. If he rose to greet them, they would listen to him with humility; if he remained seated, they would regard it as an indication of haughtiness, and would refuse to be led by him. When they arrived Augustine did not rise. True to their intention, they refused to listen to him. The conference broke up with a solemn warning from Augustine that they who would not join with brethren should fall before enemies, that those who would not preach life to the English should suffer death at their hands.

After the failure of this attempt at union with the Welsh, Augustine moved Ethelbert to allow him to extend his missionary enterprises. In 604 he sent Justus, as bishop of Rochester, over the Kentish kingdom, west of the Medway, and Mellitus to preach to the East Saxons. Mellitus was so successful in converting king Sabert and his people that Ethelbert built the church of St. Paul. The organisation of the missions of Mellitus and Justus seems to have been the last act of Augustine. He died on 26 May 604 (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*).

Nothing that we know of Augustine leads us to rank him as a remarkable man. Bede tells many traits of Aidan and Cuthberht which fill us with respect for their character. In the case of Augustine he only mentions

the miracles whereby he established his prestige. Augustine's questions to Pope Gregory I show a small mind busied about trifles. Even the point by which the Welsh clergy judged his character shows a decided want of tact and conciliatory power. Augustine succeeded in the conversion of Kent, because everything was prepared to assure his success. He was a zealous monk, and the exhibition of monastic life was effective amongst the English. The greatest credit to Augustine is that Gregory I chose him for his work, and that he diligently carried out Gregory's directions and sought his advice. We cannot rank him higher than a capable official of the Roman church.

[The authority for Augustine is Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, bk. i. ch. 23–bk. ii. ch. 3. Bede incorporates the letters of Pope Gregory, which may also be found in Gregorii Epistolæ, Op. ii. The Acta Sanctorum, 26 May, contains a Life of Augustine by Gocelin, an Augustinian monk (circa 1090), which adds little to Bede. Of modern writers, Bright, Early Church History; and Green, The Making of England.]

M. C.

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, Duke of Sussex (1773–1843), sixth son and ninth child of King George III and Queen Charlotte, was born at Buckingham Palace 27 Jan. 1773. On account of delicate health he scarcely ever resided in England from the time that he entered the university of Göttingen until 1804. Probably his lengthened sojourn on the Continent tended to foster his intellectual tastes, and undoubtedly the opportunity it afforded for diversified social intercourse assisted to liberalise his sentiments and to impart a genial facility to his manner. While resident in Rome in the winter of 1792, Prince Augustus made the acquaintance of Lady Augusta Murray, second daughter of the fourth Earl of Dunmore, and after four months' intimacy offered her his hand. The lady, who was some years older than the prince, at first declined the proposal, from regard to his interests; but on 21 March, 1793, they pledged eternal constancy to each other in a solemn written engagement. This was followed on 4 April by a marriage ceremony, performed by a clergyman of the Church of England named Gunn. To guard against the possibility of objections to the marriage from the fact that it had taken place in Roman jurisdiction, the ceremony was repeated at St. George's, Hanover Square, on 5 Dec. following, under the disguised names of Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray. Shortly after the birth of a son on 13 January, 1794, news of the marriage reached the king, who, in accordance with the regulations of the Royal Marriage Act of 1772 (12 George III, c. 11), declared it void in August 1794. There were two children born of the marriage, Augustus Frederick, 13 Jan. 1794, and Ellen Augusta, 11 Aug. 1801, who married Sir Thomas Wilde, afterwards Lord Truro, and Lord Chancellor of England. They took the surname of d'Este, which belonged to common Italian ancestors of the father and mother, for Lady Augusta Murray was also of royal descent. For some years the prince ignored the decision of the court, but ultimately he acquiesced, and even in 1809 applied for the custody of his children, because he had heard that their mother was bringing them up in the idea that 'they were princes and princesses.' In 1806 Lady Augusta received royal license to assume the name of D'Ameland instead of Murray. The son, Sir Augustus Frederick d'Este, made various efforts to get his claims recognised, and in 1831 filed a Bill in chancery, 'to prove the marriage good and valid' (see *Papers elucidating the Claims of Sir Augustus d'Este, K. C. H.*, 1831, and *A Letter to a Noble Lord explanatory of a Bill in the Court of Chancery*, 1831).

It was not till 1801 that Prince Augustus was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Arklow, Earl of Inverness and Duke of Sussex. His adoption of liberal political views estranged him from his father and the court, and excluded him from lucrative employments similar to those enjoyed by the other royal dukes. Indeed, he had incurred the resentment of his father for political contumacy as early as his seventh year, when 'he was by order of the king locked up in his nursery, and sent supperless to bed, for wearing Admiral Keppel's election colours' (Earl of Albemarle, *Fifty Years of my Life*, vol. ii. p. 103). The Duke of Sussex gave an energetic support to all the progressive political policy of his time, including the abolition of the slave trade, catholic emancipation, the removal of the civil disabilities of Jews and dissenters, the abolition of the corn laws, and parliamentary reform. His interest in the advancement of art and science was also genuine and enlightened, and he readily lent his influence to promote schemes of benevolence. In his later years he was in great request as chairman at anniversary dinners. When his eldest brother became Prince Regent in 1811, he succeeded him as grand master of the freemasons. He was elected president of the Society of Arts in 1816, and from 30 Nov. 1830 to 30 Nov. 1839, was president of the Royal Society. In the latter capacity he gave brilliant receptions in his

apartments at Kensington Palace to men of science, but the expense they incurred induced him to resign the presidentship, as he preferred to employ the money in making additions to his library. This collection, which amounted in all to over 50,000 volumes, included about 1,000 editions of the Bible, and many Hebrew and other ancient manuscripts, the duke being specially interested in the study of Hebrew and of biblical subjects. The Duke of Sussex contracted a second marriage with Lady Cecilia, ninth daughter of the Earl of Arran, and widow of Sir George Buggin. In 1840 the lady was created Duchess of Inverness. There was no issue by the marriage, and the duke died from erysipelas 21 April 1843. By his will he directed that his remains should not be interred with the royal family at Windsor, but in the public cemetery at Kensal Green. As was the case with his brothers, there was in his character a strong vein of eccentricity and waywardness; but this was tempered by intentions which, on the whole, were well meant, by liberal and benevolent sympathies, and by genuine intellectual tastes. Most of the addresses delivered by the Duke of Sussex as president of the Royal Society have been published in pamphlet form, as has also his speech on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill in 1829.

[Gentleman's Magazine, New Series, vol. xix. pp. 645–652; S. L. Blanchard, The Cemetery at Kensal Green, 1844; Glück-Rosenthal, Memoir of the Duke of Sussex, 1846; Fitzgerald, Dukes and Princes of the Family of George III., 1882, vol. ii. pp. 40–96; Catalogue of Collection of Manuscripts and Music of the Duke of Sussex, 1846; Catalogue of Collections in Oil of the Duke of Sussex, 1843; Pettigrew, Bibliotheca Sussexiana.] T. F. H.

AUNGERVILLE, RICHARD. [See BURY, RICHARD DE.]

AURELIUS, ABRAHAM (1575–1632), pastor of the French protestant church in London, was a son of John Baptist Aurelius, also a protestant minister, probably in London, where Abraham was born. He studied at Leyden, in the Low Countries, and took his degree there in 1596. In 1613, on the occasion of the marriage of Frederick V, count palatine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I, he published a Latin Epithalamium. He died in the beginning of 1632, whilst his Latin paraphrase on the Book of Job was in the press; the dedication of the work to Albert Joachim, Belgian ambassador at the Court of St. James, bears his signature, but the paraphrase itself is preceded by some Latin verses in praise of the deceased pastor.

[A. Aurelius, Theses logicæ de medio demonstrationis; In nuptias Frederici, &c.; Jobus, sive de patientia liber, poetica metaphrasi explicatus (1632); Brit. Mus. Catal.] H. v. L.

AUST, SARAH (1744–1811), topographical writer, is known as an authoress by the name of 'The Hon. Mrs. Murray, of Kensington.' Her first husband was the Hon. William Murray, brother of the Earl of Dunmore; but after his death, in 1786, she married, for the second time, Mr. George Aust. She died at the age of sixty-seven, at Noel House, Kensington, on 5 Nov. 1811. Mrs. Aust published in 1799 'A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire, and to the Curiosities in the District of Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire; to which is added a more particular Description of Scotland, especially that part of it called the Highlands.' The book is written in a lively style, and gives a graphic picture of the modes of locomotion of the time, besides sketching in some detail the social condition of the northern peasantry. A second edition, in which greater attention was paid to the Hebrides and the islands round Scotland, appeared in 1803, and a third in 1810. In the latter an appendix treated 'of the new roads in Scotland, and of a beautiful cavern lately discovered in the Isle of Skye.'

[Gent. Mag. lxxxi. part ii. 586; Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica.] S. L. L.

AUSTEN, SIR FRANCIS WILLIAM (1774–1865), admiral of the fleet, son of the Rev. George Austen, rector of Steventon, in Hampshire, and brother of Jane Austen, was born on 23 April 1774. In April 1786 he entered the Royal Naval Academy, and in December 1788 joined the Perseverance frigate, and served in her in the East Indies. In December 1792 he was made a lieutenant, and after six years of active service was, on 3 Feb. 1799, made a commander. In 1801 he was posted, and in 1805 was flag-captain to Rear-Admiral Louis on board the Canopus, in the fleet under Sir John Duckworth, and at the battle of St. Domingo, 6 Feb. 1806. From 1807 to 1809, he commanded the St. Albans, of 64 guns, and in her made at least two voyages to the East Indies in charge of convoy: in the last of which, in 1809, his success in arranging a dispute with the Chinese was honoured with the approval of the admiralty, and substantially recognised by the East India Company with a present of 1,000*l*. In December 1810 he became for some months flag-

captain to Lord Gambier, then commanding the home fleet, and was afterwards, 1811–14, in the Elephant, in the North Sea and Baltic. He attained the rank of rear-admiral in July 1830; vice-admiral, June 1838; admiral, August 1848; and admiral of the fleet, 27 April 1863. From December 1844 to June 1848, he was commander-in-chief in the West Indies. In February 1837 he was made K.C.B.; G.C.B. in May 1860; rear-admiral of the United Kingdom, 5 June 1862; vice-admiral of the United Kingdom, 11 Dec. 1862; and, full of years and honours, he died on 10 Aug. 1865.

[O'Byrne's Naval Biographical Dictionary; Gent. Mag. 1865, ii. 510.] J. K. L.

AUSTEN, JANE (1775–1817), novelist, was born at Steventon, near Basingstoke, 16 Dec. 1775. Her father, George Austen, was rector of Deane and Steventon. He was married in 1764 to her mother, Cassandra, youngest daughter of the Rev. Thos. Leigh, and niece of Theophilus Leigh, for more than fifty years master of Balliol. Jane was the youngest of seven children. Her brothers were James (died 1819); Edward, who inherited the property and took the name of his second cousin, Mr. Knight; Henry, a clergyman (died 1850); Francis William, and Charles; the two last became admirals, Francis dying in 1865, aged 92 [see Austen, Francis William], and Charles in 1832, aged 73. Her sister, Cassandra, who died unmarried in 1845, was three years older than herself. For the first twenty-five years of her life, Jane Austen lived with her family at Steventon. We are told that she took part in some private theatricals given in a barn in summer, and the dining-room in winter, between her thirteenth and sixteenth years, and occasionally visited Bath, where her uncle, Dr. Cooper, vicar of Sonning, lived for some years with his family. Her father took pupils to increase a modest income; and Jane learned French, a little Italian, could sing a few simple old songs in a sweet voice, and was remarkably dexterous with her needle, and 'especially great in satin-stitch.' She read standard literature; was familiar with the 'Spectator;' minutely acquainted with Richardson; fond of Johnson and Cooper, and specially devoted to Crabbe, of whom she used to say that if she ever married at all, she could fancy being Mrs. Crabbe. In later years she was charmed with Scott's poetry, and admired the first Waverley novels. In 1801 the family moved to Bath, living first at 4 Sydney Terrace, and afterwards at Green Park Buildings. She spent some weeks at Lyme in 1804; and upon her father's death in February 1805, his widow and daughters, after a few months in lodgings, moved to Castle Square, Southampton, whence Jane visited Kent and Bath. In 1809 they settled in a cottage at Chawton, about a mile from Alton, on the property of her brother, Mr. Knight. There she spent the rest of her life, with occasional visits to London, till her health, which had given symptoms of decline in 1816, broke down. In May 1817 she moved to Winchester, to be near Mr. Lyford, a doctor of reputation. She took lodgings in College Street, where she was nursed by her sister and attended by her two brothers, who were clergymen in the neighbourhood. She died quietly 18 July 1817, and was buried in the centre of the north aisle of Winchester Cathedral. The grave is marked by a slab of black marble. Jane is described as tall, slender, and remarkably graceful; she was a clear brunette with a rich colour, hazel eyes, fine features, and curling brown hair. Her domestic relations were delightful, and she was specially attractive to children. A vague record is preserved of an attachment for a gentleman whom she met at the seaside, and who soon afterwards died suddenly. But there is no indication of any serious disturbance of her habitual serenity.

Jane began to write stories in her childhood. Many had been written before she was sixteen. They were good-humoured nonsense; and one of them—a burlesque 'comedy'—is given in her memoir. She began 'Pride and Prejudice' in October 1796, and finished it in August 1797, having already written something similar to 'Sense and Sensibility' called 'Eleanor and Marianne.' 'Northanger Abbey' was written in 1798, but not prepared for the press until 1803. At Bath, about 1804, she began a story, never finished, called 'The Watsons.' In the first year at Chawton she prepared for the press 'Sense and Sensibility,' begun in November 1797, and 'Pride and Prejudice.' Between February 1811 and August 1816 she wrote 'Mansfield Park,' 'Emma,' and 'Persuasion.' She then began, but never finished, another nameless story. Besides these she wrote another story, called 'Lady Susan,' which, like 'Sense and Sensibility,' when first composed, was in the form of letters. Her father offered 'Pride and Prejudice' to Cadell on 1 Nov. 1797; but the proposal was rejected by return of post, without an inspection of the manuscript. 'Northanger Abbey' was sold to a publisher in Bath for 10*l.* in 1803. He did not venture to print it, and was glad to take back his money and return the manuscript to one of

her brothers a few years later, not knowing, till the bargain was complete, that the writer was also the author of four popular novels. 'Sense and Sensibility' appeared in 1811; 'Pride and Prejudice' in 1813; 'Mansfield Park' in 1814; 'Emma' in 1816; 'Northanger Abbey' and 'Persuasion' in 1818 (posthumously). She received 150*l.* from the sale of 'Sense and Sensibility;' and under 700*l.* up to the time of her death from the four then published. Egerton was the publisher of the first, and Murray of the last three. They were published anonymously, though the authorship was an open secret to her friends. It was first made public in a short biographical notice prefixed to the two posthumous novels in 1818. Miss Austen's genius received little recognition during her life. In 1815 she was nursing her brother in London, when the Prince Regent, hearing of her visit through one of his physicians, sent his chaplain, Mr. Clarke, to wait upon her, to show her Carlton House, and to give her permission, of which she took advantage, to dedicate her next novel ('Emma') to him. Mr. Clarke recommended her to describe an accomplished clergyman, who should resemble Beattie's minstrel and the vicar of Wakefield; and, upon Miss Austen's declaring her incompetence for such a task, suggested that a 'romance illustrative of the august house of Cobourg would just now be very interesting.' Miss Austen politely ridiculed this brilliant suggestion. No writer ever understood better the precise limits of her own powers. She speaks of the 'little bit (two inches wide) of ivory on which I work with so fine a brush as produces little effect after much labour.' All critics agree to the unequalled fineness of her literary tact; no author ever lived, as G. H. Lewes told Miss Bronte (Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Bronte*, ch. xvi.), with a nicer sense of proportioning means to ends. Given the end, the lifelike portraiture of the social aspects with which alone she was familiar, the execution is flawless. The unconscious charm of the domestic atmosphere of the stories, and the delicate subsatirical humour which pervades them, have won her the admiration, even to fanaticism, of innumerable readers. Miss Bronte acknowledged the statement quoted from Lewes, but would not admit his further assertion that Miss Austen was also amongst the greatest artists or portrayers of human character. She was, Miss Bronte admitted, shrewd and observant, but devoid of poetry or sentiment. Such criticism applies to the limits of her sphere, not to her perfection within it. Miss Austen was first reviewed in the 'Quarterly' for October 1815, and afterwards (by Whately) in the same review for July 1821. Amongst her admirers were Warren Hastings, Southey, Coleridge, Sir Jas. Mackintosh, Lord Holland, Sydney Smith, and Sir Henry Holland. G. H. Lewes says that he would rather have written 'Pride and Prejudice,' or 'Tom Jones,' than any of the Waverley novels. Lord Macaulay declares (art. on Mme. d'Arblay) that she approaches Shakespeare nearer than any of our writers in drawing character; and he once proposed to edit her works with a memoir to raise funds for a monument. Sir Walter Scott declared (diary for 14 March 1826) Miss Austen's talent to be 'the most wonderful he had ever met with:' 'The big bow-wow strain I can do myself like any now going; but the exquisite touch which renders ordinary common-place things and characters interesting from the truth of the description and the sentiment is denied to me. What a pity such a gifted creature died so young!' Her first biographer in 1818 had only ventured to say that some readers ventured to place her books beside those of Miss Burney and Miss Edgeworth.

[Memoir of Jane Austen, by her nephew, J. E. Austen Leigh, London. This contains some letters and a few fragments of verse and other trifles. To the second edition, 1871, are added 'Lady Susan' and the imperfect 'The Watsons.' Letters of Jane Austen, edited by Lord Brabourne (1884), is a collection of letters to her sister Cassandra from 1796 to 1816. They are trivial, and give no new facts.] L. S.

AUSTEN, RALPH (*d.* 1676), writer on gardening, was, according to Anthony à Wood, a native of Staffordshire, and became a student of Magdalen College, Oxford. On 7 April 1630 he was chosen a university proctor, and he spent the remainder of his life in Oxford, devoting most of his time to gardening and the raising of fruit-trees. In 1647 he became deputy-registrary to the visitors, and subsequently registrary in his own right. According to Wood he was, in 1652, admitted into the public library to find materials for a book he was then meditating. In the following year he published 'A Treatise on Fruit-trees, showing the manner of grafting, setting, pruning, and ordering of them in all respects,' and along with it a voluminous pamphlet on the 'Spiritual Use of an Orchard.' It was in all probability to find materials for the latter book that he desired admission to the university; for in his preface to the 'Treatise on Fruit-trees' he states that he 'had set himself to the practice of this work about twenty years, endeavouring to find out things of use and profit by practice and experience

that he might speak upon better and surer grounds than some others who have written on this subject.' A second edition of the 'Treatise,' with additions and improvements, appeared in 1657. Wood states that its sale was hindered by its association with the treatise on the 'Spiritual Use of an Orchard,' 'which being all divinity, and nothing therein of the practice part of gardening, many refused to buy it;' but both Johnson and Watt mention editions in 1662 and 1667. The treatise on the 'Spiritual Use of an Orchard' was reprinted separately at London in 1847. In 1658 Austen published 'Observations on some parts of Sir Francis Bacon's Naturall History as it concerns Fruit-trees, Fruits, and Flowers.' Possibly through some misreading of the title-page, this work has been attributed by some to a Francis Austen, and there is apparently no foundation for the statement that it was published originally in 1631 and again in 1657. According to Wood, Austen was the author of 'A Dialogue or Familiar Discourse and Conference between the Husbandman and Fruiterer in his Nurseries, Orchards, and Gardens,' published in 1676 and 1679, and containing much of the substance of his earlier treatise. Watt erroneously attributes to Ralph Austen two books by John Austen. A work by a Ralph Austen appeared at London in 1676 entitled 'The Strong Man Armed;' but the fact that it was published at London, not at Oxford, and that it is entirely controversial, and contains no reference to gardening, militates against the supposition that its author was identical with the subject of the present notice. According to Wood, Austen died in his house in the parish of St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford, and was buried in the church belonging thereunto, in the aisle adjoining the south side of the chancel, 26 Oct. 1676, after he had been a practiser in gardening and planting trees fifty years.

[Anthony à Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, i. 453, ii. 174; Johnson's History of English Gardening, 93, 98; Felton's Portraits of English Authors on Gardening, 18, 19; Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica; S. D. U. K. Biog. Dict.; Burrow's Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, published by the Camden Society (1881), pp. viii, 84, 312, 357.]

T. F. H.

AUSTIN, CHARLES (1799–1874), lawyer, the second son of Jonathan Austin, of Creeting Mill, in the county of Suffolk, was born in 1799. He was educated at Bury St. Edmunds grammar school. He was for a time apprenticed to a surgeon at Norwich, but disliking that occupation he quitted it, and was sent to Cambridge, entering at Jesus College. In 1822 he won, much to the amazement of his friends who knew his heterodox opinions, the Hulsean prize for an essay on Christian evidence. In 1824 he graduated B.A. The late Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his 'Autobiography,' has described the immense influence exercised by Austin over his contemporaries at Cambridge in terms which might seem exaggerated but for the concurrent testimony of others. 'The impression he gave,' writes Mr. Mill, was that of boundless strength, together with talents which, combined with much force of will and character, seemed capable of dominating the world.' An ardent, brilliant, and paradoxical exponent of the doctrines of Bentham at a time when utilitarianism had the zest of novelty, a militant radical of a type new at Cambridge, he won admiration in debates at the union and in conversation with his most distinguished rivals. It is recorded as one proof of his influence that the opinions which Macaulay brought from his Clapham home were modified by converse with Austin. Austin was one of a brilliant group, including Macaulay, Praed, Moultrie, Lord Belper, Romilly, Buller, and Cockburn; and none of these young men who rose to distinction gave more promise than Charles Austin. Moultrie, who has sketched that group in his poem, 'The Dream of Life,' describes Austin as

> A pale spare man of high and massive brow,
> Already furrowed with deep lines of thought
> And speculative effort—grave, sedate,
> And (if the looks may indicate the age)
> Our senior some few years. No keener wit,
> No intellect more subtle, none more bold,
> Was found in all our host.

Mr. Trevelyan, in his 'Life of Lord Macaulay,' tells a story which illustrates Austin's brilliancy as a converser, while on a visit to Lord Lansdowne at Bowood. Macaulay and Austin happened to get upon college topics one morning at breakfast. 'When the meal was finished they drew their chairs to either end of the chimneypiece, and talked to each other across the hearthrug, as if they were on a first-floor in the old court of Trinity. The whole company—ladies, artists, politicians, and diners-out—formed a silent circle round the two Cantabs, and, with a short break for lunch, never stirred till the bell warned them that it was time to dress for dinner.' Having chosen law as a profession, Austin entered as a student at the Middle Temple, read in the chambers of Sir William Follett, then in the height of his fame as an advocate, and was called to the bar in 1827. He joined the Norfolk circuit, and went the

Ipswich, Bury, and Norwich sessions. The reputation which he brought from Cambridge was sustained in London, and his conversational powers were regarded by those who knew Macaulay and Sydney Smith as unmatched. He wrote much for the 'Parliamentary History and Review,' and contributed occasionally for the 'Retrospective Review' and the 'Westminster Review.' But his rapid success at the bar soon led him to quit all literary labour. The late Mr. Sumner, who met Austin frequently in 1839, describes him as 'the first lawyer in England *me judice*,' adding that he was 'a more animated speaker than Follett; perhaps not so smooth and gentle, neither is he ready or instinctively sagacious in a law argument, and yet he is powerful here, and immeasurably before Follett in accomplishments and liberality of view. He is a fine scholar, and deeply versed in English literature and the British constitution.' It was the wish of Austin's friends that he should enter parliament, and the elder Mill used his offices with Joseph Hume to get him returned for Bath. But he never presented himself as a candidate to any constituency. In 1841 he was made queen's counsel. Such was his professional position that he is said to have been offered the solicitor-generalship. His success at the parliamentary bar was unprecedented. In 1847, the year of the railway mania, his income was enormous—the computations of it vary from 40,000*l.* to 100,000*l.* There is a story that, when he left his chambers one morning in the year of the great gold discoveries, some one wrote on the door 'Gone to California;' and there is another of his having been seen riding in the park during the height of the parliamentary session, and of his saying to one who asked how he came to be there, that he was doing equal justice to all his clients. At the parliamentary bar there linger traditions of his skill as a cross-examiner and his oratorical force. The trying work of his profession had overtaxed a constitution never very strong; and in 1848 he retired from practice with a large fortune. From that time to that of his death he lived in retirement, reading much, interested in public affairs, but withdrawn from all active participation in them, and content to do his duties as a landlord. He indulged his passion for the ancient classics, and kept abreast of modern literature. He lost the anti-theological asperity which had in early years marked his speculative opinions, and 'wisely or unwisely,' writes one who knew him well, 'in his later years he accepted the religion of his country in the manner sanctioned by Elisha and practised by Socrates.' He was high-steward of Ipswich and chairman of the quarter-sessions of East Suffolk, and his duties in that position he performed admirably. Throughout the twenty-six years which elapsed between his quitting the bar and his death the world received no hint that the forensic equal of Follett and Scarlett, the most eloquent disciple of Bentham, the rival in conversation of Macaulay and Sydney Smith, was still living; and the news of his death, on 21 Dec. 1874, was a surprise to many of his old friends who believed that he had long ago passed away. He married, in 1856, Harriet Jane, daughter of the late Captain Ralph Mitford Preston Ingelby. He died at Brandeston Hall, near Wickham Market, on 21 Dec. 1874.

[Fortnightly Review, March 1875; Law Times, 2 Jan. 1875; Bain's Life of James Mill; John Stuart Mill's Autobiography; Moultrie's Dream of Life.] J. M-L.

AUSTIN, HENRY (17th cent.), was the author of a poem called 'The Scourge of Venus, or the Wanton Lady. With the Rare Birth of Adonis. The Second Impression, corrected and enlarged, by H. A.' (1614). It has been reprinted in Dr. Grosart's 'Occasional Issues of Unique and Extremely Rare Books' (1876). The poem was for long anonymous beyond its initials on the title-page and the 'epistle to the reader,' but an incidental reference to it by Thomas Heywood discloses its authorship. In his address to the reader before his 'Brazen Age' (1613) Heywood writes:—'What imperfection soeuer it haue, hauing a brazen face it cannot blush; much like a Pedant about this Towne, who, when all trades fail'd, turn'd Pedagogue, and once insinuating with me, borrowed frō me certaine Translations of Ouid, as his three books "De Arte Amandi," and two, "De Remedio Amoris," which since, his most brazen face hath most impudently challenged as his own, wherefore I must needs proclaime it as far as *Ham*, where he now keeps schoole, *Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores*, they were things which out of my iuniority and want of iudgement, I committed to the veiw of some priuate friends, but with no purpose of publishing, or further cōmunicating thē. Therfore I wold entreate that *Austin*, for so his name is, to acknowledge his wrong to me in shewing them, and his owne impudence and ignorance in challenging thē. But courteous Reader, I can onely excuse him in this, that this is the *Brazen Age*.'

This invective referred to the first edition of the 'Scourge,' published in 1613. It is noticeable and suggestive that H[enry] A[ustin], so far from pleading guilty or ac-

knowledging Heywood's claim, quietly republished his poem, and, what must have been exasperating to Heywood, with Heywood's own publisher of the 'Brazen Age.' A third edition appeared in 1620, also printed by Nicholas Okes. The full justice of Heywood's accusation may be reasonably doubted. Its *gravamen* seems at most to amount to this, that Austin had constructed his poem by help of Heywood's 'juvenile' translations, and in his rather ambiguous epistle to the reader Austin apparently admits so much. 'If it were my owne wit,' he says in reference to his book, 'and you condemne it, I should be ashamed of my publike intrusion; but since it was the labour of a man wel-deseruing, forbeare open reprehending: For as I haue heard, 'twas done for his pleasure, without any intent of an Impression: thus much I excuse him that I know not, and commend that which deserueth well. If I be partiall, I pray patience.' The 'Scourge of Venus' shows traces of the influence of Shakespeare's poems upon its author.

[Dr. Grosart's Occasional Issues (1876), as above.] A. B. G.

AUSTIN, JOHN (1613–1669), a catholic writer under the pseudonym of WILLIAM BIRCHLEY, was born in 1613 at Walpole in Norfolk, and studied under Mr. Trevillian in the grammar school of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, for a year and a half before entering the university of Cambridge, where he was admitted a pensioner of St. John's College under Mr. Clerke. He remained at St. John's till about 1640, when, having embraced the catholic religion, he found it necessary to quit the university. He entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, and there is reason to believe that he distinguished himself as a lawyer; but the turbulence of the times and his religious belief prevented him from continuing the practice of his profession as a means of livelihood. During the civil war he resided for some time as tutor in the family of Walter Fowler, Esq., of St. Thomas in Staffordshire. About 1650 he returned to London. In a postscript to one of his works, the second part of the 'Christian Moderator' (1652), Austin alludes to a mournful event, by which he was unexpectedly called into the country; and as, after this date, he was enabled to retire to private lodgings in the metropolis, it has been inferred that he had acquired some property by the death of a relative. His death occurred in Bow Street, Covent Garden, in the summer of 1669, and he was buried in the parish church of St. Paul.

The Rev. John Sergeant, in the epistle dedicatory to the second edition of Austin's 'Devotions' (Rouen, 1672), says of his deceased friend the author: 'He was a Gentleman, so far from retirement, that his Chamber was generally open to Multitudes, who either lov'd his friendly Affability, or needed his useful Advice or Charitable Assistance. His Conversation and outward behaviour were exceedingly cheerful and pleasant. He appear'd Severe in nothing but sincere Honesty, in nothing Singular but perfect Innocence consistent with so much Freedom. The Great Business of his Life, that concern'd Heaven, was transacted in the inmost recess of his Soul, and never disclos'd it self without reluctancy and constraint. He was a Traveller, and brought home from Forreign Countries all that could conduce to a Manly becomingness and wise carriage, leaving the Extravagancies and follies where he found them. He was well skill'd in the best of our European Languages, and an absolute Master of our own.' And Dodd (*Church History*, iii. 257) says: 'Mr. Austin was a gentleman of singular parts and accomplishments, and so great a master of the English tongue that his stile still continues to be a pattern for politeness. His time was wholly spent in books and learned conversation; having the advantage of several ingenious persons' familiarity, who made a kind of Junto in the way of learning —viz., Mr. Thomas Blount, Mr. Blackloe, Francis St. Clare [Christopher Davenport], Mr. John Serjeant, Mr. Belson, Mr. Keightley, &c., all men of great parts and erudition, who were assistants to one another in their writings.'

Austin's works are: 1. 'The Christian Moderator, or Persecution for Religion condemned; By the Light of Nature, Law of God, Evidence of our own Principles' [London], 1651, 4to, pp. 28. The postscript is signed William Birchley. This first part was reprinted in 'An Introduction to the Bishop of Bangor's Intended Collection of Authorities,' 1718. A second part appeared in 1652 'with an Explanation of the Roman Catholick Belief, concerning these four points: Their Church, Worship, Justification, and Civill Government.' A third part was published in 1653, entitled 'The Christian Moderator, or The Oath of Abjuration arraign'd by the Common Law and Common sence, Ancient and modern Acts of Parl., Declarations of the Army, Law of God and consent of Reformed Divines. And humbly submitted to receive Judgment from this Honorable Representative.' The anonymous author of 'The Beacon flaming with a Non obstante' (1652) asserts that the 'Christian Moderator' was written by Father Christopher Davenport, better known as Franciscus à Sancta Clara; but Anthony à Wood

informs us that the Rev. John Sergeant assured him that it was the production of Austin, who was his particular friend, and formerly his contemporary at St. John's College, Cambridge. Dodd and Butler are of the same opinion. In this work Austin, assuming the disguise of an independent, shows that catholics did not really hold the odious doctrines vulgarly attributed to them, and makes an energetic appeal to the independents to extend to the adherents of the persecuted church such rights and privileges as were granted to other religious bodies. A violent reply to this plea for toleration was published in a book called 'Legenda Lignea,' by D. Y., 1652. 2. 'Reflexions upon the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance; or, The Christian Moderator, the fourth part. By a Catholick gentleman, an obedient son of the Church, and loyal subject of His Majesty,' 1661. 3. 'Devotions. First part, In the Antient Way of Offices. With Psalms, Hymns, and Pray'rs; for every day in the Week, and every Holiday in the Year,' second edition, corrected and augmented, Rouen, 1672, 8vo. This was a posthumous edition brought out by Sergeant, who remarks that Austin composed these 'Devotions,' which 'were long used by divers private friends, and transcripts of them so multiply'd, that they were already become half publick, ere he thought fit to let them be printed.' Sergeant adds that 'less then a year had vended the whole first impression;' but when or where the first edition was published is unknown. There was an edition at Paris in 1675, and a third volume of the work was written, but never published. Dodd mentions that the prayers were added to the work by Austin's friend, Mr. Keightley, 'which some have been pleased to quarrel with, upon a pretence that they favour'd Mr. Blackloe's opinion concerning the middle state of souls. A handsomely printed edition of the 'Devotions' was published at Edinburgh in 1789. In the preface it is stated that 'the "Devotions" were at first published in two volumes. The second, from what cause we know not, is now almost neglected. It consisted of the four gospels reduced to the form of lessons; besides which a third volume remains in manuscript.' Numerous editions of the 'Devotions' were published by the celebrated Dr. Hicks for the use of his protestant congregation, and consequently the book was commonly known among protestants as 'Hicks's Devotions.' 4. 'The Four Gospels in One,' in short chapters, with a verse and prayer at the end of each; mentioned by Butler, who gives no date nor imprint. This doubtless formed the second volume of the first edition of the 'Devotions.' A 'protestantized' version of it was published under the title of 'The Harmony of the Holy Gospels, digested into one History, according to the order of time, done originally by the author of the Devotions by way of Offices, publish'd by Dr. Hicks. Reformed and Improved by James Bonnel,' London, 1705. 5. 'A Letter from a Cavalier in Yorkshire to a Friend.' 6. 'A Punctual Answer to Dr. John Tillotson's Book, called the Rule of Faith;' an unfinished work, only six sheets being printed. 7. Several anonymous pamphlets against the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

[MS. Addit. 5862 f. 9 *b*; Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 256; Wood's Athen. Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii. 149, 150, 1226, 1227; Mr. George Bullen, in Biog. Dict. Soc. D. U. K.; Life of Austin prefixed to his Devotions, Edinb. 1789; Butler's Hist. Memoirs of the English Catholics, 3rd ed. iv. 459.]

T. C.

AUSTIN, JOHN (1717–1784), an Irish Jesuit, was born in Dublin 12 April 1717, and entered the Society of Jesus in Champagne 27 Nov. 1735. After completing the higher studies, he was employed in teaching humanities for several years, and he held the office of prefect of the Irish College at Poitiers. In 1750 he returned to Dublin, where he obtained renown as a preacher. He was professed of the four vows 2 Feb. 1754. Topham Bowden, an English protestant, in his 'Tour through Ireland' (1791), remarks 'that Austin was a very remarkable character, of extraordinary learning and piety; he was a great preacher, and injured his health by his exertions in the pulpit.' Father Austin died in Dublin 29 Sept. 1784, and was buried in St. Kevin's churchyard. The inscription over his grave describes him as 'pius, doctus, indefessus operarius, apostolicis confectus laboribus. Divites admonuit, pauperes sublevavit, juventutem erudivit, orphanis loco parentis fuit, de omni hominum genere præclarè meruit, omnibus omnia factus ut omnes Christo lucrifaceret.' His portrait, painted by Petrie, and engraved by Brocas, was published in 1792.

[Hogan's Chronological Cat. of the Irish Province S. J. 73; Oliver's Collectanea S. J. 232; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, i. 13.]

T. C.

AUSTIN, JOHN (*fl.* 1820), a Scotch inventor, was a native of Craigton. He published at Glasgow, in or about 1800, a system of 'Stenography which may be learned in an hour,' on a single folio engraved sheet, price 2*s.* 6*d.* A note at the end announces the publication of a complete system by the same author, price one guinea, but this does not appear to have been brought out. He was also the author of an elaborate work

entitled 'A System of Stenographic Music, invented by J. Austin, Glasgow. Dedicated to the Musical World, in English, French, Italian, German, and other Languages,' Glasgow, 50 engraved pages, oblong folio, no date, but published, according to the British Museum catalogue, about 1820. On the title-page is an engraved portrait of the author, who states in the preface that 'the design of this work is to represent to the musical world a new, easy, concise, and universal method of writing music completely on one line only, and adapted to all kinds of vocal and instrumental music and musical instruments, whereby an expert writer may note it down as he hears it performed, so that to those who make it their amusement or profession it will be equally interesting, together with the pleasure of improving and profiting by the art,' and, in conclusion, he remarks that 'if the shorthand writer is pleased in taking from the mouth of an orator, the musical stenographer will be no less so when catching those dulcet sounds which vibrate through the soul, convincing her that she is more than mortal.' Austin likewise appears to have turned his attention to the improvement of weaving machines.

[Thompson Cooper, in Notes and Queries, 3rd series, ix. 533; Works cited above; Evans's Catalogue of Portraits, ii. 20.] T. C.

see also Suppl.

AUSTIN, JOHN (1790–1859), the celebrated jurist, was born 3 March 1790. He was the eldest son of Jonathan Austin, of Creeting Mill, in Suffolk—a remarkable man of sturdy good sense and great mental vigour, who had made a fortune by taking government contracts during the French war. About the age of sixteen, John Austin entered the army, and served for several months with his regiment in Sicily, under the command of Lord William Bentinck. He remained in the army about five years, and then sold his commission and began to study for the bar, to which he was called in 1818 by the Inner Temple. His name appears for the first time in 1819, in the 'Law List,' as an equity draftsman, practising at 2 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn. He is said to have gone the Norfolk circuit; but his name does not occur in the list of counsel practising upon it. About this time Austin became acquainted with James Mill and his son, John Stuart Mill. With the latter in the winter of 1820–21 he went through a course of legal reading. It included a considerable part of Blackstone and Heineccius. In 1820 Austin married a gifted lady, Miss Sarah Taylor, of Norwich. In June 1821 their only child, Lucie, afterwards Lady Duff Gordon, was born. 'They lived,' writes Mrs. Ross, in a sketch of her grandfather's and grandmother's lives, 'in Queen Square, Westminster, almost next door to the house belonging to Mr. James Mill, the historian of British India, and their windows looked into the garden of Jeremy Bentham. These were the most intimate friends of John Austin; and here, it may be said, the utilitarian philosophy of the nineteenth century was born. Bentham's garden was the playground of Lucie Austin and the young Mills; his coachhouse was turned into a gymnasium, and his flower-beds were intersected by threads and ropes to represent the passages of a panopticon prison.' In the drawing-room of the modest London house of the Austins was often found a brilliant company. There might be seen, in his old age, Bentham, the two Mills, Carlyle, the rising lawyers Bickersteth, Erle, and Romilly; wits of the brilliancy of Charles Buller, Sydney Smith, and Luttrell; and among poets, critics, and statesmen, Rogers, Jeffrey, and Lansdowne. Austin did not obtain at the bar the success to which his great talents, acuteness, and powers of lucid and eloquent exposition entitled him in the opinion of his friends. His inability to work rapidly, his habit of taking trouble quite out of proportion to the importance of the matter in hand, were grave obstacles. His health was uncertain; he was subject to fits of feverishness which left him in a state of extreme debility. 'If John Austin had had health, neither Lyndhurst nor I should have been chancellor,' Brougham is said to have observed; and, no doubt, Austin's friends entertained the highest hopes of his success. Finding his profession unremunerative and uncongenial, he gave up in 1825 all thoughts of practice, though not until 1829 did his name disappear from the list of those who took out certificates as equity draftsmen. In 1826 the university of London (now University College) was established mainly through the efforts of Austin's friends; and he was appointed by the council to the chair of jurisprudence. He took great pains to prepare himself for the task. He resolved to go to Germany, and profit by the teaching of the great jurists who flourished there. He visited Heidelberg, where Thibaut then taught the civil law. He then settled for six months at Bonn, where a group of brilliant scholars, including Niebuhr, Brandis, Schlegel, Arndt, Mackeldey, and Heffter, resided. There, with the assistance of a young *privatdocent*, he read many German works on law. He returned to England in the spring of 1828, and began his lectures at University College. His class was never large; but it included several men

who rose to eminence, among others Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Lord Belper, Lord Romilly, Lord Clarendon, Mr. Charles Villiers, Mr. Hare, and Mr. Whiteside, subsequently lord chief justice of Ireland. Congenial occupation seemed to be before him. He was enthusiastic and zealous, and his earnest and eloquent exposition seemed likely to attract many students. 'Demand explanations and ply me with objections—turn me inside out,' was his characteristic advice to them. But again he was unsuccessful. Pupils flocked to the lecture-room of his colleague, Mr. Amos; his was almost deserted. The number of men attending his lectures dwindled down to five (SARGANT'S *Essays*); and it soon became plain that there was in England no demand for teaching of a high order in jurisprudence. 'There is some hope,' said the 'Law Magazine' in 1832, 'of his being induced to prepare a course on the Roman law, or the law of nations, for the ensuing session. But it is almost too much to ask him to make an extraordinary exertion for such a meagre audience as he hitherto has had.' Seeing no prospect of obtaining even the small audience with which he would have been content, he resigned his chair in 1832. The year before he published an 'outline' of his course of lectures; and this, corrected and enlarged, was appended to his work, 'The Province of Jurisprudence determined,' which was published in 1832. It was, at first, little read; and its value was not always appreciated by the few who read it. Lord Melbourne's remark about it, as recorded in the Greville memoirs, expressed a too common opinion. 'In answer to the observation that "the Austins were not fools," he said, "Austin? Oh, a damned fool! Did you ever read his book on Jurisprudence?" I said I had read a great part of it, and that it did not appear to be the work of a fool. He said that he had read it all, and that it was the dullest book he ever read, and full of truisms elaborately set forth' (iii. 138). In 1833 Austin was appointed by Lord Brougham a member of the Criminal Law Commission. He did not find the position or the opportunities of giving effect to his views all that he desired. 'He used to come home,' writes his wife, 'from every meeting of the commission disturbed and agitated, and to express his repugnance to receiving the public money for work from which he thought the public would derive little or no benefit. Some blurred and blotted sheets which I have found bear painful and affecting marks of the struggle that was going on in his mind between his own lofty sense of dignity and duty and the more ordinary sense of duty which subordinates public to private obligation.' He accordingly resigned his position upon the commission. In 1834 he was requested by the society of the Inner Temple to deliver a course of lectures on jurisprudence; but they, too, failed to attract students, and they were soon discontinued. His powerful friends, however, still entertained the highest opinion of his capacity, and a new channel of activity was opened to him. In 1836 he and his friend, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, were appointed commissioners to inquire into the administration and state of government of the island of Malta. The task was eminently congenial to a man of Austin's acquirements. The commissioners were instructed to examine into the laws and usages, the administration of the government, the state of the judicature, the civil and ecclesiastical establishments, the revenue, trade, and resources of the island; and they were also requested to make suggestions as to changes which they thought advisable. No commission ever did its work more carefully, and its reports to the colonial office are remarkable papers, dealing with great ability and thoroughness with some of the most important questions of political economy and jurisprudence. Among those possessed of permanent interest are the despatch urging the establishment in Malta of liberty of printing and publishing; the history of the origin of the corn monopoly in that island; the account of the government charities, of which last paper Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary, said: 'It is impossible that all the necessary facts should have been brought together with greater brevity and clearness, or that the principles which should direct his Majesty's government should have been stated with greater force and perspicuity.' The reform of the tariff which the commission effected was pronounced by Sir James Stephen 'the most successful legislative experiment he had seen in his time.' What was the precise share which Austin had in the laborious work is a little uncertain; but his peculiar ideas and vigorous language are often clearly discernible—for example, in the account of the history of Maltese law and the proposals with respect to legal education. The elaborate ordinance as to liberty of printing and publishing is interesting as a sample of his style of legal drafting. The commission did not accomplish all that was anticipated, and the government of Malta has been repeatedly subjected to considerable changes since 1837. But Austin did much to improve the institutions of the island. Being ill when he returned from Malta, he went to Carlsbad, and spent there the summers of 1841, 1842, and 1843. The winters

he passed in Dresden and Berlin, where he and his wife knew most of the eminent men of the time. While living at Dresden he wrote for the 'Edinburgh Review' a refutation of the arguments in favour of protectionism propounded by Dr. List in 'Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie.' Though regarding Dr. List's 'desultory' treatise as 'a theory of trade unworthy of grave criticism,' he refuted it with unsparing thoroughness. To see his copy of List's work preserved in the Austin collection in the Inner Temple Library —the book copiously annotated in a bold, clear hand, and scored as a lawyer might score his brief—is to get an idea of the conscientious zeal which Austin carried into all he executed. Austin was at this time under the spell of German scholarship, and he wrote with fervour of his obligation to a land in which he and his wife had so long lived. 'Germany is one of the countries which we respect the most, and to which we are the most attracted, having found in the works of her philosophers, her historians, and her scholars, exhaustless mines of knowledge and instruction, and exhaustless power of pleasure or consolation. Above all we admire the spirit of comprehensive humanity which generally comes through the writings of her classical authors; and it is one of the causes of quarrel with Dr. List that he labours to diffuse a spirit of exclusive and barbarous nationality in the country of Leibnitz, Kant, and Lessing.' To the 'Edinburgh Review' of January 1847 he contributed an elaborate article on centralisation. Taking as his text 'De la Centralisation,' by Timon, and other French works, he endeavoured to dissipate the crowd of fallacies which had gathered round the idea of centralisation. He sought to clear up certain ideas concerning it, and, among them, the confusion between centralisation and over-government, and the common assumption that the former is incompatible with free or popular government, or local government of popular origin. The article concluded with two suggestions still well worthy of consideration—one that the function of private or specific legislation ought to be delegated to subordinate judicial functionaries; the other that there should be a permanent commission, composed of experienced lawyers, whose business it would be to examine and report upon bills submitted to either house of parliament.

In 1844–48 Austin lived in Paris. Shortly after his arrival he was made by the Institute a corresponding member of the moral and political class. Driven from France by the revolution, he settled with his wife at Weybridge in Surrey, where they took a 'long, low rambling old house,' and there the remainder of his days was spent in retirement. It was the happiest period of his life. His interest in jurisprudence, political economy, and politics was undiminished. He followed the course of events with unflagging interest. The *coup d'état* deeply excited his wrath, and Napoleon III was an especial object of aversion to him. 'I can see him now,' writes a relative, 'with his magnificent hazel eyes flashing as he struck the table with his fist, saying "By God, sir, he is a scoundrel!"' Dissatisfied with all he did, Austin wrote little. He could not even be induced to prepare a second edition of his work on jurisprudence. In 1859 he wrote an article intended as a review in one of the quarterlies of Earl Grey's book on 'Parliamentary Reform.' It was rejected by the editor, and he published it as a pamphlet under the title of 'A Plea for the Constitution.' It was an acute defence of the English constitution as it existed and a warning of the danger of widening the suffrage and putting political power into the hands of people who were not fit to use it. 'It will be remarked,' he says in a sentence in the preface, which strikes the keynote of the pamphlet, 'by those who do me the honour of reading the essay, that the consequences I anticipate from any parliamentary reform are all of them mischievous.' The whole essay indicates that Austin's political opinions had been much influenced by his residence abroad; that the 'insane' revolution of 1848 had inspired him with dread of democracy, and that he had abandoned most of the political ideas of Bentham and the radical friends of his youth. He died in December 1859, just as his principles with respect to codification were triumphing in India. His death was little noted; even the legal journals of the time did not mention it: and Mr. J. S. Mill's article in the 'Edinburgh Review' of October 1863 was the first intimation to the majority even of English lawyers that they had lost a great jurist. In 1861 his widow edited a new edition of the 'Province of Jurisprudence,' and added to it a preface, in which she told the chief facts of her husband's life with much pathos. Two years afterwards she published two volumes of his lectures, or such remains of them as she, with remarkable sagacity and zeal, could discover. She was engaged in preparing another edition when she died, and the work was completed by Mr. Robert Campbell. The record of Austin's life is, in many respects, one of failure and disappointment. 'I was born out of time and place,' he himself said. 'I ought to have been a schoolman of the twelfth century or a German professor.' Asked why he did not do more for his brother, the

brilliant and successful Charles Austin said: 'John is much cleverer than I, but he is always knocking his head against principles.' He found for his teaching no appreciative public. When first published his 'Province of Jurisprudence' was little noticed. The hope expressed in one of his lectures that laymen would come to take an interest in jurisprudence was crushed by his failure to procure the attention even of lawyers. Abroad he was, and still is, little known. His name is not found in such a work as 'Holtzendorff's Rechts-Lexicon,' which contains notices of almost every obscure mediæval jurist; and German jurists still confound law proper with morality, as if he had never written. It is doubtful whether he even made in the last forty-two years of his life, by his profession, by his pen, or as a lecturer, a hundred pounds. The end of his life was, to use his wife's words, one of obscure and honourable poverty. There is no reason, however, to lay the blame of this neglect solely upon an inappreciative generation. He was not well equipped for active work. Outwardly austere, he had also a softness of nature which unfitted him for the battle of life. His friend, John Stuart Mill, who has sketched his character with kindly but truthful touches, points out one signal weakness when he says: 'The strength of will of which his manner seemed to give such strong assurance expended itself principally in manner. He spent so much time and exertion on superfluous study and thought that, when his work ought to have been completed, he had generally worked himself into an illness without having finished what he undertook.' His style, too, militated against him. It was clear, and occasionally eloquent; but it abounded in repetitions and amplifications which, however suitable in an instrument settled by an equity draftsman, were repulsive even to intelligent readers. Though a brilliant talker — Macaulay said that he scarcely knew his superior—he wrote in a manner which repelled and disheartened even his admirers. In some respects his labours have been as successful as he could have desired. He helped to revolutionise jurisprudence. He found it, in spite of Hobbes's and of Bentham's labours, an undigested mass of loose theories and vague terminology. The late Mr. Phillimore, speaking of the terminology used by English lawyers, compares it with too much appropriateness to 'the gabble of bushmen in a craal.' Austin introduced exactness of thought and expression. He gave to such terms as 'law,' 'status,' 'sovereignty,' a degree of precision unknown before. He clearly distinguished law proper from objects to which, by metaphor or analogy, it is extended. He showed the relation of custom to law. He described the nature of judicial legislation and its disadvantages without repeating Bentham's exaggerated vituperation. Not the least of Austin's services is that he gave a great impetus to the work of codification. It is inaccurate to speak of his main doctrines as truisms. The best proof of this is that they are still unknown to, or opposed by, the chief jurists of Germany and France. A reaction against his teaching has, it is true, begun. Sir Henry Maine and other students of law from its historical side have criticised his conception of law — general commands of a superior enforced by sanctions —as inapplicable to much that should form part of jurisprudence; and the tendency is to extend that science beyond positive law, to which he would confine it. It is said that he did not take sufficient account of the genesis of law. He confined the domain of positive law to 'law set by a sovereign body of persons, to a member of the independent political society wherein that person or body is sovereign or supreme.' Having regard to Austin's definitions of sovereign and political society, it is often objected that he would exclude from jurisprudence law as known in all barbarous and semi-barbarous and not a few civilised societies. It is also urged that his account of customary law as being either positive morality or law properly so called, only by reason of its being the command of the sovereign, is violently at variance with facts. There is not universal agreement as to the accuracy of his criticisms on the classification of Gaius and Justinian. It is often also objected that he who sought to confine jurisprudence to its true domain too frequently diverges into the region of politics, religion, or ethics. But his work has stood remarkably well the test of criticism. The majority of the objections to Austin's method and conclusions come to little more than a contention that jurisprudence may with advantage be studied historically as well as analytically, and that a large class of facts excluded by his definition from that science must always have especial interest for the jurist.

[Austin's Introduction to Lectures on Jurisprudence; Mill's Autobiography; Parliamentary Papers for 1839, vol. xvii.; Times 12 Aug. 1867; Mrs. Ross's Preface to Lady Duff Gordon's Letters from Egypt.] J. M-L.

AUSTIN, ROBERT, D.D. (*fl.* 1644), puritan divine, published in 1644 a tract, entitled 'Allegiance not impeached, viz. by the Parliament's taking up of Arms (though

against the King's Personall Commands) for the just Defence of the Kings Person, Crown, and Dignity, the Laws of the Land, Liberties of the Subject, &c.,' 4to. In an 'address to the reader,' the author protests that he had lost much by siding with the parliament; that he had been actuated solely by motives of patriotism in publishing his views to the world; and that he looked forward to the time when the king would 'return in safety, and his throne be established in judgment and in justice.' In 1647 Austin published 'The Parliaments Rules and Directions concerning Sacramental Knowledge drawn into Questions and Answers,' a duodecimo of eight leaves.

[Works.] A. H. B.

AUSTIN, SAMUEL, the elder (*fl.* 1629), religious poet, was the son of Thomas Austin, Esq., of Lostwithiel, Cornwall. He entered Exeter College, Oxford, in 1623, at the age of seventeen, took the degree of B.A. in 1627, and that of M.A. in 1630, 'about which time, being numbered with the Levites,' he 'was beneficed in his own country' (Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 499). At Oxford he spent much time in composing a long poem on scriptural subjects, which was given to the world in 1629 under the title of 'Austin's Urania, or the Heavenly Muse,' 8vo. In the dedication to Dr. Prideaux, rector of Exeter College, the author describes the difficulties under which the book was written: 'If you knew but the paines I have suffer'd in travell hereof, how many precious houres and dayes I have detain'd from those sports and vanities which are common to others; yea, how much time I have stolne from my other private studies (which lay of necessitie on mee in this place), and sacred them only to this . . . in briefe, what heavy and hard conflicts, and what a tedious travell I have had (as God knowes) in the producing of it, I dare promise my selfe it would make your yielding heart e'en bleed to thinke on't. . . . But now (thankes bee to my God) I have at length finished it.' Such prefatory words as these do not tempt the reader to proceed; but on the next page is a most interesting address in verse to 'my ever honoured friends, those most refined wits and favourers of most exquisite learning, Mr. M. Drayton, Mr. Will. Browne, and my most ingenious kinsman, Mr. Andrew Pollexfen.' It is pleasant to see with what affection and respect this devout young aspirant to poetic honours addresses the authors of the 'Polyolbion' and of 'Britannia's Pastorals,' and implores them to neglect the rural Pan and sing the praises of Divine Providence. Was it in answer to this appeal that Michael Drayton, in 1630, when publishing his 'Muses' Elysium,' appended to the dainty pastorals, as leaden weights to drag them down, his 'Noah's Floud' and 'David and Goliath'? The 'Urania' itself is not so poor as one would have supposed from the author's admissions in the dedication. Book i. describes the Fall of Man, and book ii. deals with the Redemption. The verse runs fluently, and is not disfigured by harsh grammatical constructions. Evidently the writer had given a close study to 'Britannia's Pastorals;' but though there is little to blame, there is little to commend, and we must be content to admire the piety rather than the poetry of Austin's 'Urania.'

[Wood, Athen. Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 499; Corser's Collectanea, i. 85–90; Boase and Courtney, Biblioth. Cornub. i. 8.] A. H. B.

AUSTIN, SAMUEL, the younger (*fl.* 1658), poetical writer, inherited little of his father's humility, and seems, indeed, to have been an arrant coxcomb. He became a commoner of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1652, took his B.A. degree in 1656, and afterwards migrated to Cambridge. At Oxford he made a laughing-stock of himself by his inordinate self-conceit. Wood is very severe on him: 'Such was the vanity of this person that he, being extremely conceited of his own worth, and overvaluing his poetical fancy more than that of Cleveland, who was then accounted the "hectoring prince of poets," fell into the hands of the satyrical wits of this university, who, having got some of his prose and poetry, served him as the wits did Tho. Coryat in his time.' These pieces of verse and prose, rendered more ridiculous by grotesque alterations and additions, were published in 1658 'by express order from the Wits,' under the title of 'Naps upon Parnassus; a sleepy Muse nipt and pincht, though not awakened.' A number of satirical commendatory verses is prefixed, among the contributors to which were Thomas Flatman, fellow of New College; Thomas Sprat, of Wadham College, afterwards bishop of Rochester; George Castle, of All Souls'; Alexander Amidei, a Jew and teacher of Hebrew at Oxford; Sylvanus Taylour, of All Souls', and others. At the restoration of Charles II, Austin came before the public with a fulsome 'Panegyrick' (1661). Luckily this awkward attempt in the Pindaric measure fell stillborn from the press. In a prefatory note to the 'Panegyrick' he threatens that 'the author, according as these find acceptance, intends a larger book of poems.' Then he enumerates the subjects

that he intends to take in hand, among which are 'Christ's Love to his Church, shadowed out in Joseph and Potiphar's Daughter in a familiar Dialogue betwixt them,' 'Two Lovers in one Heart,' 'The Young Man's speech to a silent Woman,' &c. What became of him after the publication of the 'Panegyrick' is not known.

[Wood, Athen. Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 499, iii. 675; Corser's Collectanea, i. 90-93; Boase and Courtney, Biblioth. Cornub. i. 8.] A. H. B.

AUSTIN, SAMUEL (*d.* 1834), water-colour painter, was a native of Liverpool. He commenced life as a banker's clerk, but eventually gave up a good position in order to devote himself entirely to the art in which he had excelled as an amateur, and of which he was enthusiastically fond. He exhibited water-colour drawings at the Society of British Artists from 1824 to 1826, and from 1827 at the annual exhibitions of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours, of which body he was elected an associate in the last-named year. He painted landscapes, and occasionally rustic figures; but his best works were coast scenes, introducing boats and figures, some of which were from sketches in Holland, France, and on the Rhine. An example of his work, 'Shakespeare's Cliff, Dover, with Luggers on the Beach,' is in the South Kensington Museum. A 'View of Dort' has been engraved after him by William Miller. He died at Liverpool in July 1834.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 1878; Society of British Artists, Exhibition Catalogues, 1824-6; Society of Painters in Water-Colours, Exhibition Catalogues, 1827-34.] R. E. G.

AUSTIN, SARAH (1793-1867), translator, wife of John Austin the jurist, was born at Norwich in 1793. Her father, John Taylor, a yarn maker of that city, and a descendant of John Taylor, a celebrated divine, was a man of literary tastes. Her mother, whose maiden name was Susanna Cook, was accomplished and beautiful. Sarah Austin, who was the youngest of her family, received an excellent education under the direction of her mother. She was remarkably handsome and attractive, and it caused some surprise in Norwich when she married the grave John Austin [see AUSTIN, JOHN]. The marriage, which took place in 1820, was a union of rare intellectual sympathy, and one to which she brought an unusual share of devotion. During the first years of their married life they lived in Queen's Square, Westminster. Mrs. Austin's stately yet charming manners, her talk always full of information, interesting and sensible, if not brilliant, and her many-sided nature made her many warm friends. The younger Mill testified the esteem which he felt for her by the title of *Mutter*, by which he always addressed her. The only child of the marriage, Lucie (afterwards Lady Duff Gordon), was born in 1821. Her husband's scanty measure of success stimulated Mrs. Austin's literary labours, and for many years she was unceasingly busy with her pen. In 1833 she published 'Selections from the Old Testament,' arranged under heads to illustrate the religion, morality, and poetry of the Hebrew Scriptures. 'My sole object has been,' she wrote in the preface, 'to put together all that presented itself to my own heart and mind as most persuasive, consolatory, or elevating, in such a form and order as to be easy of reference, conveniently arranged and divided, and freed from matter either hard to be understood, unattractive, or unprofitable (to say the least) for young and pure eyes.' In the same year she published one of the many admirable translations by which she is best known: 'Characteristics of Goethe from the German of Falk, Von Müller, and others,' with valuable original notes, illustrative of German literature. Her own criticisms are few, but they are excellent, and are marked by that temperance and good sense which distinguished every line she wrote.

In 1834 she translated 'The Story without an End' by Carové, and this admirable translation has since been often republished. In the same year she translated the famous report on the 'State of Public Instruction in Prussia,' addressed by Cousin to Count Montalivet, minister of public instruction. In the preface she pleads eloquently for the cause of national education. 'Society,' she says, 'is no longer a calm current, but a tossing sea; reverence for tradition, for authority, is gone. In such a state of things who can deny the absolute necessity of national education?' In 1839 she returned to the same subject in a pamphlet, originally published in a short-lived periodical, Cochrane's 'Foreign Quarterly Review.' Arguing from the experience of Prussia and France, she urged the establishment in England of a national system of education. One of her last publications (1859) consisted of two letters addressed to the 'Athenæum' on girls' schools and on the training of working women. In these she shows that she had modified her opinions. Speaking of the old village schools, she admits that the teachers possessed little book lore. They were often widows 'better versed in the toils and

troubles of life than in chemistry or astronomy. . . . But the wiser among them taught the great lessons of obedience, reverence for honoured eld, industry, neatness, decent order, and other virtues of their sex and stations,' and trained their pupils to be the wives of working men. In 1827 Mrs. Austin went with her husband to Germany and settled in Bonn. She collected in her long residence abroad materials for her work, 'Germany from 1760 to 1814,' which was published in 1854. Some chapters of it had previously appeared as articles in the 'Edinburgh Review' and the 'British and Foreign Review.' This book, by which she is best known, still holds its place as an interesting and thoughtful survey of German institutions and manners. In the autumn of 1836 she accompanied her husband to Malta, busying herself while there with investigations into the remains of Maltese art. On their return from that island, she and her husband went to Germany. Thence they passed to Paris, where they remained until they were driven home by the revolution of 1848. In 1840 she translated Ranke's 'History of the Popes,' which was warmly praised by Lord Macaulay and Dean Milman. When this translation was published, her intimate friend Sir George C. Lewis wrote to her saying, 'Murray is very desirous that you should undertake some original work. Do you feel a *Beruf* of this sort?' But she did not feel such a *Beruf*; most of her subsequent works consisted of translations. In 1861 she wrote, as a preface to a new edition of 'The Province of Jurisprudence determined,' a memoir of her husband full of pathos. From that time to 1863 she was laboriously engaged in preparing for the press a large mass of manuscript notes of his lectures, and in that year appeared 'Lectures on Jurisprudence, or the Science of Positive Law.' She was meditating the preparation of a new edition when she died on 8 Aug. 1867 at Weybridge from an acute attack of heart disease. Sarah Austin did not possess genius, but all she wrote is marked by nice discrimination and the touch of the true literary artist. Her style is clear, unaffected, and forcible. She had a high standard of the duties of a translator, and she sought to conform rigorously to it. 'It has been my invariable practice,' she herself said, 'as soon as I have engaged to translate a work, to write to the author of it, announcing my intention, and adding that if he has any correction, omission, or addition to make, he might depend on my paying attention to his suggestions.' She did much to make the best minds of Germany familiar to Englishmen, and she left a literary reputation due as much to her conversation and wide correspondence with illustrious men of letters as to her works.

The following is a list of her principal works, besides those already named: 1. 'Translation of a Tour in England, Ireland, and France by a German Prince,' 1832. 2. 'Translation of Raumer's England in 1835,' 1836. 3. 'Ranke's History of the Popes,' 1840. 4. 'Fragments from German Prose Writers,' 1841. 5. 'Niebuhr's Stories of the Gods and Heroes of Greece,' 1843. 6. 'Ranke's History of the Reformation in Germany,' 1845. 7. 'Translation of Guizot on the Causes of the Success of the English Revolution,' 1850. 8. 'Letters of Sydney Smith,' 1855 (second volume of Lady Holland's Life and Letters). 9. 'Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans,' 1859. 10. 'Lady Duff Gordon's Letters from Egypt,' edited by Mrs. Austin, 1865.

[John Stuart Mill's Autobiography; Sir George C. Lewis's Letters; Times, 12 Aug. 1867; Athenæum, August 1867.] J. M-L.

AUSTIN, WILLIAM (1587–1634), miscellaneous writer, was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and resided for many years in Southwark, where he acquired a great local reputation. His works, which are mainly of a religious character, were all published posthumously, but in his lifetime he distributed copies of them among his friends, among whom he reckoned James Howell, the author of the 'Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ,' and his neighbour, Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College. Austin's name appeared, with those of the chief contemporary men of letters, on the proposed list of members of the Royal Academy of Literature, projected in 1620, but subsequently abandoned (*Archæologia*, xxxii. 142). In a letter dated 20 Aug. 1628 Howell thanks Austin in extravagant terms for 'that excellent poem . . . upon the Passion of Christ' which 'transported me into a true Elysium,' and urges him to publish 'the other precious pieces of yours which you have been pleased to impart unto me' (*Epist. Ho-El.* bk. i. sect. 5, § 12). But Austin died on 16 Jan. 1633–4 at the age of forty-seven without having followed his friend's advice. He was buried in the parish church of St. Mary Overy or St. Saviour's, Southwark, on which he and his family had bestowed many rich gifts (Stow, *Survey of London* (1633), 453 *b*). An elaborate monument still stands above his grave. It bears a curious inscription, and was erected by Austin himself from his own designs to the memory of his first wife.

In 1635 there appeared a folio volume en-

titled 'Devotionis Augustinianæ Flamma, or Certayne Devout, Godly, and Learned Meditations: written by the Excelently Acomplisht Gentleman, William Austin of Lincolnes Inne, Esquier.' The title-page, which contains an admirably engraved portrait of the author, states that the work had been 'set forth after his decease by his deare wife and executrix, Mrs. Anne Austin.' The book opens with a meditation for Lady day, written in 1621, and closes with a funeral sermon in prose, and an epicedium or funeral dirge in verse, composed by Austin for himself, in which he deplores the loss of his first wife and many of his children. Two series of poems, entitled respectively 'Carols for Christmas Day' and 'Meditations for Good Friday,' are included in the volume, and to the latter Howell probably referred in the letter already noticed. Almost every page of the book displays a wide knowledge of the Bible and patristic literature, and justifies to some extent a friend's estimate of Austin as 'a gentleman highly approved for his religion, learning, and exquisite ingenuity.' A second edition of the 'Meditations' was published in 1637, and its success encouraged Austin's friends to produce in the same year another of his works entitled 'Hæc Homo, wherein the Excellency of the Creation of Woman is described by way of an Essay,' 12mo. The book consists of dreary scholastic disquisitions based on scriptural and classical quotations, and is said to have been suggested by Agrippa's 'De Nobilitate et Præcellentia Fœminei Sexus.' It is inscribed to 'Mistresse Mary Griffith,' to whom the editors refer as the author's 'paterne.' Before 1671, a third work of Austin's, a translation of Cicero's 'Cato Maior, or the Book of Old Age . . . with annotations upon the men and places,' 12mo, was published by a London stationer into whose hands the manuscript had accidentally fallen. It reached a second edition in 1671, and a third in 1684.

[Corser's Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, i. 94; Lowndes's Bibliographers' Manual; Prefatory Addresses in Austin's Hæc Homo and Cato Maior; Rendle's Old Southwark, pp. 188–90; Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, 1600–49, p. 146; Stow's Survey of London, ed. Strype, ii. 15.] S. L. L.

AUSTIN, WILLIAM (*fl.* 1662), a writer of verse and classical scholar, was the son of William Austin, the religious writer, and was a barrister of Gray's Inn. On the marriage of Charles II with Catherine of Braganza, Austin wrote two poems to celebrate the union, which were 'presented to their majesties' on their passage down the Thames from Hampton Court to Whitehall (23 Aug. 1662). The first was entitled 'A Joyous Welcome to the most Serene and most Illustrious Queen of Brides, Catherine the Royal Spouse and Consort of Charles II,' London, 1662, folio, and the second 'Triumphus Hymenæus, London's solemn Jubilee for the most auspicious Nuptials of their great Sovereign, Charles the Second,' London, 1662, folio. Both poems were elaborately printed, and are now highly prized as bibliographical rarities. They are full of bombastic eulogy, and are crowded with classical allusions, explained in voluminous and learned notes. In an address to the reader Austin not inaptly refers to his work as 'this thatcht Tugurium of Poesie.' In 1664 he produced a doggerel poem of similar calibre, bearing the title of 'Atlas under Olympus. An Heroick Poem by William Austin, of Gray's Inn, Esq. London, printed for the author, 1664,' 8vo. It was dedicated to Charles II and Monck, duke of Albemarle, and was a fulsome paneygric upon their achievements. Almost every line is based on a classical quotation, which is printed in each case at the foot of the page. Austin's most readable production is a prosaic description in verse of the plague of London. Its title runs: 'Ἐπιλοίμια ἔπη: or the Anatomy of the Pestilence. A Poem in three parts, describing the deplorable condition of the city of London under its merciless dominion, 1665. What the Plague is, together with the causes of it. As also, the Prognosticks and most effectual meanes of safety both preservative and curative. By William Austin, of Grayes Inne, Esq.' London, 1666, 8vo. In an address to the reader it is stated that the poem was written at the request of 'very worthy persons in the countrey at the time of the sickness when the mortality in London' reached 'seven or eight thousand a week with some hundreds over and above.' Although Austin here dispenses with classical allusions and annotations, he employs a number of Latin and Greek words in a slightly anglicised form. A portrait of the author is prefixed to the volume. Austin was buried in the parish church of Southwark, near the monument of his father, but the year of his death is uncertain.

[Corser's Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, i. 93–6; Hazlitt's Bibliographical Collections; prefatory addresses in Austin's Poems; Stow's Survey of London, ed. Strype, ii. 15.] S. L. L.

AUSTIN, WILLIAM (1754–1793), a physician of extensive practice, and author of a treatise on the stone, was born at Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, 28 Dec. 1754. His forefathers for several generations had

been clothiers in the town. William was the youngest of eight children. After receiving a classical education at the local grammar school he was admitted, in 1773, a commoner of Wadham College, Oxford. Here he began the study of Hebrew, and had in a short time made sufficient progress to obtain an exhibition. In body as well as mind he was distinguished by the extraordinary energy which he threw into his pursuits. He often walked from Oxford to London in a day, and, though a man of slender make, mowed an acre of heavy grass in a single day with his unaided scythe. He became a scholar of his college, and, as he had successfully studied Hebrew to obtain one exhibition, now mastered botany to gain another. His studies in botany determined his choice of a profession in the direction of physic. He made, however, one more learned digression, and, after graduating B.A. in 1776, was elected assistant tutor to Dr. White, Laudian professor of Arabic. After giving some lectures on Arabic, Austin in 1779 came to London and began his medical studies in earnest at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Percival Pott, the famous surgeon, formed a high opinion of Austin, and said to Earle, his colleague: 'You will see Austin at the head of his profession.' Austin went back to Oxford, and proceeded M.A. 1780, M.B. 1782, M.D. 1783. Among his many tastes was one for mathematics, and in 1781 he published some remarks on Euclid, Books I. to VI. In the same year, and after he had begun to practise as a physician at Oxford, he lectured on mathematics during the absence of the Savilian professor of geometry. In 1784 he planned, but did not deliver, a course of lectures on physiology, and in 1785 he was elected professor of chemistry. He became also physician to the Radcliffe Infirmary. In 1786, on a vacancy at St. Bartholomew's, Dr. Austin was elected physician to that hospital, and removed to London. He rapidly acquired a large private practice, but continued his chemical studies, and was the first to institute regular chemical lectures in the school of St. Bartholomew's. In 1790 he delivered the Gulstonian Lectures at the College of Physicians, of which he had been elected a fellow in 1787. The lectures were on the stone, and were published in 1791. Dr. Austin was twice married, and left four children by Miss Margaret Alanson, his second wife. He died on 21 Jan. 1793 of a rapid febrile disorder. He is known to have written sermons, but none of these have been printed, and his short mathematical treatise is not now to be found. Two papers (1788 and 1789) of his on 'Heavy Inflammable Air' were read before the Royal Society (*Phil. Trans.* lxxx. 51). His Gulstonian Lectures are printed as 'A Treatise on the Origin and Component Parts of the Stone in the Urinary Bladder' (London, 1791). This work contains a series of experiments made according to the defective chemistry of their time and of no permanent value. Their erroneous result is 'that the stone is formed generally in very small part, and often in no degree whatever, from the urine as secreted by the kidneys, but chiefly from the mucus produced from the sides of the different cavities through which the urine passes;' and this led the author to a melancholy conclusion as to a common form of the affection: that 'those who suffer this species of the disorder must either bear it for life or submit to a dreadful alternative, to an operation which few surgeons ever acquire the art of performing dexterously, and which, performed even by the most skilful, is by far the most dangerous of any that is practised in surgery.' The imperfect chemistry of his time was sufficient to lead Austin to one accurate conclusion, the variety of composition of hard concretions found throughout the body; and he also points out correctly that the hard matter found in the arteries of old people is calcareous, while the white substance covering the surface of gouty joints is not so. His last remark as to lithotomy led his surgical colleague, James Earle, to write a defence of the operation, in which he states that Austin afterwards modified his gloomy views as to the treatment of stone. Earle showed his remarks to Austin shortly before the doctor's death, and is the author of the kindly memoir of Austin prefixed to 'Practical Observations on the Operation for the Stone,' London, 1796.

[Earle's Memoir; Munk's College of Physicians, ii. 377.] N. M.

AUSTIN, WILLIAM (1721–1820), engraver and draftsman, was born in London in 1721. He was a pupil of George Bickham; but after having engraved a few plates, chiefly landscapes of no great merit, he relinquished the practice of the art, and devoted the remainder of his life to teaching drawing, first in London and afterwards in Brighton. Among his engravings are four plates of the 'Ruins of Ancient Rome,' after Pannini, four plates of the 'Ruins of Palmyra,' six 'Sea-pieces,' after Van Goyen, and 'The Four Times of the Day,' views in Holland after Waterloo, Ruisdael, Van Goyen, and Van der Neer. He likewise engraved with Paul Sandby, Vivares, and others, some views of 'Windsor Park' and 'Virginia Water,' and also published in 1781

a series of thirty plates, slightly etched from drawings by Andrea Locatelli, entitled 'A Specimen of Sketching Landscapes.' He for some time kept a print-shop, and published some political caricatures, which were mostly directed against the French, and in support of the administration of Charles James Fox. Six of these, 'French Spies attacked by British Bees,' and others, were engraved by himself in 1780. He died at Brighton 11 May 1820, at the advanced age of ninety-nine.

[Ottley's Notices of Engravers, 1831; Gent. Mag. 1820, i. 476.] R. E. G.

AVONDALE, Lord. [See Stewart.]

AVELING, THOMAS WILLIAM BAXTER (*d.* 1884), independent minister, received his theological training at Highbury College, and in 1838 was appointed to the pastorate of the Kingsland Congregational Church. Here he acquired a high reputation for eloquence and learning, his popularity with his flock being evinced by the fact that his connection with them was only terminated by his death, which took place at Reedham, near Croydon, 3 July 1884. In 1876 he was appointed chairman of the Congregational Union. He was also for many years the honorary secretary of the Asylum for Fatherless Children at Reedham. Some years before his death he received from the Washington University the degree of D.D. During his half-century of ministerial labour he published a large number of sermons and other fugitive pieces, and one work of a more substantial character, viz. 'Memorials of the Clayton Family,' 8vo, 1867, which, as it contains correspondence never before published of the Countess of Huntingdon and other persons eminent in the religious world of the last century, has some pretensions to the character of an original authority.

[Times, 5 July 1884; Congregational Year-book; Brit. Mus. Cat.] J. M. R.

AVERELL, ADAM (1754–1847), Irish primitive Wesleyan clergyman, was born on 7 May 1754 at Mullan, county Tyrone, where his family had settled in the sixteenth century. His parents were of the established church, and related to Dr. John Averell, bishop of Limerick, who died in 1771, aged 58. In 1773 Averell went to Trinity College, Dublin, the provost being the Right Hon. Francis Andrews, nephew of Bishop Averell. In 1774 he became private tutor to Sir Richard St. George. He was ordained at Clonfert by Bishop Cope on 25 July 1777, but took no charge. At this period he met John Wesley in Dublin, and heard him preach. In 1781 he went to Eton with his pupils; the next year he became alienated from his patron, St. George. On 18 Dec. 1785 he married the daughter and heiress of the Rev. R. Gregory of Tentower, Queen's County. He was at this time in the habit of preaching against the methodists, and lived as a man of the world, enjoying cards, hunting, and dancing. Two circumstances produced a change—the reading of Wesley's 'Appeal,' and an illness which seized him during some private theatricals. Becoming evangelical in his views and habits, he acted as curate to Dr. Ledwich at Aghaboe, 1789–91. He was offered in 1792 a curacy at Madeley, but preferred to exercise a gratuitous ministry nearer home. On 7 Oct. 1792 he preached for the first time to a methodist congregation; in 1796 the Dublin conference admitted him to full connection. In 1797 he was separated from his wife. In the division which was the result of the controversy respecting the administration of the sacraments by the preachers (1814–18), Averell took a prominent part with the conservatives who adhered to Wesley's polity, declaring on 21 Jan. 1818 at Clones that the methodists 'are not a church but a religious society.' The first meeting of the Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Conference was held on 10 July 1818; Averell was elected president, and constantly re-elected till after 1841, when his infirmities led him to decline office. He died on 16 Jan. 1847. The primitive Wesleyan body he represented (re-united since 1878, with few exceptions, to the Irish Wesleyan Conference) must not be confounded with the primitive methodists of English origin, who go to an opposite extreme.

[Memoirs by Alexander Stewart and George Revington, 1849, where a portrait is given.] A. G.

AVERY, BENJAMIN, LL.D. (*d.* 1764), physician, was originally a presbyterian minister at Bartholomew Close, London, but quitted the ministry in 1720, in consequence of the Salters' Hall controversy on subscription, 1719. He practised as a physician, and was treasurer of Guy's Hospital. He retained the confidence of his presbyterian brethren, and acted for several years as secretary to the dissenting deputies, organised 1732, for the protection of the rights and redress of the grievances of the three denominations. He also rendered important services to political and theological liberalism by contributing to the 'Occasional Papers,' collected in three volumes, 1716–19, sometimes called the 'Bagweell' papers, from a word formed

by the initials of their authors' surnames (Simon Browne, Avery, B. Grosvenor, D.D., Sam Wright, D.D., John Evans, D.D., Jabez Earle, D.D., Moses Lowman, Nathaniel Lardner; see *Monthly Repos.*, 1813, p. 443. Lowndes, under 'Occasional Papers,' erroneously gives Barnes for Browne, Eames for Earle, and omits Lardner), and not to be confounded with the 'Occasional Paper,' 1697–8, by Bishop Willis. Avery also conducted the 'Old Whig, or Consistent Protestant,' a weekly publication, 13 March 1735 to 13 March 1738, his chief coadjutors being G. Benson, S. Chandler, B. Grosvenor, C. Fleming, J. Foster, and M. Towgood; the collected issue, in two volumes, 1739, is not complete. In 1728 Avery edited James Peirce's posthumous sermons and 'Scripture Catechism;' he was probably the author of the Latin inscription prepared for Peirce's tomb. He was not concerned in the 'Independent Whig,' 20 Jan. 1720 to 4 Jan. 1721, edited by Thomas Gordon (reissued 1732–5 and 1743). He was a trustee of Dr. Williams's Library, 1728–64, and his portrait hangs in the library. He died 23 July 1764.

[Evans's List, Dr. Williams's Library; Bohn's Lowndes, 1864, pp. 1714, 2892; Turner's Lives of Eminent Unitarians, 1840, i. 207; Christian Reformer, 1848, p. 162; Inquirer, 29 June 1878.] A. G.

AVERY, JOHN? (*fl.* 1695), was a pirate, whose depredations in the Eastern seas, in the year 1695, occasioned much embarrassment to the East India Company and to the government. Having fitted out in the West Indies a ship mounting 46 guns, and with a motley crew of 130 men, he established himself at Perim and levied toll on all vessels passing in or out of the Red Sea, and especially on a large ship belonging to the Mogul himself, which he taxed to the extent of upwards of 300,000*l.* The Mogul retaliated on the company's officers at Surat, and put a stop to the English trade; but Avery, satisfied, for the time being, with his booty, and perhaps anticipating danger, returned to the West Indies, sold his ship, and dispersed the crew. Several of these were afterwards caught in Ireland or England, and some were executed; but of Avery himself—notwithstanding large rewards offered for his apprehension by both the government and the company—nothing was ever positively known. The received story is that he was a native of Plymouth; that, on his return to England, he lived for some time at Bideford; and that, having been cheated out of his vast wealth by some Bristol merchants, he died there, of rage and vexation, in extreme poverty. But the authority for these statements is extremely doubtful.

[John Bruce's Annals of the Hon. East India Company, vol. iii. pp. 188–223; Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies (1727), vol. i. p. 42; Captain Johnson's General History of the Pyrates (1724), p. 45, &c. Other and more detailed accounts—e.g. 'The Life and Adventures of Captain John Avery . . . now in possession of Madagascar, written by a person who made his escape from thence (1700);' or, 'The King of Pirates, being an account of the famous enterprizes of Captain Avery, the mock king of Madagascar, in two letters from himself' (1720), which has been attributed to Defoe—are fiction, with scarcely a substratum of fact.] J. K. L.

AVESBURY, ROBERT OF. [See ROBERT.]

AVERSHAWE, LOUIS JEREMIAH. [See ABERSHAW.]

AVISON, CHARLES (1710?–1770), musician, born at Newcastle, studied music in Italy, and on his return to England became a pupil of Geminiani. In 1736 he was appointed organist of St. Nicholas, at Newcastle, in which town he spent the remainder of his life. In 1752 he published his celebrated 'Essay on Musical Expression,' a work which created at the time considerable sensation by the boldness the author displayed in acknowledging his preference for the French and Italian school, and depreciating the Germans, with Handel at their head. The essay was translated into German, and was answered in 1753 by Dr. Hayes's 'Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay,' which was published anonymously, though the name of the author was an open secret. Avison replied in the same year, but it was generally considered that Hayes had the best of the argument, although Avison's work was superior from a literary point of view. Avison died at Newcastle 9 May 1770. Besides his essay he published several sets of sonatas and concertos, some of which long continued popular, and he also edited an edition in eight volumes of Marcello's Psalms. A life by Avison is prefixed to the first. Very little is known of his life, but he had the reputation of being a man of great culture and polish, and for many years was the chief of a small circle of musical amateurs in the north of England who were devoted to his views.

[Hawkins's History of Music, vol. ii. (ed. 1875); the Georgian Era, vol. iii. 1834; Gent. Mag. for 1808; article by E. Taylor in S. D. U. K. Dictionary.] W. B. S.

AVONMORE, LORD. [See YELVERTON.]

AWDELAY, JOHN (*fl.* 1426), was a canon of the monastery of Haghmon, Shrop-

shire, in the early part of the fifteenth century. He wrote some verses, chiefly devotional, which are preserved among the Douce MSS. in the Bodleian Library. A selection from these pieces was made by Mr. J. O. Halliwell in 1844 for the Percy Society. The author describes himself as deaf and blind. Judged by his writings, he seems to have been of an unworldly and devout character. The verses have some interest as being early specimens of the Salopian dialect.

[Percy Society Publications, 1844.]

A. H. B.

AWDELAY, or **AWDELEY**, JOHN, otherwise called JOHN SAMPSON and SAMPSON AWDELAY (*fl.* 1559–1577), was a London printer and miscellaneous writer. Dibdin assumed that he was an original member of the Stationers' Company, which was incorporated by charter in 1556; but from a reference to him in the company's register of that date, he would appear to have been merely a printer's apprentice at the time (ARBER'S *Transcript of the Stationers' Register*, i. 47). Before 1559, however, he had become a freeman of the company; on 24 Aug. of that year he 'presented' an apprentice of his own, and on 6 Nov. obtained licenses for printing his first publication, a 'morning and evenyng prayer.' From 1561 to 1571 his name occurs repeatedly in the Stationers' Registers as obtaining licenses for printing books and pamphlets, and as 'presenting' apprentices, and throughout those years he apparently drove a thriving trade. On several occasions he was fined for illegally printing 'other men's copy,' and on 22 July 1561 a penalty of 'xij^{d}' was imposed on him 'for that he ded revile Rychard Lante with unseemely words.' The last mention of him in the Stationers' Registers is under the year 1577, when with other printers he signed a petition to the queen against certain monopolies in printing recently granted by her, and nothing is known of him after that date. He dwelt in Little Britain Street, described on his title-pages as 'without Aldersgate' or 'by Great S. Bartholomew's.'

Awdelay's publications were of an essentially popular kind, and consisted mainly of ballads, news sheets, and religious tracts. One of the most important books reprinted and published by him was Fitzherbert's 'Boke of Husbandry.' Many of his publications were of his own composition. One of the earliest of them, 'The Wonders of England,' 1559, a folio sheet of eleven ten-line stanzas, relating to English historical events from the death of Edward VI to the accession of Elizabeth, was from his pen. But the most important of his literary efforts was a little volume entitled 'The Fraternitye of Vacabondes,' licensed about July 1561, and published by himself in 1565. It is an elaborate description of the habits and organisation of the beggars of the day, and is of great value to the student of social history. On the back of the title-page are some doggerel verses by the author. It was reprinted in 1565 and in 1575, and Harman's 'Caveat,' a book on the same subject published in 1575, was obviously largely indebted to it. Awdelay was strongly opposed to catholicism, and wrote some verses to warn 'the symple sorte' against its delusions, as a preface to 'A briefe Treatise agaynst certayn Errors of the Romish Church, by Gregory Scot,' published by him in 1574. Awdelay's other works were: 1. 'Ecclesi. xx., Remember death and thou shalt never sinne,' 30 April 1569 (sheet). 2. 'Cruel Assault of God's Fort,' in verse (sheet). 3. 'Epitaphe upon Death of Mayster John Veron, preacher. Quod John Awdelay' (fol. sheet). 4. 'A Godly Ditty or Prayer to be song unto God for the preservation of his Church, our Queene and Realme, against all Traytours, Rebels, and Papistical Enemies, by John Awdelay,' 1570 (broadside). 5, 6. It is probable that the epitaphs of 'Doctour Hodden' and 'Masterr Fraunces Benyson,' published by Awdelay in 1570–1, were also written by him.

[Arber's Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, i. 47–442 passim; Hazlitt's Bibliographical Handbook, p. 18; Hazlitt's Collections (1867–1876), p. 18; Ames's Typographical Antiq. ed. Herbert and Dibdin, iv. 563; Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica; Collier's Stationers' Registers, i. 23, 42; Awdelay's Fraternitye of Vacabondes, ed. Viles and Furnivall, reprinted for the Early English Text Society in 1869, and for the New Shakspere Society in 1880.]

S. L. L.

AXTEL, DANIEL (*d.* 1660), parliamentarian, of whose early life nothing is known, was of good family, and apprentice to a grocer in Watling Street—facts not then inconsistent with each other. See also 3d ed.

At a fast-day sermon he was convinced of the righteousness of the parliament cause, and forthwith entered the army. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was active in the 'Purge' associated with the name of Colonel Pride, and in the subsequent transactions leading to the king's trial. On that occasion he commanded the soldiers in Westminster Hall. He accompanied Cromwell in his Irish expedition, and was appointed governor of Kilkenny. When the Long parliament had been expelled and Henry Cromwell took charge of Ireland, Axtel was one of the malcontents who de-

murred to his authority and resigned their commissions, but resumed his position in 1659. After the Cromwell family had fallen from power, and Ludlow had taken the command of the soldiers in Ireland, Axtel was one of those sent back to England to maintain the republic against the imminent Restoration. But when Monk was marching on London, and Lambert advanced to oppose him, Lambert's troops, the Irish contingent of which was under Ludlow's officers, revolted to their former Cromwellian commanders, and so weakened Lambert's army that Monk marched on peaceably to London. Axtel retired into private life, only emerging to support Lambert in his futile attempt to revolt, April 1660. At the Restoration Axtel was excepted from the bill of indemnity in July, and from the general pardon in August. On 10 Oct. he was arraigned at the Old Bailey for compassing and imagining the death of the king. The chief overt acts adduced in support of the charge were his command of soldiers at the trial, his threat to shoot Lady Fairfax for her interruption of the proceedings, his beating the soldiers to make them cry 'justice' and 'execution,' and his personal insults to Charles. These last he positively denied; for the rest he pleaded justification, since what he had done was by the authority of parliament and the command of Fairfax. He made the absurd suggestion that he might have beaten the soldiers for crying out, and repeated their words, 'I'll justice you!' 'I'll execution you!' and added, 'But the word execution of justice is a high and glorious word.' The court disposed of his main plea by the reminder that the House of Commons had been reduced to its eighth part by the violence of the army, twenty-six only voting for the act in question, and that, even had the house retained its full numbers, it could still have possessed no coercive power over the sovereign. After protesting that he had had no hand in the king's death, Axtel was condemned. Then his self-confidence returned. He was murdered, he said, for the good old cause. He assumed the tone of a martyr, and even ventured a prophecy that the surplice and Common Prayer Book would not be long in England. He bewailed his general depravity, but justified everything he had done, and hinted a parallel between his own sufferings and those of the Redeemer. The sentence for treason was fully carried out, and his head was set up 'on the further end of Westminster Hall.'

[Ludlow's Memoirs; State Trials.] R. C. B.

AYLESBURY, Sir THOMAS (1576–1657), a patron of mathematical learning, was born in London in 1576, the second son of William Aylesbury and Anne Poole, his wife. Of his father's position nothing is known beyond the fact mentioned by Lloyd (*Memoirs* (1677), p. 699), that his ancestors were high-sheriffs of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in the reigns of the second and third Edwards. From Westminster School Aylesbury passed in 1598 to Christ Church, Oxford, where he took the degrees of B.A. and M.A. in 1602 and 1605 respectively. His strict application to study, especially of a mathematical kind, brought him into favourable notice; and on quitting college he was appointed secretary to the Earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral of England. So well did he use the opportunities both of improvement and distinction offered by this post, that he was continued in it by Buckingham, Nottingham's successor (1618), who befriended him actively, procuring for him the additional offices of one of the masters of requests and master of the mint, with (19 April 1627) the title of baronet. This prosperity enabled him to exercise the utmost liberality towards men of learning. To the indigent he allowed regular pensions, or maintained them at his country seat in Windsor Park, while many more enjoyed his patronage and the hospitality of his table in London. Amongst his dependants were Thomas Warner, a mathematician, who at his request wrote a treatise on coins and coinage; Thomas Allen, of Oxford, whom he recommended to Buckingham, and who made him the depositary of his astrological writings; and the celebrated Thomas Harriot, who bequeathed to him, with Viscount Lisle and Robert Sidney, the whole of his valuable papers. Many of these, with other precious manuscripts and rare books collected by or bestowed upon him, were either lost during the civil war, or sold in Aylesbury's time of distress abroad. For in 1642 he was, as a steady royalist, stripped of his fortune and places, and on the death of the king retired with his family to Antwerp, whence he removed in 1652 to Breda, and there died in 1657 at the age of 81. He was, Anthony à Wood says, 'a learned man, and as great a lover and encourager of learning and learned men, especially of mathematicians (he being one himself), as any man in his time.' He had issue one son, William Aylesbury, and a daughter Frances, married to the great Earl of Clarendon, by whom she became the mother of Anne Hyde, first wife of James II., and mother of the two queens, Mary and Anne.

[Biog. Brit. (1747), i. 308; Wood, Fasti Oxon. i. 306; Archæologia, xxxii. 142.] A. M. C.

AYLESBURY, THOMAS (*fl.* 1622–1659), theologian, was educated at Cambridge, where he took the degrees of M.A. and B.D. By incorporation he was granted similar degrees at Oxford, the first on 9 July 1622, and the second on 10 July 1626. He was the author of: 1. 'Sermon preached on Paul's Cross, June 1622, on Luke xvii. 37,' London, 1623. 2. 'Paganisme and Papisme parallel'd and set forth in a Sermon at the Temple Church upon the Feast Day of All Saints, 1623, by Thomas Ailesbury, Student in Diuinite' (dedicated to the Earl of Southampton). 3. 'Treatise of the Confession of Sin, with the Power of the Keys,' 1657. 4. 'Diatribæ de æterno divini beneplaciti circa creaturas intellectuales decreto, ubi patrum consulta, scholasticorum scita et modernorum placita ad Sacræ Scripturæ amussim et orthodoxæ ecclesiæ tribunal deferuntur,' Cambridge, 1659, and republished (according to Watt) in 1661. This work, which, like all Aylesbury's writings, was of a strongly Calvinistic character, was dedicated to the protestant churches of Europe.

[Wood's Fasti Oxon. (ed. Bliss), i. 408, 427; Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica; S. D. U. K. Biog. Dict.; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

AYLESBURY, WILLIAM (1615–1656), a translator from the Italian, who, although a supporter of Charles I, obtained an office under the Commonwealth, was the son of Sir Thomas Aylesbury [see AYLESBURY, SIR THOMAS]; in 1628 he became a gentleman-commoner at Christ Church, Oxford, and took his bachelor's degree in 1631, at the early age of sixteen (WOOD, *Fasti Oxon.* i. 460). His sister Frances married Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon. Although possessing a large fortune, Aylesbury soon afterwards became, at the invitation of Charles I, governor to the young Duke of Buckingham and his brother, Lord Francis Villiers, and travelled with them through France and Italy. In 1640 Aylesbury was residing at Paris, and in his correspondence with his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hyde, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library among the 'Clarendon Papers,' bitterly lamented the course of English politics under the Long parliament. In the middle of May 1641 he returned from Paris to London with the Earl of Leicester, the English ambassador at the French court, with whom he had been apparently living in an official capacity for some months (*Cal. State Papers*, 1640–1, pp. 558, 561, 562). Shortly afterwards he presented his former pupils to the king at Oxford, who promised him the next vacancy among the grooms of the chambers, but the promise was never fulfilled, and Aylesbury continued in the service of the Duke of Buckingham, as his agent, until the final defeat of the royalists.

During his interview with Charles I, the king urged Aylesbury, who was well acquainted with Italian, to continue a translation of Davila's 'History of the French Civil Wars,' which he had just begun, and during the following years he was mainly engaged in the work; but he was only in England at intervals, and witnessed his royal patron's disasters from the safe distance of Paris or Rome. He and his friend, Sir Charles Cotterel, who materially aided him, received, however, frequent encouragement from the king. In spite of his political troubles, Charles, in fact, read through the whole of the manuscript before the book was printed. The translation was published with a dedication to the king in 1647, and bore the title, 'The Historie of the Civil Warres of France, written in Italian by H. C. Davila. Translated out of the originall.' London, 1647, fol.

On the fall of Charles I, Aylesbury sought refuge with his father, first at Amsterdam, and afterwards at Antwerp; and he took under his protection his sister, Lady Hyde. But his poverty, caused by the confiscation of the property of his family, forced him in 1650 to return to England, and retiring to the neighbourhood of Oxford, he lived on the charity of his more fortunate friends. Early in 1656, however, he obtained the office of secretary to Major-general Sedgwick, who had just been appointed governor of Jamaica, and finally left England. For a few months he took an active part in the government of the island, but he died on 24 Aug. in the same year. A letter conveying the news of his death to Secretary Thurloe describes him as 'a man well versed in the weighty affairs of state, who in his counsels and advice, both to army and fleet, was very useful, for the want of which we shall have more and more to grieve.' Aylesbury's translation of Davila was republished in 1678 with a preface by Sir Charles Cotterel, who there claimed for himself the execution of the greater part of the original version.

[Wood, Athen. Oxon. (ed. Bliss), iii. 440; Biographia Britannica; Macray's Calendar of Clarendon State Papers, i. and ii.; Addit. MS. 15857, f. 23; Thurloe's State Papers, v. 154, 155, 170; Dedication to the translation of Davila (1647); Prefatory Address to the edition of 1678.] S. L. L.

AYLESFORD, EARL OF. [See FINCH.]

AYLETT, ROBERT (1583–1655?), was author of a volume of religious verse entitled 'Divine and Moral Speculations in Metrical Numbers upon Various Subjects. By Doctor R. Aylet, one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery. London . . . 1654.' It was dedicated to 'Henry Lord Marquesse of Dorchester and his incomparable lady,' as 'the humblest of their servants.' There are prefixed commendatory poems by Sir Robert Beaumont, Bart., and James Howell, and a W. Martin. In some copies there is inserted before the title-page a cunningly engraved portrait, with this inscription on the upper left-hand corner, 'Æt. 52, 1635.' Aylett was thus born about 1583. He was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and commenced LL.D. in 1614. He is represented as a hard student who lightened his professional labours with 'the relaxation of poetry.' Except his odd 'A Wife not ready-made but bespoke, by Dicus the Batchelor, and made up for him by his fellow shepheard Tityrus; in four pastoral eclogues' (1653), his entire verse is 'sacred.' Its main feature is pious aphoristic thought, after the type of George Herbert's poems of 'The Temple.' His 'Divine and Moral Speculations' start with a semi-paraphrase of the 'Song of Songs,' which is succeeded by 'The Brides Ornaments'—a series of meditations of 'Heavenly Love,' 'Humility,' 'Repentance,' Faith,' 'Hope,' 'Justice and Righteousness,' 'Truth,' 'Mercy,' 'Fortitude,' 'Heavenly Knowledge,' 'Zeal,' 'Temperance,' 'Bounty,' 'Joy,' 'Prudence,' 'Obedience,' 'Meeknesse,' 'God's Word,' 'Prayer,' &c. These 'four books' of meditations are followed firstly by 'Five Moral Meditations' of 'Concord and Peace, Chastity, Constancy, Courtesy, and Gravity;' and secondly by 'Five Divine and Moral Meditations' of 'Frugality, Providence, Diligence, Labour and Care, and Death.' The whole closes with 'A Funerall Elegy, consecrated to the memory of his ever honoured lord John King, late Lord Bishop of London.' We gather from the volume two personal facts, (*a*) that his 'muse' had been 'whilome swayd by lust of youth' to spend 'her strength in idle wanton toys,' but was now summoned to holy strains; (*b*) that he was in 1654 a sufferer from ague (p. 476).

The 'Divine and Moral Speculations' were probably published separately long before 1654. Earlier impressions are found of two other poems by Aylett: 'Svsanna, or the Arraignment of the Two Unjust Elders' (in four books), and 'Joseph, or Pharaoh's Favorite'—both of which are often bound up with the 'Speculations,' and usually dated 1654. Of 'Svsanna' an anonymous R. C. (wrongly assigned to Richard Crashaw) wrote:—

> In all thy poems thou dost wondrous well,
> But thy Susanna doth them all excell.

Of 'Joseph' another wrote:—

> Susanna was of all thy poems best,
> But Joseph her excels, as she the rest.

'Peace with her Four Gardens' (1622) (mentioned along with others in *Censura Literaria*, vol. v.) was incorporated with the 'Meditations' above enumerated, as was 'Thrift's Equipage' (1622).

Anthony à Wood queried whether Dr. Aylett were not author of 'Britannia Antiqua Illustrata,' published under the name of Aylett Sammes. Aylett disappears about 1655.

[Works, ut supra; Cens. Liter.; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 328, ii. 363; Granger's Portraits; Hazlitt's Handbook.] A. B. G.

AYLIFFE, JOHN, LL.D. (1676–1732), jurist, was born at Pember, Hampshire, in 1676. He was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, where he matriculated February 1696, became B.A. 1699, M.A. 1703, LL.B. and LL.D. 1710. Up to 1710 he practised as a proctor in the chancellor's court, and 'had a prospect,' he tells us, 'of succeeding to some chancellorship or other preferment in the church of the like nature.' But his political opinions stood in the way. He was an ardent whig at a time when Oxford was the home of Jacobitism; and as he seems to have omitted no occasion of making his opinions known, he was subjected, according to his own account, to 'lawsuits and other persecutions, for the sake of my adhering to the principles of the Revolution; which shall be the test of my loyalty so long as I live.' What these lawsuits and other persecutions were we have no means of knowing; but the publication of the book from which we quote this complaint brought his sufferings to a climax. In 1712, on the advice of his friends, he issued a specimen of a work on Oxford for which he had collected materials while practising in the chancellor's court; but, whether from a belief that he would so sketch the history of the university as to malign the Stuarts, or that he would pry too curiously into the internal affairs of colleges, the scheme was received with such disfavour that he had thoughts of abandoning it. The book was published, however, in 1714, about a week before the queen's death. A few months afterwards Ayliffe was summoned before the university court at the suits of Dr. Gardiner, then vice-chancellor, and of Dr. Braithwaite, the former vice-

chancellor, for certain words highly reflecting on them. In the passage which gave offence (i. 216) he had gone out of his way to say that the funds of the Clarendon Printing House had been misappropriated—an accusation which he afterwards said should have been made more specifically, as he had evidence to prove that Gardiner was a partaker in the spoil. The result was that Ayliffe was expelled from the university, and deprived of all privileges and degrees. Meanwhile he was attacked by Cobb, the warden of New College, for another passage (i. 322), where he remarked on the thin crop of eminent men of which that college could then boast 'through the supine negligence of a late warden, and the discouragements arising from domestick quarrels, and the forgetfulness of such as owe some gratitude to the memory of a munificent founder.' He was accused, moreover, of disobedience, and of having in a conversation with one Prince threatened to pistol the warden. This last charge Ayliffe did not deny. According to his own account he had said 'that if the warden shou'd distress him by any unjust expulsion, he might be driven to such an extremity for want of a subsistence (having only a fellowship to live on) as to pistol the warden; and the said Prince did readily agree with this respondent, that it was only doing himself justice.' Rather than make submission he resigned his fellowship. The whole story is told in a pamphlet, called the 'Case of Dr. Ayliffe at Oxford,' and published in 1716. In the 'Gent. Mag.' (lxxiv. 646) the pamphlet is referred to as 'a vindication of himself,' and certainly its heated style and the nature of the legal knowledge which it displays leave little doubt that Ayliffe either wrote or inspired it. Apart from the matters directly in question he mentions among the real causes of the proceedings his insinuation that the unwillingness of several colleges to give him an account of their benefactors was 'an argument of their perverting the uses of the charity,' his protest against the negative voice claimed by some heads of colleges, and his political opinions. On the last point there is some confirmation in a letter from Oxford published in the 'Political State of Great Britain' (1716, xii. 649). The writer gives instances to show how difficult it was for a whig to live at Oxford, and says: 'Dr. Ayliffe too must be publicly expelled. Several points were pretended, but they were easily seen thro'. If Oxford be a Jacobite seminary, who can expect Hanoverian principles should be there tolerated?' And Amherst tells us of a public speech delivered just after the king's accession, in which Ayliffe was violently abused, and which contained the words: 'hisce mediis ad aulam affectat viam; abeat, discedat; conveniunt mores' (*Terræ Filius*, xiv.) The greater part of Ayliffe's 'Ancient and Present State of Oxford,' which occasioned these attacks, is avowedly an abridgment of Wood's 'History and Antiquities of Oxford,' 'deliver'd,' as he says, 'from the many errors and evident partiality of that laborious undertaker and searcher into antiquities.' The work enters into legal details at tedious length, and is now nearly forgotten. Ayliffe's chief titles to fame are his two treatises on the canon law and the civil law, into which he threw the whole learning of his life. The 'Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani' appeared in 1726, and, though time and the labours of later writers on ecclesiastical law have diminished its value, it is still regarded as a work of high authority (see 'Veley *v.* Burder,' 12 A. and E. 302). He died 5 Nov. 1732. In 1734 was published the first volume of a 'New Pandect of the Civil Law,' which he had written some years before, but had kept back from lack of subscriptions. There was at the time an awakening interest in the civil law, and Ayliffe designed his book not only for the lawyer, but also for the politician and the diplomatist. He considered, moreover, that his subject had a higher educational value than philosophy. 'Whoever consults Justinian's Institutes,' he had said in his history of Oxford, 'will find more sound reasoning therein than in all the works of Ramus, Ockham, and the rest of that tribe.' Ayliffe's treatise has been described as dull, tedious, and confused (Browne's *Comp. View of the Civil Law*, p. ii), and with some justice; for under his great weight of learning he did not move easily. And this may be the reason why, in spite of its comprehensiveness and accuracy, it has not had the reputation of works so much inferior as Wood's 'Institutes' and Taylor's 'Elements.' Though never finished, it remains to our own day the most elaborate treatise on modern Roman law written in English.

1. 'The Ancient and Present State of the University of Oxford,' 2 vols, 1714, reprinted in 1723. The appendix contains a number of charters, decrees, &c., relating both to Oxford and Cambridge. 2. 'The Case of Dr. Ayliffe at Oxford: giving, *first*, an Account of the Unjust and Malicious Prosecution of him in the Chancellor's Court of that University, for Writing and Publishing a Book, entituled the *Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford:* And *secondly*, an Account of the Proceedings had against him

in his College, chiefly founded on the Prosecution of the University; whereby he was oblig'd to quit the one, and was expell'd the other,' 1716. Probably written by Ayliffe.) 3. 'Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani; or a Commentary by way of Supplement to the Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England,' &c., 1726; 2nd edition, 1734. The titles are alphabetically arranged. There is an historical introduction, and appended to the work is a catalogue of the monastic and religious houses dissolved by Henry VIII, with their yearly value. 4. 'The Law of Pledges, or Pawns, as it was in use among the Romans, and as it is now practiced in most foreign Nations,' 1732. This was a publication by anticipation of Book IV. Tit. 18 of the work on the civil law, and was addressed to the House of Commons, then making inquiries into what Ayliffe called 'the dark recesses and malepractices of pawn-brokers and their accomplices in iniquity.' 5. 'A New Pandect of *Roman* Civil Law, as anciently established in that Empire, and now received and practiced in most European Nations,' &c., vol. i., 1734. The second volume never appeared. The entry of '2 vols.' in the 'Biblioth. Jurid.' of Lipenius is a mistake.

[The Case of Dr. Ayliffe at Oxford; references to himself in his other works; Notice by Burton in S. D. U. K. Biog. Dict.; Gent. Mag. lxxiv. 646, 855, lxxxix. 956; Rawlinson's MSS. fol. 16, 105.] G. P. M.

AYLMER, CHARLES, D.D. (1786–1847), an Irish Jesuit, born at Painstown, county Kildare, 29 Aug. 1786. He entered the Society of Jesus at Stonyhurst College, in Lancashire, and was created D.D. in 1814 while at Palermo, where he was stationed for several years. For the use of the British catholics in that city he, in conjunction with two of his brethren, Paul Ferley and Bartholomew Esmonde, compiled 'A short Explanation of the Principal Articles of the Catholic Faith' (Palermo, at the royal printing-office), 1812, 12mo; and 'The Devout Christian's Daily Companion, being a Selection of pious Exercises for the use of Catholics' (Palermo, 1812, 12mo). He became rector of Clongowes College, in Ireland, in 1817, was professed of the four vows 16 Jan. 1820, and lived in Dublin from about the year 1821 till his death on 4 July 1847. He was superior of the Dublin Residence in 1816, 1822, and 1829 (when the first stone of the church in Gardiner Street was laid), and again in 1841. Father Aylmer promoted in Dublin a society for the printing of catholic books. His brother was an officer of Austrian cuirassiers, and was considered one of the best swordsmen in that service.

[Caballero, Bibliothecæ Scriptorum Soc. Jesu Supplementa. Supplementum alterum (Rome, 1816), 3; Hogan's Chronological Cat. of the Irish Province S. J. 88; Narbone's Bibliografia Sicola, iii. 342; De Backer's Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Société de Jésus (1869), 348.] T. C.

AYLMER, JOHN (1521–1594), bishop of London, whose name, contracted from the Saxon Æthelmær, appears also as Ælmer or Elmer, was born of an ancient family long resident at their ancestral seat of Aylmer Hall, in the parish of Tivetshall St. Mary, Norfolk. When a schoolboy he attracted the notice of Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, and afterwards duke of Suffolk, by whose liberality he was sent to be educated at Cambridge. He is said to have been a fellow of Queens' College, at that time a noted resort of the more advanced reformers, but this is a matter of some uncertainty. He proceeded B.A. in 1541, and, shortly after taking orders, was installed by his patron as his private chaplain and also as tutor to his children at Bradgate in Leicestershire. In this latter capacity he became the instructor of Lady Jane Grey, whose testimony to his merits as one who taught 'gently,' 'pleasantly,' and 'with such fair allurements to learning,' is preserved in the well-known story told by Ascham (*Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, pp. 33–34). He appears to have turned his advantages at Cambridge to good account, for Thomas Becon, in his 'Jewel of Joy' (*Works*, ed. Ayre, ii. 424), speaks of him as being at this time 'excellently well learned' in both Latin and Greek.

On 15 June, 1553, Aylmer was installed archdeacon of Stow, in the diocese of Lincoln, but having ventured in convocation to oppose the doctrine of transubstantiation, he was deprived of all his preferments, and soon afterwards fled for safety to the Continent. He resided first at Strassburg, and afterwards at Zürich, both chief centres of reunion for the Marian exiles, until the accession of Elizabeth. During these years he occupied himself with the instruction of sundry young English gentlemen who had also temporarily quitted their country, and also in assisting John Fox, the martyrologist, in a Latin translation of the 'Acts and Monuments.' The fact that Aylmer was solicited by Fox to render him this assistance is evidence of his reputation as an accurate Latin scholar, while Aylmer's testimony (that of no lenient critic) to the correctness and merits of Fox's great work is still

on record (Strype, *Life of Aylmer*, pp. 8–10).

On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and was appointed one of eight divines to hold a disputation at Westminster with a corresponding number of the Roman Catholic persuasion. In 1562, through the influence of one of his pupils abroad (Thomas Dannet) with Cecil, he was promoted to the valuable archdeaconry of Lincoln. For the next fourteen years he resided in that city, attending to the affairs of the diocese, and occasionally assisting Archbishop Parker in his efforts on behalf of learning by researches in the cathedral library. He sat in convocation in 1562, and subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles. In 1573 he received by accumulation the degrees of B.D. and D.D. at Oxford.

On 24 March, 1576–7, Aylmer was consecrated bishop of London in succession to Sandys, and from this time his arbitrary and unconciliatory disposition comes frequently into unpleasing prominence. He quarrelled with his predecessor (a man like himself of hot temper) respecting their relative claims to the revenues of the bishopric, and again on the question of dilapidations. His rule of his diocese was characterised by exceptional severity, fines and sentences of imprisonment being frequently imposed on those who differed from him on doctrinal questions, whether puritans or catholics. A young bookseller who had sold a copy of the celebrated 'Admonition to Parliament,' a work attributed to Cartwright, in which the episcopal office in the abstract and the actual holders of it in the English church were alike unsparingly criticised, was also committed by him to prison. He used his best endeavours to crush the recently revived university press at Cambridge (*State Papers, Domestic*, Eliz. clxi. 1). The unpopularity which he evoked by these and similar measures is indicated by an information which was laid against him about this time for having felled all the elms at Fulham, a charge which Strype denounces as a 'shameful untruth.' Aylmer appears, however, to have become conscious that his opportunities for usefulness in his diocese were to a great degree lost, and made more than one unsuccessful attempt to obtain his removal to a less laborious see, to Ely or Winchester. Whitgift, who appears to have approved his policy in general, appointed him to preach before the queen on her birthday in 1583; but Aylmer having shortly after ventured to obtain the royal warrant for committing Cartwright, the great puritan leader, to prison, Elizabeth, with her habitual disingenuousness, deeming it prudent to disavow the proceedings, manifested signs of her displeasure. His enemies, who were not few, endeavoured to avail themselves of this circumstance by bringing forward charges against him of misappropriation of the episcopal revenues, an accusation which he appears to have successfully repelled by furnishing Burghley with a detailed account of his financial position and that of the see. In the same year, when on a visitation in Essex, he only escaped a public insult in Maldon Church through having been apprised of the design beforehand. Having learned the names of the instigators, he showed his usual resentful temper by sending them to prison. It is not surprising to find that when, in 1588, the Martin Marprelate tracts appeared, Aylmer was singled out for their fiercest satire. The closing years of his life showed, however, no softening in his policy. He took a leading part in the deprivation of Robert Cawdrey, a clergyman at Luffenham, for some injudicious remarks respecting the prayer-book—a measure that resulted in four years of irritating litigation. He also suspended, on like grounds, 'silver-tongued Smith,' a young and able divine, and the most popular preacher of the day; and again (much against the wish and advice of Burghley) Robert Dyke, of St. Albans.

Elizabeth appears to have been desirous of seconding Aylmer's wish to be removed to another see, and suggested that of Worcester, and Bancroft as his successor in London. Negotiations with this view were accordingly commenced, but Aylmer's impracticability of temper led him to insist on conditions which Bancroft would not accede to, and after three ineffectual endeavours to arrive at an understanding the latter abstained from all further discussion on the subject. Shortly before his death, however (3 June, 1594), Aylmer expressly intimated his hope that Bancroft might succeed him (*MSS. Baker*, xxxvi. 335).

He was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral, but the 'fair stone of grey marble' which marked the place of his interment no longer appears. The inscription, which was altogether free from fulsome eulogy, sententiously recorded that he

> Ter senos annos Præsul; semel Exul, et idem
> Bis Pugil in causa religionis erat.

He married Judith Bures, a lady of Suffolk, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. Of the former, one (Samuel) was sheriff for the county of Suffolk; another (John) was knighted, and resided at

Rigby in Lincolnshire. Later descendants of Aylmer are Colonel Whitgift Aylmer, who died 1701 (Le Neve, *Monum. Angl.*, 1650–1718, pp. 190, 197), and Brabazon Aylmer, Esq., of the Middle Temple, who married Miss Bragge 31 July 1735 (*Gent. Mag.*, 1735, p. 500 *a*). Aylmer was succeeded in his see after some interval by Richard Vaughan, whom he had befriended in his lifetime, and who appears to have been related to him either by marriage or descent (Baker, *Hist. of St. John's College*, ed. Mayor, p. 255).

Aylmer is supposed to be designated by Spenser in his 'Shepheard's Calendar' (July) under the name of Morrell, the 'proude and ambitious pastour'—the name being formed by syllabic transposition from Elmer, just as Algrind, in the same eclogue, is formed from Grindal. The puritans in like manner nicknamed him Marelme (*Hay any Worke for Cooper*, ed. Petheram, pp. 24, 26).

It can hardly be questioned that, both from his views and his temperament, Aylmer was ill qualified to fill the episcopal office in the trying times in which he lived. He gave especial offence to the puritans by his endeavour to introduce that conception of Sunday observance which the Anglican party at large subsequently sanctioned, and his practice of playing at bowls on the sacred day was a source of much scandal (Marprelate's *Epistle*, pp. 6, 52, 54). Like Laud, whom in some respects he much resembles, he deserves to be commended for his attachment to learning and for his discerning patronage of scholars. He was an accomplished logician, was well acquainted with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, had studied history, and had the reputation of being a good civilian. His reputation as a scholar and a writer is indicated by the fact that, like Dr. Still and Alexander Nowell, he was requested to compose a confutation of the 'Disciplina' of Walter Travers, the recognised text-book of both the earlier and the later puritanism (Churton's *Nowell*, p. 223); Burghley also urged upon him the task of replying to the 'Ten Reasons' of Campian, the Jesuit. With neither of these requests did he think fit, however, to reply.

The only one of his works that here calls for notice is his reply to the 'Monstrous Regiment of Women' of John Knox, entitled 'An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subjects, against the late blowne Blaste, concerning the Government of Women. Strasburgh, 1559'—a composition the merits of which are admitted by Knox's own biographer, Dr. M'Crie. Of his other writings (chiefly sermons and devotional works) full particulars will be found in Cooper's 'Athenæ Cantabrigienses,' ii. 171–2.

[Life by Strype; see also a copy with MS. notes by Baker in St. John's Coll. Library, Cam.; Cooper, Athenæ Cantabrigienses; the Marprelate Tracts, *passim*; Maskell's History of the Martin Marprelate Controversy; Clarke's Ipswich, 447; Ashmolean MSS.; Nicolas's Life of Sir Chr. Hatton, index; Marshall's Genealogist's Guide; Marsden's Early Puritans; Haweis' Sketches of the Reformation; Hunt's History of Religious Thought, i. 73–76; Zürich Letters; Maitland's Essays on the Reformation, 200–225; M'Crie's Life of Knox, 162–167.] J. B. M.

AYLMER, MATTHEW, Lord Aylmer (*d.* 1720), admiral and commander-in-chief, was the second son of Sir Christopher Aylmer of Balrath, county Meath, and entered the navy under the protection of the Duke of Buckingham, as a lieutenant, in 1678. Early in the following year he was advanced to the rank of captain; and he appears to have served almost constantly, during the next ten years, on the coast of Algiers and in the Mediterranean. In October 1688 he was appointed captain of the Swallow in the Thames, but at once gave in his allegiance to the cause of the Revolution. In 1690 he commanded the Royal Katherine, and, in the battle off Beachy Head, was one of the seconds to Sir Ralph Delavall who commanded the blue squadron; and in 1692, still in the Royal Katherine, was one of the seconds of the commander-in-chief at Barfleur. In February 1693 he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral, and to that of vice-admiral in the following year, when he accompanied Admiral Russell to the Mediterranean. After the peace of Ryswick he was sent, in 1698, as commander-in-chief, again into the Mediterranean, principally to confirm the treaties with the regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers; which he happily accomplished, and returned home towards the end of the next year. In November 1699, being, it is said, dissatisfied at the appointment of Admiral Churchill to the admiralty, he retired from active service, though he continued to act as one of the commissioners of the navy till July 1702. He took no part whatever in naval affairs beyond sitting in parliament as baron or member for Dover, till after the death of Prince George, and the retirement of Churchill in November 1709, when he was appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet. In the following July, whilst cruising in the Soundings, he fell in with a French squadron and convoy, of which only one merchantman and the Superbe, of 56 guns, were captured; the rest escaped, owing, it was alleged, to the

haziness of the weather. The want of success served the new ministry as an excuse to supersede him, which they did in January 1711. He held no further command till the accession of George I, when he was again appointed commander-in-chief, ranger of Greenwich Park, and governor of Greenwich Hospital. This office he held till his death; and during that time succeeded in establishing the hospital school for the sons of seamen, which, from small beginnings, has been gradually developed into the magnificent institution of the present day. In April 1717 he became one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, but he resigned the appointment early the next year, when he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the United Kingdom, and at the same time raised to the peerage as Lord Aylmer of Balrath. He died 18 Aug. 1720.

A portrait, half-length, presented by his descendant, the fifth Lord Aylmer, is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich.

[Charnock's Biog. Nav. ii. 35; Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 28122–4; Official Papers in the Public Record Office.] J. K. L.

AYLOFFE, JOHN (*d.* 1685), satirist, wrote one of the most drastic and powerful satires against the Stuarts, entitled 'Marvell's Ghost.' It was furtively circulated as a broadside, but was included in Nichols's 'Select Collection of Poems' (iii. 186). The editor calls him 'Captain John Ayloffe,' and says he was educated in Trinity College, Cambridge. This is all he knew. It seems certain that he was the John Ayloffe, Esq., who was executed before the gate of the Inner Temple on 30 Oct. 1685 for his participation in the Rye House plot. He went with the Earl of Argyle into Scotland, where he was taken, and made an attempt to destroy himself by inflicting a terrible wound in his belly. At his execution it came out that he was of the Temple; had been a 'clubber at the King's Head Tavern,' and 'a green-ribbon man.' 'Marvell's Ghost' is as burning and passionate in its invective as any of Marvell's own. He appears to have left a relative behind him in a William Ayloffe, author of a poem on the death of Charles II and accession of James II.

[Brit. Museum Broadsides; Hunter MSS. 24, 490; Dryden Miscell.] A. B. G.

AYLOFFE, Sir JOSEPH (1709–1781), baronet, an eminent antiquary, was the great-grandson of Sir William Ayloffe, first baronet, through his third wife [see AYLOFFE, WILLIAM, *ad fin.*], and was the son of Joseph Ayloffe, barrister-at-law of Gray's Inn and sometime recorder of Kingston-upon-Thames, who died in 1726. Born about 1709, Ayloffe was educated at Westminster, was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn in 1724, and spent some time at St. John's College, Oxford, before 1728. In 1730 he succeeded, as sixth in succession, to the family baronetcy on the death of his unmarried cousin, the Rev. Sir John Ayloffe, a descendant of the first family of the original holder of the title. Sir Joseph seems very early in life to have manifested an interest in antiquities, which received at once the recognition of the learned, although for many years he was merely collecting information and published nothing. On 10 Feb. 1731–2 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and on 27 May of the same year a fellow of the Royal Society. Seven years later he became a member of the well-known literary club—'the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding.' But he did not confine himself altogether to antiquarian research. In 1736–7 he was appointed secretary to the commission superintending the erection of Westminster Bridge; in 1750 he was auditor-general of the hospitals of Bethlehem and Bridewell; and in 1763, on the removal of the state archives from Whitehall and the establishment of a State Paper Office at the Treasury, he was nominated one of its three keepers. In 1751 Ayloffe took a prominent part in procuring a charter of incorporation for the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was for many years a vice-president, and at its meetings he very frequently read papers. He died at Kensington on 19 April 1781, and with him the baronetcy became extinct. He married, about 1734, Margaret, daughter of Charles Railton of Carlisle, by whom he had one son, who died of small-pox at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1756. Both father and son were buried in Hendon churchyard. Sir Joseph was the intimate friend of his colleague at the State Paper Office, Thomas Astle, and of Richard Gough; the latter described Ayloffe as the English Montfaucon.

Ayloffe's published writings belong to his later life, and were never very successful with the general public. In 1751 he circulated proposals for printing by subscription the debates in parliament prior to the Restoration, in eight octavo volumes. But little favour was apparently extended to the scheme; although in 1773 it was advertised that the first volumes would soon be sent to press, none appear to have been published (cf. *Rawlinson MSS.* in the Bodleian, s. v. 'Ayloffe'). It was also in 1751 that Sir Joseph issued a prospectus inviting subscribers for a translation of Diderot's and D'Alembert's 'Encyclopédie,' with additional or expanded articles on subjects of

English interest. But the first number, which was published on 11 June 1752, obtained such scanty support, and was so severely handled in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (xxii. 46), that the project was immediately abandoned. Some years previously Ayloffe had induced Joshua Kirby, a well-known draughtsman of Ipswich, to prepare a number of engravings of the chief buildings and monuments in Suffolk, and twelve of them were published with descriptive letterpress by Ayloffe in 1748. It was Ayloffe's intention to introduce Kirby's drawings into an elaborate history of the county upon which he was apparently engaged for the succeeding fifteen years. In 1764 he had made so much progress in collecting and arranging his materials that he published a lengthy prospectus for the publication of an exhaustive 'Topographical and Historical Description of Suffolk,' but unfortunately he here again received too little encouragement to warrant him in pursuing his elaborate plan. Subsequently he contributed several memoirs to 'Archæologia,' the journal of the Society of Antiquaries, which were highly valued at the time. On 25 Feb. 1763 he 'communicated' an interesting 'Copy of a Proclamation (1563) relating to Persons making Portraits of Queen Elizabeth' (ii. 169–170). In 1773 and 1774 there appeared in 'Archæologia' (iii. 185–229, 239–272, 376–413) three papers by Ayloffe, describing (1) a picture at Windsor of the famous interview in 1520 between Henry VIII and Francis I; (2) four pictures at Cowdry near Midhurst, the property of Lord Montague, illustrating Henry VIII's wars in France in the latter part of his reign; and (3) the opening of the tomb of Edward I at Westminster in 1774, an exhumation that Ayloffe with Daines Barrington superintended. Another paper prepared for the Society of Antiquaries, 'On Five Monuments in Westminster Abbey,' was published separately, with engravings, in 1780. An account of the chapel on London Bridge, by Ayloffe, was published with a drawing by George Vertue in 1777.

In 1772 Ayloffe published the work by which he is still known to historical students. It is entitled 'Calendars of the Antient Charters . . . and of the Welch and Scottish Rolls now remaining in the Tower.' In a lengthy introduction the author impresses on historians the necessity of scholarly research among the state papers. The book was begun by the Rev. Philip Morant, who was at one time employed at the State Paper Office, and was published at first anonymously. But in 1774 a new issue gave Sir Joseph Ayloffe's name on the title-page. Ayloffe also revised for the press new editions of Leland's 'Collectanea' (1771) and of the 'Liber Niger Scaccarii' (1771), and added valuable appendices of original illustrative documents. He saw through the press John Thorpe's 'Registrum Roffense,' which was published in 1769 by the compiler's son. Ayloffe's 'Collections relative to Saxon and English Laws and Antiquities' remain in manuscript at the British Museum (*Addit. MS.* 9051). We have been unable to trace the whereabouts of his other manuscript collections, which were clearly very numerous, and are stated by contemporaries to have been invaluable so far as they related to the abbey and city of Westminster. His library was sold by Leigh and Sotheby soon after his death.

[Annual Register for 1781; Gent. Mag. for 1781; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes and Illustrations of Literature; Burke's Extinct Peerage, p. 30; Morant's History of Essex; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

AYLOFFE, WILLIAM (*d.* 1585), judge of the Queen's Bench, was descended from a very ancient family settled originally in Kent and subsequently in Essex, whose origin has been traced to Saxon times. On 14 Feb. 1553–4 he was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn, where two other near relatives, bearing the same name, distinguished themselves in the sixteenth century, and in 1560 he was called to the bar. After being appointed 'reader' at his inn of court in Lent term, 1571, he was made serjeant-at-law in 1577, at the same time as Sir Edmund Anderson, afterwards the well-known lord chief justice of the Common Pleas. A notice of a banquet in the Middle Temple hall, given by Ayloffe with other barristers upon whom a similar distinction had just been conferred, to celebrate their promotion, is preserved among the Ashmolean MSS. at Oxford (*Ashm. MS.* 804, ii. 1). No record is known of Ayloffe's elevation to the bench, but he is found acting as judge in the court of Queen's Bench in 1579 (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1547–1580, p. 637), and his judgments are reported by Dyer, Coke, and Savile after that date, which may therefore be regarded as the probable year of his appointment. He was present in 1581 at the trial of Edmund Campion and other seminary priests, and special attention is called to the part he played on that occasion in a pamphlet published by English catholics at Paris shortly afterwards, and bearing the title 'An Epistle of Comfort to the Reverend Priestes and to the Honorable, Worshipful and other of the Laye sort restrayned in Durance for the Catholike Fayth,'

12mo. It is there stated (p. 202), on the evidence of eye-witnesses, that while sitting in court after the other judges had retired, and while the jury were considering their verdict, Ayloffe took off his glove and found his hand and ring covered with blood without any apparent cause, and that, in spite of his endeavours to wipe it away, the blood continued to flow as a miraculous sign of the injustice that polluted the judgment-seat. Some letters that passed between Ayloffe and the lord mayor of London with reference to the appointment of his brother as town clerk, are preserved among the city archives for the years 1580 and 1581 (*Remembrancia*, pp. 149, 150, 271).

Ayloffe died on 8 Nov. 1585. He married Jane, daughter of Sir Eustace Sulyard, by whom he had three sons. A baronetcy conferred by James I in 1612 upon William, the eldest of them, who had been knighted in 1603, continued in the family till 1781. Sir William, the first baronet, was thrice married, and a large family survived him.

[Foss's Judges of England, v. 445; Wright's Essex, ii. 443–4; Burke's Extinct Baronetage, p. 30; Notes and Queries (2nd series), iii. 376.]

S. L. L.

AYLWARD, THEODORE (1730–1801), musician, was born, probably at Chichester, in 1730. Of his early life and education nothing is known, though when young he seems to have sung at Drury Lane Theatre. He became a member of the Royal Society of Musicians 9 July 1763 (*Records of Roy. Soc. Musicians*), and was elected by a unanimous vote into the Madrigal Society 15 Nov. 1769 (*Records of Madrigal Soc.*). He was appointed organist of St. Lawrence Jewry in 1762, a post he held until 1788. In 1764 he was organist of Oxford Chapel, and from 1768 to 1781 organist of St. Michael's, Cornhill. In 1771 he was appointed professor of music at Gresham College, and in 1788 he succeeded Edward Webb as organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. In November 1791 he took the accumulated degrees of Mus. Bac. and Mus. Doc. at Oxford. He died at Windsor 27 Feb. 1801, and was buried in St. George's Chapel. Aylward published a few songs, duets, glees, and organ pieces; but most of his music is still in manuscript.

[Appendix to Bemrose's Choir Chant Book (1882); Catalogue of Collection of Music School, Oxford; Gent. Mag. 1801.]

W. B. S.

AYMER or ÆTHELMÆR (ETHELMAR) DE VALENCE, or DE LUSIGNAN (*d.* 1260), bishop of Winchester, was a younger son of Isabella, widow of King John, by her second husband, Hugh X, count of La Marche. Isabella having died in 1246, and the fortunes of their house being depressed in consequence of the failure of their father's rebellion, Guy of Lusignan, William of Valence, and Aymer, who was then in orders, came to England in 1247 to enrich themselves. Henry III received his half brother with great joy. Besides procuring several livings for Aymer, he compelled different bishops and abbots to assign him 'innumerable' pensions, so that his revenues soon equalled those of an archbishopric. Among the various acts of injustice by which the king enriched his brother at this time, the strong pressure put on the abbot of Abingdon to force him to present Aymer to the rich church of St. Helen in that town excited special indignation. On the resignation of Nicolas, bishop of Durham, in 1249, Henry tried hard to procure the election of his brother. In spite, however, of the king's threats, the chapter rejected Aymer as too young and too ignorant for the office, and Henry was for the time forced to be content with adding the rectory of Wearmouth to his many benefices. So numerous had these and other sources of revenue become, that it was said Aymer might well forget what they were and what each was worth, and he was obliged to appoint a steward to manage his rapidly-increasing wealth. When William, bishop of Winchester died in 1250, Henry determined that his brother should succeed him, and sent two of his chief clerks to persuade the monks to elect him. They refused on account of his youth, his lack of full orders, for he was only an acolyte, and his ignorance. Then the king himself visited the chapter, and commanded them with threats to elect his brother. The monks yielded, for they knew that there was no help to be had from the pope. Very sorrowfully they obeyed the king's command, for the Poitevin thus forced upon them as the head of their noble and wealthy church could not speak their language, and would, they believed, avoid consecration, for they knew that he only sought the revenues of the see. Aymer was elected on 4 Nov. 1250, and his election was confirmed at Lyons by Innocent IV on 14 Jan. of the following year. On his return to England he gave a splendid banquet at Winchester to the king and queen to celebrate his entrance on his office. Few, if any, of his guests were Englishmen, and this neglect of the native nobility did not escape remark. The papal confirmation was doubly scandalous in the eyes of Englishmen. Not only was Aymer, they said, the first to hold an English bishopric without being a

bishop, but the pope gave him leave to retain the revenues he derived from the church before his consecration. Although he was now splendidly provided for, the king forced the abbot of St. Albans to grant him a yearly pension of ten marks.

The bishop-elect of Winchester attended the assembly of bishops held at London on 13 Oct. 1352 to deliberate on the pope's grant to the king of a tenth of the revenues of the clergy for three years. Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, opposed the demand. Aymer argued that, as pope and king were united, the clergy had no choice; and that, as the French had agreed to a like demand, the English ought to do the same. He seems, however, to have said this as the king's advocate, for he agreed with Grosseteste and most of the other bishops in refusing to be bound by the grant. The king was very wroth with him for this, and when Aymer took leave of him with the words, 'I commend you to the Lord God,' answered, 'And I you to the living devil,' reproaching him bitterly with ingratitude. Soon after this Aymer quarrelled with Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury, the uncle of the queen. During the archbishop's absence from England, he instituted a certain clerk as prior of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, at Southwark. The archbishop's official, finding that the rights of Canterbury had been infringed on, called on the prior to resign, and on his refusal excommunicated him. The prior continued contumacious, and the official had him seized and taken to the archbishop's manor of Maidstone. When Aymer heard this, he gathered a band of men, and with the connivance of William, his brother, and John of Warrenne, his brother-in-law, sent them to seize the official. They sought him at Southwark and then at Maidstone, and not finding him there, set fire to the house. At last they found him at the manor of Lambeth, and brought him with many insults to Farnham. Aymer did not dare to keep him, and drove him from the castle. The archbishop excommunicated all concerned in this outrage. Aymer, however, commanded the dean of Southwark and others to declare the sentence of no effect. The foreigners at the court were divided, the Poitevins against the Provençals, the king's men against the queen's men, while the English heartily wished that they would destroy one another. The archbishop succeeded in stirring up popular feeling against the bishop-elect by laying his case before the university of Oxford. At the festival of Epiphany in the next year, the king as usual being at Winchester for Christmas, a reconciliation was arranged, and Aymer swore that the violence done was without his knowledge and will. In the parliament held at London in April 1253, the bishop-elect, with two others, was sent by the bishops to the king to entreat him to allow the church liberty of election. Henry answered that the bishops of his appointment had better resign, and turning to Aymer, reminded him how he had gained his bishopric for him by threats and entreaties when, on account of his youth and his ignorance, he ought to have been at school. The next year Aymer appears to have promised to join the king, who was then fighting in Gascony.

Aymer made the monks of Winchester bitterly repent their compliance with the king's order to elect him, for he greatly oppressed them, keeping them shut up in the church for three days without food. They fled from his violence, and took shelter in other monasteries. He dispossessed the prior, and filled the convent with men of a baser sort, whom he made monks of his house. Even the king disapproved of his violence. The prior appealed to Rome. Henry warned his brother of the insatiable thirst of the papal court for gold, and in answer Aymer boasted that the spring of his wealth would not dry up. His gifts exceeded the gifts of the prior, and he gained the suit. The prior he had set up kept his office, but his false monks grew weary of their life and left the convent, and he made the old monks come back to their house again. He managed to get some profit even out of his suit with the prior. In order to gain money to carry on their case, the convent had recourse to the Caursins (or Caorsini), the great money-lenders of the day. Aymer paid the debt on condition of receiving the isle of Portland and some other places from the convent. After he was dead the monks petitioned the king that these places might be given back to them, for they said that they had been taken from them unlawfully. Aymer had no sympathy with English feeling in any shape, and when in 1255 the bishops were in difficulty owing to the demands of Rustand, the papal envoy, they suspected that his heart was not with them, and so took no counsel with him. In 1256 he was in Poitou from 25 Jan. to 17 Sept. On the death of Walter Gray, archbishop of York, the king refused to confirm the election of Sewall de Bovill, for he hoped to get the archbishopric for Aymer. Sewall, however, lost no time in applying to Rome; his election was confirmed by the pope, and the king's scheme failed. In January 1257 Aymer was sent on an embassy to France to gain a prolongation of the truce. Later in the year he was again sent with other ambassadors

to the French court to demand the English rights, but he and his fellows had nothing but hard words. He was foremost in persuading Richard of Cornwall to accept the crown of Germany offered to him in this year. When in 1258 the parliament of Oxford created a committee of twenty-four for the redress of the grievances set forth in a petition of the barons, Aymer and his brothers, Guy and William, were among the twelve nominated by the king. They refused to swear to the provisions drawn up for the reform of the state, and would not give up the royal castles they held. For fear of Earl Simon, William, Guy, and Geoffrey left Oxford suddenly, and fled to Aymer at Wolvesey. The castle was attacked by the barons. In the negotiations which followed it was at first proposed to allow William and Aymer to remain in the country; but it was finally decided that all the brothers should go with their followers. Their property was seized, and they were not allowed to carry away more than 6,000 marks. The feeling against Aymer was very strong. Not long before this his men had ill-used and slain a clerk who had been appointed by John FitzGeoffrey to a church of which he claimed the patronage; and when complaint was made to the king, Henry excused him. It was generally believed that before he and his brothers left England they poisoned the Earl of Gloucester and others at a feast at Aymer's house at Southwark. On their arrival in France they met with a cold reception. Aymer asked leave to stay in Paris to study. As, however, the French queen complained that the Poitevins had insulted her sister, the Queen of England, Lewis would not have them in his capital. Almost as soon as they landed they were followed by Henry of Montfort, eager to avenge the insults they had heaped on his father. He stirred up the French against them. Aymer and his brothers shut themselves up in Boulogne, and were kept in there almost by a kind of blockade. At last the bishop-elect was allowed to pass into Poitou. The castellan of Dover intercepted 1,000 marks which were being sent to him from England. Part of this sum was employed by the barons in defraying the expenses of an embassy they sent to Rome to complain of his conduct. The ambassadors carried letters setting forth the mischief and wickedness of which he had been guilty, urging the pope to annul his appointment, and declaring that the barons were determined not to allow him to return, and that even were they otherwise minded, the people of England would never suffer it. The next year, 1259, the chapter of Winchester elected Henry Wengham, the chancellor, to the bishopric, and the king conferred the election conditionally, declaring his approval in case Aymer was unable to obtain consecration. Alexander IV, however, was by no means inclined to listen to the representations of the baronial party, and on 16 May 1260 consecrated Aymer at Rome. The bishop set out on his journey to England, intending to lay the country under an interdict in case he was not received. He died in Paris on 4 Dec., to the great joy of the English people. His body was buried in Paris, and his heart was sent to Winchester Cathedral, where his tomb may still be seen, and where, it is strange to read, many miracles were worked.

[Matthew Paris, Majora Chronica, Historia Anglorum; Annales de Theokesberia, Burton, Winton, Waverleia, Dunstaplia, Osneia, Chron. T. Wykes in Annales Monastici, Rolls Ser.; Prothero, Simon de Montfort; Pauli, Simon de Montfort; Stubbs's Constitutional History; Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ.] W. H.

AYMER DE VALENCE (*d.* 1324), EARL OF PEMBROKE and lord of Montignac, was the third son of William of Valence, half-brother of Henry III and of Joan, daughter of Warine of Munchensi. His elder brothers died during the lifetime of their father, and Aymer succeeded to the earldom in 1296. He served in Flanders in 1297, and in Scotland in 1298. In 1302 he was employed in an embassy to France, and the following year assisted in making peace with Philip IV. He received a grant of land in Scotland, and built himself a castle at Selkirk. When Edward made war on Robert Bruce in 1306, Aymer was appointed guardian of Scotland, and led the van of the army. Bruce advanced to the neighbourhood of Perth and challenged him to battle. Aymer answered that he would not fight on that day, but on the same evening made a sudden attack on the Scots, and defeated them in the wood of Methven (TRIVET). He took captive the wife and daughter of the Scottish king, and crossed to Kantire, hoping to find Bruce himself. There he took Nigel Bruce, and sent him to Berwick, where he was put to death. The next year, on 10 May, he was defeated by Bruce at Loudon Hill, and forced, though without much loss, to retire to the castle of Ayr. There he and the Earl of Gloucester were besieged until the king sent a force to relieve them. On the accession of Edward II, Aymer lost the guardianship of Scotland. He was deeply offended at the insolence of Gaveston, who gave him the nickname of Joseph the Jew, because he was tall and of a pallid countenance (WALSINGHAM). When he and other great nobles attended the tournament held by Gaveston at

Wallingford, they were treated with insult, and for this and other reasons they took counsel together against him. In 1309 the earl joined with the other lords at the parliament held at Stamford in sending a letter to Clement V, remonstrating with him on his usurpations. He was one of the foremost of the discontented nobles who the next year were expressly forbidden to attend the parliament in arms. He disregarded the order, and, appearing with the rest in military array, demanded the appointment of a council of reform. The first step in the formation of this council was the choice of two earls by the bishops, and Aymer was one of the two then chosen to select the ordainers. When the king marched northwards, Pembroke and the other ordainers refused to leave London, but sent the number of men they were bound by their service to supply.

On the recall of Gaveston in 1312 the lords of Lancaster's party sent the Earls of Pembroke and Warenne against him. They besieged Gaveston in Scarborough Castle. He surrendered on 19 May, receiving a promise from Pembroke that his life should be spared. Pembroke took him towards Wallingford, and lodged him at Deddington. In his absence the Earl of Warwick seized on Gaveston, carried him to Gaversike, and there put him to death. Enraged at the dishonour thus done to his word, Pembroke left the Lancastrian lords, and joined himself to the court party. About this time he and Lord Badlesmere rescued Lady Clifford from the constable of Barnard Castle, who had carried her off. He went to France to seek aid for the king, and on his return negotiated between him and the earls. On 20 Sept. he appeared before a meeting of the Londoners at the Guildhall, and demanded the obedience of the city for the king. A fierce riot broke out, and the earl and his companions barely escaped in safety. His position seems to have been rather that of leader of the party opposed to Lancaster, to whom he never forgave the death of Gaveston, than of a supporter of the king's policy (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 341). He received a grant of the New Temple and of other lands of the Templars in London. After long negotiations, in which Pembroke acted as one of the royal commissioners, peace was made with the Lancastrian earls. The affairs of Scotland demanded instant attention, and the king made him lieutenant of that country, and sent him on to insure the safety of the royal army in its northward march. Pembroke shared in the king's defeat at Bannockburn on 24 June 1314, and saved himself by flight. The next year he was sent with Lord Badlesmere to secure the marches against the Scots (Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 524). He was also employed to quell the insurrection at Bristol. In 1316 he went on an embassy to the pope. On his way home he was taken prisoner by a Burgundian named Moiller, who declared that the King of England owed him wages for service he had done him. He took the earl into Germany, and kept him until he was ransomed (Murimuth; Leland, *Collect.* ii. 548, 2nd ed.). In September 1317 he persuaded Edward not to provoke the Earl of Lancaster (Mon. Malm.). On 24 Nov. he entered into a bond with Roger d'Amory and Badlesmere, by which the confederates, who formed themselves into a kind of third party, agreed to work together to gain supreme influence in the council (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 342). The party thus formed rapidly increased in power, and succeeded in effecting a formal pacification of the kingdom. In virtue of this agreement, signed at Leek on 9 Aug. 1318, a new council was appointed, in which Pembroke held a conspicuous place. On 24 March 1319 he sat with the earl marshal in the chapter-house of St. Paul's to hear and compose certain quarrels that had arisen among the citizens of London, and later in the same year accompanied the king on his unfortunate expedition against Berwick. At Christmas he negotiated a two years' truce with the Scots. Although he was at least secretly in league with Roger of Mortimer and the other lords who in 1321 ravaged the lands of the Despensers, he nevertheless assumed the part of a mediator, and pressed the king to banish his favourites. The Earl of Lancaster declared that he had acted treacherously, and advised the discontented lords to have nothing to do with him. When Edward at last took up arms, he once more attempted to mediate, and failing in this attempt, actively upheld the king. On 22 March 1322 he joined in the judgment and condemnation of Lancaster. He received Higham Ferrers and other of the earl's lands in Northamptonshire. Later in the year he accompanied the king in his expedition against Scotland, and on 30 May 1323 arranged a truce of thirteen years with the Scots. In 1324 Pembroke died suddenly near Paris, while on an embassy to Charles IV. He married three times. His third wife, married on 5 July 1321, was Mary of Chatillon, daughter of Guy IV, Count of St. Pol, the foundress of Pembroke Hall at Cambridge. He had no issue by any of his wives, and his childless death was held to be a just punishment of the part he took in the condemnation of the Earl of Lancaster (Walsingham, ii. 195).

[Trokelowe, Chron. Monast. S. Albani IV

(Rolls Ser.); Annales Lond.; Life of Edward II, by Monk of Malmesbury; T. de la Moor; Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II (Rolls Ser.); Walsingham (Rolls Ser.); Trivet (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Hemingburgh (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Murimuth (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Rymer's Fœdera, ii.; Stubbs's Const. Hist. ii., and Introd. to Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II.]

W. H.

AYREMINNE, or AYERMIN, RICHARD DE (*d.* 1340?), chancellor of the dioceses of Norwich and Salisbury, was a younger brother of William de Ayreminne, bishop of Norwich. He was probably in early life a clerk of the exchequer. On 26 May 1324 he was made keeper of the rolls in the place of his brother William [see AYREMINNE, WILLIAM DE]. Between 16 Nov. and 12 Dec. of the same year he kept the great seal during the absence of the chancellor, Robert de Baldock, in Scotland. On 4 July 1325 Henry Cliff was substituted for Richard de Ayreminne in the keepership of the rolls, probably in consequence of the quarrel of his brother William with Edward II as to his right to the see of Norwich. In September 1325 Richard was appointed rector of Elveley (Alveley, co. Salop), and made by his brother chancellor of his diocese of Norwich. But shortly afterwards he, with another brother, Adam, left for France to join his brother William. In 1326 Edward II issued a writ complaining of the refusal of the brothers to appear before him, and directing the Archbishop of York to secure their attendance. After Edward III's accession in 1327 Richard was made clerk of the privy seal, and subsequently guardian of the Jewish converts for life. On 7 June 1339 he resigned this post. He was appointed chancellor of the diocese of Salisbury 16 July 1339; and since a successor to him was nominated in 1340, that year has been assumed to be the date of his death.

[Le Neve's Fasti; Blomefield's Norwich, i. 501; Rymer's Fœdera, iii. 791, iv. 61, 161, 804; Foss's Judges, iii. 214–15.]

S. L. L.

AYREMINNE, or AYERMIN, WILLIAM DE (*d.* 1336), bishop of Norwich, was descended from an ancient family settled at Osgodby, Lincolnshire. He was the eldest of three brothers, of whom Richard obtained many ecclesiastical offices [see AYREMINNE, RICHARD DE], and Adam became archdeacon of Norfolk. In early life William was probably a clerk of the exchequer. He sat in the parliament of Carlisle in 1306–7 as proxy for St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. In 1316 he was deputed to record the proceedings of the parliament of Lincoln. In August of this year he became master of the rolls, and he temporarily performed for many years before and after this date the duties of both the keeper of the great seal and of the chancellor. In 1317 he was made guardian of the Jewish converts' house for life, although previously the office had only been held during the king's pleasure (TOVEY'S *Anglia Judaica*, 222). In 1319 he joined the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and other ecclesiastics, who with a force of eight thousand men attempted to resist an invasion of the Scots in the North. The army was defeated near the river Swale with great slaughter. William was taken prisoner, and was not released for several months. In 1324 he resigned the mastership of the rolls to his brother Richard, and became keeper of the king's privy seal. In the church he meanwhile secured much preferment, although he was always manœuvring to obtain more. He was rector of Wearmouth and canon of St. Paul's, Lincoln, York, Salisbury, and Dublin. In July 1325 he is said by some authorities to have been staying at Rome, to have there received the news of the death of Salmon, bishop of Norwich, and to have straightway obtained the pope's nomination to the vacant see, regardless of the known intention of Edward II to bestow the bishopric on his chancellor, Baldock. But there seems little doubt that William was living in France at the time, engaged in settling a dispute between the kings of England and France as to the possession of land in Aquitaine. His conduct of this business appears to have displeased Edward II, who had instructed him to offer certain concessions to France, which he failed to do. He had, however, friends at Rome, who undoubtedly obtained for him the papal nomination in 1325 to the see of Norwich, and he was consecrated bishop in France, 15 Sept. 1325, by the pope's agents against Edward's wish. In the course of the following year he returned to England, after frequent refusals to answer the king's summons to explain his recent conduct, and appears to have been reconciled to Edward II, in spite of the suspicions with which the Despencers and Baldock viewed him. He vigorously supported Edward III on the abdication of Edward II, and in 1331 held the office of treasurer. He died 27 March 1336, at his house at Charing, near London, and was buried in Norwich Cathedral. The old verdict on his career, which stigmatised him as 'crafty covetous, and treasonable,' seems substantially just.

[Foss's Judges of England, iii. 215 et seq.; Blomefield's Norwich, i. 501; Fuller's Worthies, ed. Nichols, 9–10; Hist. MSS. Com. Fourth Re-

port, 381, 384, 385; Rolls of Parliament, i. 190. 298, 350–1; Rymer's Fœdera, vols. iii. and iv. passim.] S. L. L.

AYRES, JOHN (*fl.* 1680–1700), an eminent English penman, was of very humble origin, but the date and place of his birth are unknown. Coming up from the country a poor lad, he became footman to Mr. William Ashurst, alderman of London, then resident at Hornsey, who was knighted in 1689, and lord mayor of London in 1693–4. His master, taking a great liking to him, sent him to school, where he attained great efficiency in writing and arithmetic. He continued some years in Ashurst's service, but marrying a fellow-servant with 200*l.*, he was enabled to set up as a teacher of writing and accounts in St. Paul's Churchyard, where his industry and ability soon procured him so many scholars that his income from teaching alone was nearly 800*l.* a year.

About 1680 he commenced the execution and publication of those calligraphic works which have made him so famous as one of the great reformers in the writing commonwealth, and the introducer into this country of the beautiful Italian hand. Robert More, in his essay on the 'First Invention of Writing,' prefixed to his own 'Specimens of Penmanship' (1716?), says: 'The late Colonel Ayres (a disciple of Mr. Topham) introduced the bastard Italian hand amongst us, which by the best masters has been admitted, naturalised, and improved. Nor is it a diminution of our characters which survive him that therein the colonel was the common father of us all. He carried the glory of English penmanship far beyond his predecessors.' Ayres continued teaching and publishing scholastic works until his sudden death, from apoplexy, while regaling some friends at Vauxhall. The date of this occurrence is not known; but it was before 1709, as Rayner, his scholar, who published his 'Paul's Scholar's Copy Book' in that year, alludes to his death.

His contemporaries speak of him as 'colonel' and 'major,' in reference, apparently, to his position in some of the city bands.

The works which he issued from the Rolling Press were: 1. 'The Accomplished Clerk, a Copy Book shewing the natural Freedom of y^e^ Pen in Writing all the usual hands of Eng^d^ [*sic*], by John Ayres. Sold at the Hand and Pen in St. Paul's Churchy^d^.' This was engraved by the celebrated John Sturt, and apparently issued about 1680, since in 1700 he reproduced the work as (2) 'The Accomplished Clerk Re-graved,' and in the preface speaks of his 'first essays, twenty years before, to introduce the engraving of writing, and overcome the difficulty of making the graver come up nicely to the nature and freedom of the pen.' (Only three of the twenty-five plates were from the original work.) 3. A work which seems to have been a second issue of his first book, 'The Accomplished Clerk, or Accurate Penman,' dedicated to his former teacher, Mr. Thomas Topham, and dated 25 April 1683. The last of these twenty-five specimens is a fine instance of the softness, delicacy, and ornamental beauty of the new Italian hand. 4. 'The Tradesman's Copy Book, or Apprentice's Companion, showing Varieties of Receipts, Bills, &c. written in all the modish Running-hands now used,' 20 pl. ob. 4to, 1687. 5. 'The Youth's Introduction to Trade: an Exercise Book.' 6. 'The Paul's School Round-hand, Strong Running-hand, and Mercantile Round-hand,' engraved by Sturt, 1700. 7. 'Alamode Secretarie, or Practical Penman, a Writing Book,' also engraved by Sturt, 28 long 8vo pl. 8. 'The Penman's Daily Practise, Shewing much Variety of Command of hand,' which he calls 'a cyfering book,' 34 plates of alphabets and tables of arithmetic, engraved by Sturt (n.d.). 9. 'The Writing Master, or Tutor to Penmanship,' 50 large plates of all the Varieties of English Writing (n.d.). 10. 'A Striking Copy Book,' 14 plates of capital-letters. 11. 'Materot Redivivus, the Italian M^r^., Shewing the great Variety and beauty of the Italian hand,' 1690. (Materot was the famous penman of Paris.) The grandest, however, of all his works was 12. 'A Tutor to Penmanship or the Writing Master,' which he dedicated to King William III in a most pompous and yet interesting address. It was in two parts, with 48 large obl. fol. plates. Engraved by John Sturt, who also puts forward a long and curious address. The preface is dated 15 Jan. 1697–8. Ayres's portrait was in this work, also in the 'Accomplished Clerk' (No. 3 above); but in the British Museum copies these works from Sturt's graver are wanting. There are only five of these famous books of penmanship in our national collection.

Ayres also published 'Arithmetic made Easie for the Use and Benefit of Tradesmen,' 1693, dedicated to his former master, Sir William Ashurst, Knt. The second edition, 'much corrected and enlarged,' 1695, is in 12mo, 190 pp. There were many editions before and after his death; the twelfth, published in 1714, has additional pages on bookkeeping by Charles Snell, his fellow-pupil and former rival in

the reform of the art of writing, with whom it was said he had many bickerings in the course of their joint career. Ayres's poorly executed 'effigies' is given in the later editions of his 'Arithmetic.'

[Robert More, First Invention of Writing, 1716; William Massey, Origin of Letters, 1763; Ayres's Works; Chalmers's Biog. Dict.]

J. W.-G.

AYRES, PHILIP (1638-1712), the author of numerous books and pamphlets, flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth century: was born at Cottingham, and educated at Westminster, and St. John's College, Oxford. He became tutor in the family of Montagu Garrard Drake, of Agmondesham, Bucks, and lived in the family till his death, 1 Dec. 1712. His chief work is his 'Lyric Poems made in imitation of the Italians,' 1687, a not uninteresting collection of original pieces and translations. One copy of verses is addressed to 'his honoured friend' John Dryden. The following is a list of Ayres's works in chronological order: 1. 'A short Account of the Life and Death of Pope Alexander VII, by P. A. Gent.,' 1667. 2. 'Pax Redux, or the Christian Reconciler. Done out of the French by P. A.,' 1670. 3. 'The Fortunate Fool, written in Spanish by A. G. de Salas Barbadillo. Translated by Philip Ayres, Gent.,' 1670. 4. 'Count Nadasdy's Hungarian Rebellion, translated by P. A. Gent.,' 1672. 5. 'The Count of Gabalis,' 1680, from the French of the Abbé de Montfaucon de Villars. 6. 'Emblemata Amatoria. Emblems of Love. In four languages, Lat., Engl., Ital., Fr.,' 1683. 7. 'The Voyages and Adventures of Captain Barth. Sharp and others in the South Sea, &c.,' 1684. 8. 'Vox Clamantis, or an Essay for the Honour, Happiness and Prosperity of the English Gentry,' 1684. 9. 'Mythologia Ethica, or Three Centuries of Æsopian Fables in English,' 1689. 10. 'The Revengeful Mistress, being an Amorous Adventure of an English Gentleman in Spain,' 1696.

[Corser's Collectanea, i. 104-108; British Museum Catalogue; Rawlinson MSS. i. 197.]

A. H. B.

AYRTON, EDMUND (1734-1808), the most distinguished member of a race of musicians, was born at Ripon, where he was baptised 19 Nov. 1734. His father was one Edward Ayrton (1698-1774), a 'barber chirurgion,' of Ripon, who was appointed alderman of that town 14 Aug. 1758, and mayor 1 Jan. 1760. Edward Ayrton's eldest son, William (baptised 18 Nov. 1726), was organist of Ripon Minster from 7 June 1748 until his death, which took place 2 Feb. 1799. By his wife Catherine (who died at Chester 19 Sept. 1819) he had two sons, both of whom were organists of Ripon Minster. The elder of these, William Francis Morel, was born in 1778, and succeeded to his father's post on 25 June 1799. Soon after he moved to Chester, where he died 8 Nov. 1850. His brother, Thomas, was born in 1782, and was organist of Ripon Minster for nearly twenty years before his death, which took place 24 Oct. 1822. Edmund Ayrton, the second son of Edward Ayrton, the barber-surgeon, was originally destined for the church, but, displaying considerable musical talent, was placed under Dr. Nares, the organist of York Minster. He succeeded William Lee as organist, auditor, and rector chori of Southwell Minster in 1754. Here he married, on 20 Sept. 1762, Ann, the daughter of Benjamin Clay, by whom he had fourteen children, several of whom died in infancy. Ayrton became a member of the Royal Society of Musicians on 2 June 1765 (*Records of Roy. Soc. of Musicians*). In 1764 he was appointed a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and soon after became a vicar choral of St. Paul's Cathedral, and a lay vicar of Westminster Abbey. He succeeded Nares as master of the children of the Chapel Royal in 1780. Ayrton took the degree of Mus. Doc. at Cambridge in 1784, on which occasion the anthem he wrote as an exercise was performed in the church of Great St. Mary's, and afterwards in London at the peace thanksgiving at St. Paul's on 29 July 1784. The Oxford degree of Mus. Doc. (ad eundem) was conferred upon him in 1788. Dr. Ayrton's wife died on 14 May 1800; he resigned the mastership of the children in 1805, and died on 22 May 1808, at 24 James Street, Buckingham Gate, Westminster, a large house with a garden of some three acres, but which had the reputation of being haunted, so that Ayrton had occupied it for many years at a low rent. He was buried in the west cloisters of Westminster Abbey on 28 May. His sister married Nicholas Thomas Dall, the Danish painter.

[The Harmonicon for 1833; Appendix to Bemrose's Choir Chant Book (1882); Parke's Musical Memoirs (1830); Chester's Registers of Westminster Abbey (1875); Gent. Mag. for 1800 and 1808; Ripon Registers; information from Mr. H. M. Bower.]

W. B. S.

AYRTON, MATILDA CHAPLIN, M.D. (1846-1883), one of those medical students to whose energy Englishwomen are indebted for their existing opportunities of studying and practising medicine, was born at Honfleur in 1846. Her maiden name was Matilda

Chaplin. After devoting herself to art for some years, she commenced in 1867 the study of medicine, which she pursued unceasingly until her death. She spent two years at the London Medical College for Women; and having passed the preliminary examination at Apothecaries' Hall in 1869, she presented herself for the later examination, but was refused admission on the ground of her sex. Thereupon she at once proceeded to Edinburgh, and matriculated there. But here again instruction in the highest branches of medicine was denied her. The aid of the law was invoked to reverse the decision of the authorities, but judgment was in 1872 finally given against women students. Mrs. Ayrton took, however, high honours in anatomy and surgery at the extramural examinations held in 1870 and 1871 at Surgeons' Hall, Edinburgh. In 1871, when she found the chief medical classes in England and Scotland closed to her, she resolved to complete her education at Paris, where every facility was afforded her. The university of Paris recognised her abilities by bestowing upon her the degrees of Bachelier ès-Sciences and Bachelier ès-Lettres. But, although studying regularly at Paris, Miss Chaplin did not sever her connection with Edinburgh, and still attended some of the classes open to her there. In 1872 she married Mr. William Edward Ayrton, an Edinburgh student, and a distinguished pupil of Sir William Thomson. Early in the following year she obtained a certificate in midwifery from the London Obstetric Society, the only medical qualification then obtainable by women in England, and shortly afterwards accompanied her husband to Japan, where he had been appointed to a professorship in the Imperial College of Engineering. In Japan Mrs. Ayrton pursued some interesting anthropological researches, and opened a school for native midwives, in which she lectured herself, with the aid of an interpreter. In 1877 signs of consumption made themselves apparent, and Mrs. Ayrton returned to Europe. In 1879 she took the degree of M.D. at Paris, and presented as her thesis the result of her Japanese studies, which was printed under the title of 'Recherches sur les dimensions générales et sur le développement du corps chez les Japonais' (Paris, 1879). Later Mrs. Ayrton became a licentiate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland, and, although the only female candidate, came out first in the examination. In 1880 Mrs. Ayrton lived in London, chiefly studying diseases of the eye at the Royal Free Hospital. But her health was rapidly breaking down. She was compelled for the next two years to winter abroad, but at the hospital of Algiers during one winter, and in the physiological laboratory at Montpelier during another, she continued her studies. Mrs. Ayrton died in London on 19 July 1883, aged 37.

From the time of her journey to Japan Mrs. Ayrton contributed to the 'Scotsman' and other periodicals a large number of articles on very various topics, including Japanese politics and customs, and the educational problems of the West. She published in London in 1879 a little book entitled 'Child Life in Japan,' which was illustrated from her own sketches. Mrs. Ayrton always took a lively interest in attempts to improve the educational opportunities and social position of women. She actively aided to establish a club for women students in Paris, and helped to organise the Somerville Club for women in London.

[Memorial notice by Eliza Orme, in the Englishwoman's Review for 15 Aug. 1883; Les Femmes et les Professions Libérales en Angleterre, by Professor Charles Rémy, in Le XIXe Siècle, 23 Aug. 1883; information from Prof. W. E. Ayrton.] S. L. L.

AYRTON, WILLIAM (1777–1858), musical writer, younger son of Dr. Ayrton [see AYRTON, EDMUND], was born in London in 1777. On 17 May 1803 he married Marianne, the daughter of Dr. Arnold, the composer. In 1816 he went abroad to engage singers for the Italian opera at the King's theatre, of which he undertook the direction in the following year, producing for the first time in England Mozart's 'Don Giovanni,' and introducing to English audiences such great artists as Pasta, Camporese, Crivelli, and Ambrogetti. In spite of a very successful season Ayrton was obliged by the disputes of the company to retire from the direction. In 1821 he again (under the management of Ebers) took the post of musical director, but owing to the factious opposition he encountered from the committee he was again forced to resign. The remainder of his life he devoted entirely to literary pursuits, in which, both as a critic and writer in music, he occupied for many years a position far in advance of his contemporaries. From 1823 to 1833 he edited and contributed largely to the 'Harmonicon,' a periodical the value of which has hardly been exceeded by any of its successors. In 1834–5 he published his 'Sacred Minstrelsy,' and in 1834–5–6 the work known as the 'Musical Library,' one of the earliest and best cheap collections of vocal and instrumental music. Ayrton was a F.R.S., a F.S.A., and one of

the original members of the Royal Institution and the Athenæum Club. He died at Bridge Street, Westminster, 8 March 1858.

[Ebers's Seven Years of the King's Theatre (1828); Annual Register for 1858; Chester's Registers of Westminster Abbey (1875); Gent. Mag. for 1803.] W. B. S.

AYSCOUGH, ANNE. [See ASKEW, ANNE.]

AYSCOUGH, FRANCIS, D.D. (1700–1766), divine, was born at St. Olave's, Southwark, in 1700, became a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 28 March 1717, and graduated M.A. in 1723. After taking orders he was admitted probationer fellow of his college on 16 Jan. 1727, and after two years of probation became a candidate for an actual fellowship. Without giving any reason the president and majority of the fellows voted against his admission; whereupon Ayscough appealed to the visitor, the Bishop of Winchester. The college pleaded that they had a right to make elections to fellowships without being responsible to the visitor, but the plea was overruled by the bishop, and the college was compelled to receive Ayscough and pay the costs of the proceedings. In 1735 he took the degree of D.D., and in the following year published 'A Sermon preached before the House of Commons on Friday, 30 Jan. 1735-6, being the anniversary of the martyrdom of King Charles I.' In 1740 he became clerk of the closet to Prince Frederick, and was presented by him to the rectory of Northchurch, Berkhampstead. The right of presentation was disputed by the chapter of Windsor, but the case was decided in the prince's favour. At Oxford he had been tutor to Lord Lyttelton, whose sister he married. By Lord Lyttelton's influence he was for a time preceptor to George III before his accession, and to his brother Edward, Duke of York. Finally he was appointed dean of Bristol. He was dead before October 1766, when a notice of him appeared in the 'London Magazine.' He left a son [see AYSCOUGH, GEORGE EDWARD].

[Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iii. 181, viii. 433, ix. 531; Proceedings of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the case of Mr. Ayscough Vindicated, 1730; Catalogue of Graduates of Oxford from 1659 to 1814; S.D.U.K. Biog. Dict.; Rawlinson MSS. v. 218.] A. H. B.

AYSCOUGH, GEORGE EDWARD (*d.* 1779), dramatist and traveller, was the son of Dr. Francis Ayscough, dean of Bristol, by a sister of the first Lord Lyttelton. For some time he held a commission in the Guards. In 1776 he produced at Drury Lane a version of the 'Semiramis' of Voltaire, Mr. Yates representing the chief character; an epilogue was provided by Sheridan. The tragedy obtained eleven representations, and the English author enjoyed three benefits on account of it. On the first performance Captain Ayscough's brother officers attended in great force and secured the success of 'Semiramis.' In the 'Biographia Dramatica' Ayscough is described as 'a fool of fashion,' 'a parasite of Lord Lyttelton;' and his tragedy is condemned as contemptible. He left England on account of his failing health, and afterwards published some account of his travels in Italy. He was the editor of the Miscellaneous Works of his uncle, Lord Lyttelton, published in 1774.

[Genest's History of the Stage, 1832.] D. C.

AYSCOUGH, SAMUEL (1745–1804), librarian and index-maker, was the grandson of William Ayscough, a stationer and printer of Nottingham, where he introduced the art of typography about 1710, and died on 2 March 1719, and the son of George Ayscough, who succeeded to his father's business, which he carried on upwards of forty years. George Ayscough was much esteemed in the neighbourhood, and was connected with some of the most respectable families in the county. His first wife died childless. He then married Edith, daughter of Benjamin Wigley of Wirksworth, by whom he had a son, Samuel, and a daughter, Anne. He inherited a good business, but, instead of devoting his energies to its development, launched into various wild speculations, among others being one to extract gold from the dross of coals. Having in this way gradually got rid of nearly all his money, about the year 1762 he took a large farm at Great Wigston in Leicestershire, where he was still more unfortunate, losing not only the remainder of his own property, but the fortunes of his two children.

Samuel Ayscough was born in 1745, and was educated at the free grammar school in Nottingham. The son assisted his father in the successive failures of business, speculations and farm. At last, when complete ruin confronted the family, Samuel hired himself to take care of a mill in the neighbourhood, and bravely laboured as a working miller to keep his father and sister. The new start in life proved unsuccessful, but an old schoolfellow and intimate friend of early life, Mr. Eamer (afterwards Sir John Eamer, lord mayor of London), hearing of his distress, about the year 1770 sent for him to come to town, clothed him, and procured for him a situation as overlooker of street-paviors. It

was doubtless this employment which gave him the capacity for such rude labour as index-making. Soon afterwards he entered the shop of Mr. Rivington, bookseller, of St. Paul's Churchyard, and subsequently obtained an engagement at a very modest salary as assistant in the cataloguing department under the principal librarian of the British Museum. This was the turning-point of his laborious and useful career. His value was soon recognised by a small increase in his weekly stipend, and he was able to occupy some of his leisure in arranging private libraries. These additions to his income, added to some assistance from Mr. Eamer, enabled him to send for his father, whom he maintained in comfort till his death, in November 1783. Ayscough's excellent catalogue of the undescribed manuscripts in the British Museum was commenced in April 1780 and published in 1782 by leave of the trustees, but as a private venture of the compiler. The plan of the book was original, and the publication reflects credit upon the enterprise of Ayscough, who claims (Preface, p. x) that no work of like extent was ever completed in so short a time. He acknowledges the help received from previous catalogues and occasionally from frequenters of the reading room, but to all intents and purposes the two quarto volumes were the work of Ayscough's unaided efforts. He states that the catalogue was drawn up on 20,000 separate slips of paper. Each manuscript was specially examined. The classification is ample, and two indexes, the first of the numbers of the manuscripts and pages of the catalogue where they are described, and the second of all names mentioned in the two volumes, render the book of easy reference. In 1783 he issued anonymously a small pamphlet in reply to the 'Letters of an American Farmer,' printed the year before by Mr. Hector St. John [Crevecœur], a French settler. Ayscough contended that the writer was neither a farmer nor a native of America, and that his sole purpose was to encourage foreigners to emigrate to that country, called by a reviewer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (1783, liii. 1036) 'an insidious and fatal tendency, which this writer, as an Englishman, is highly laudable for endeavouring to detect and counteract.'

After wearily waiting for fifteen years, during which time he had vainly applied for five different vacancies, about 1785 Ayscough was appointed an assistant librarian at the museum. He had long desired to take holy orders, and in spite of some difficulties, the exact nature of which cannot be traced, was at length enabled to accomplish his desire. The precise period of the event is uncertain. Nichols places it soon after 1785, and a notice of the death of the father (*Gentleman's Magazine*, liii. 982) supports this view; but he styles himself 'clerk' on the title of his 'Catalogue' (1782), and a letter of the father, dated 13 Jan. 1781 (Nichols's *Illustrations*, iii. 571), styles the son 'Rev.' He was ordained to the curacy of Normanton-on-Soar in Nottinghamshire, and afterwards appointed assistant curate of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Here his regular attendance to his duties and excellent character gained him the friendship of Dr. Buckner, afterwards bishop of Chichester, Mr. Southgate, Dr. Willis, and other eminent persons. A general index to the 'Annual Register' (1758–80), which came out in 1783, is ascribed to Ayscough without sufficient evidence. In 1786 the conductors of the 'Monthly Review' brought out an index to the first seventy volumes of that periodical, compiled by Ayscough, the first volume consisting of the articles, &c., classified under subjects with a full index, and the second forming an alphabetical index to passages in the body of the 'Review.' A continuation extending to the eighty-first volume, and issued in 1796, was from the same hand. His publications so far had been of a private nature; his next appearance was in connection with his official position. The catalogue of books in the British Museum, printed in 1787, 2 vols. folio, was compiled by Dr. P. H. Maty, S. Harper, and Ayscough; one-third of the work is due to the latter. On 12 March 1789 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

All students of the history of the eighteenth century are grateful to Ayscough for his share in indexing the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (1731–86), consisting of the two volumes printed in 1789, the first of which includes an index of the essays, dissertations, and historical passages in one alphabet, and the second being divided into four parts, is devoted respectively to poetry, names of persons, plates, and books noticed. Useful as it is, the index is not by any means perfect. The lists of persons in each volume of the periodical had unfortunately never been furnished with christian names, and where more than one reference occurred no sort of distinction was introduced. This method was continued by Ayscough in his general index, so that in the case of common names, such as Smith or Williams, there are hundreds of references, making the task of hunting up any particular fact almost hopeless. In the continuation on the same plan, published in 1821, the evil is made worse by the increase of the materials, so

that there are no less than 2,411 entries under Smith without further particulars. It has been calculated that, owing to the time taken up in referring back to each volume, it would occupy eighty hours of hard work to look through all the Smiths in search of one particular individual of that name (see WHEATLEY'S *What is an Index?* p. 46). Until Ayscough brought out his 'Index' in 1790 there was no concordance to Shakespeare. This was a speculation on the part of the publisher, John Stockdale, who paid two hundred guineas for the index, which was specially designed to accompany his edition of the 'Dramatic Works,' in 2 vols. roy. 8vo. In this excellent compilation the words are arranged alphabetically with the lines in which they occur, then the name of the play, and in five separate columns the act, scene, page, column, and line. The last three particulars of course refer only to the edition of 1790, but the index may be made to serve any other text. Francis Twiss compiled a 'Verbal Index' in 1805, not so useful as that of Ayscough, and both were superseded by Mrs. Cowden Clarke's valuable 'Concordance' (1845). All three are devoted to the plays alone, and require to be supplemented by Mrs. Furness's 'Concordance to Shakespeare's Poems' (1874). There is still no complete concordance to the entire works.

Ayscough was chosen to deliver the Fairchild lectures, established in 1729 by Thomas Fairchild, gardener, of Shoreditch, who bequeathed a sum of money for a sermon on each Whit-Tuesday on the 'Wonderful Works of God in the Creation.' The first sermon was delivered by Ayscough in 1790 before the Royal Society at Shoreditch Church, and he completed the series of fifteen sermons in 1804. They were to have been printed after his death, but never appeared.

Dr. Birch had left for press among his papers at the Museum a collection of historical letters written during the reigns of James and Charles, which Ayscough proposed to publish if he could find two hundred subscribers at a couple of guineas apiece. But it was left to Mr. R. F. Williams to carry the scheme into effect in 1849, when the documents were printed under the title of 'The Court and Times of James I and Charles I.' 4 vols. 8vo. An important work which still remains in manuscript is Ayscough's catalogue of the ancient rolls and charters in the British Museum, forming three large folio volumes, with two indexes, the first to names of places and some other matters, and the second to names of persons. A table of contents records the number of charters, rolls, and seals at 16,000. The preparation of the catalogue occupied from 8 May 1787 to 18 Aug. 1792, with a few additions subsequently made. It is still used for reference. Ayscough's last work at the Museum consisted in arranging the books in classes and cataloguing the King's Tracts.

About a year before his death he was presented to the small vicarage of Cudham in Kent by Lord Chancellor Eldon. Although from his official position he was permitted non-residence, he conscientiously fulfilled his religious duties, making the journey of seventeen miles each Saturday, and returning on the Monday. He never passed the workhouse without calling to read prayers or to preach. He took great pains to excel as a preacher. In the national library may be seen a copy of Letsome's 'Preacher's Assistant' (1753, 2 parts, 8vo) marked with those sermons which might be consulted at the Museum, and with twenty-one leaves of manuscript additions not taken notice of by Letsome. Ayscough's salary had been recently increased, which, added to his clerical preferment, placed him in a position of comparative comfort; but his bountiful disposition led him to spend all his modest income, and he scarcely left sufficient to meet the claims upon his executors. In 1802 he edited, with John Caley, a volume of the patent rolls in the Tower, but does not seem to have been concerned in the 'Taxatio Ecclesiastica Nicholai IV' (1802) also published by the Record Commission, and sometimes ascribed to him. He died of dropsy in the chest, at his apartments in the Museum, on 30 Oct. 1804, and was buried in the cemetery of St. George's, Bloomsbury, behind the Foundling Hospital.

Ayscough has been termed the 'Prince of Index-makers,' and if the title conveys any idea of the extent and usefulness of his labours he well deserves it. Besides the many works already spoken of, he compiled the indices to Bridges' 'Northampton' (which took him nine months), to Manning's 'Surrey,' and, according to Nichols, the indices to the 'New Review,' edited by Dr. Maty. His life of indexing produced him altogether about 1,300*l.*, not to be compared with the vast sums gained by those fortunate persons who jobbed the indices to the journals of parliament, but sufficiently handsome when one remembers the usual rate of pay for such work. Ayscough was no mere drudge, but did his laborious tasks with careful skill and loving diligence, and the variety of his services is not to be exceeded in the annals of literary hewing and delving. In spite of imperfect education and a youth of toil, he attained by his own exertions a very extensive knowledge of history, an-

tiquities, and bibliography. His acquirements in palæography caused him to be in request for copying documents and to assist in the arrangement of the records in the Tower. He was a frequent contributor to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' Although somewhat blunt in manner, students found in him a ready and accomplished helper. His friend Nichols (*Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxiv. 1094) pays a touching tribute to his good heart and benevolent character. He was of tall and bulky figure, as is shown by his portrait (*ib.* 1804, lxxiv. 1093). A friend tells a long story (*ib.* 1811, p. 319) about a young lady who was reproved for her want of attention when being shown the 'curiosities' by Ayscough, 'than whom perhaps a kinder-hearted, better-humoured man never existed,' and 'who, although an old bachelor, was a great admirer of beauty.' One of the duties of the assistant librarians was to take round the parties of visitors, and Ayscough, unlike some of his brother officers, seems to have taken an interest in this service.

Besides two contributions to the 'Archæologia' (1797) and his share in the production of several books, Ayscough published the following works: 1. 'A Catalogue of the MSS. preserved in the British Museum hitherto undescribed, consisting of 5,000 volumes, including the collections of Sir John Wane, the Rev. Thomas Birch, and about 500 volumes bequeathed, presented, or purchased at various times,' London, 1782, 2 vols. 4to. 2. 'Remarks on the Letters from an American Farmer; or a detection of the errors of Mr. J. Hector St. John, pointing out the pernicious tendency of those letters to Great Britain,' London, 1783, 8vo (Anon.). 3. 'A General Index to the Monthly Review from its commencement to the end of the 70th volume [1749–84],' London, 1786; a continuation down to the 81st volume (1784–9) was compiled by Ayscough in 1796, 8vo; and there is a continuation by another hand down to 1816. 4. 'A General Index to the first fifty-six volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine, from its commencement in 1731 to the end of 1786,' London, 1789, 2 vols. 8vo; continued by Nichols to 1818, 2 vols. 8vo, with an index to the plates (1731–1818), by Ch. St. Barbe. 5. 'An Index to the remarkable words and passages made use of by Shakespeare, calculated to point out the different meanings to which the words are applied,' London, 1790, roy. 8vo; reprinted in Dublin 1791, and 'second edition, revised and enlarged,' London, 1827, demy 8vo; the last is adapted to the edition of the plays published in 1823 by the booksellers. 6. 'A general index to the first 20 volumes of the British Critic, in two parts; part i. contains a list of all the books reviewed, part ii. an index to the extracts, criticism, &c.,' London, 1804, 8vo (Anon.), continued by Dr. Blagdon.

[Memoir of Ayscough contributed by Nichols to Gent. Mag. lxxiv. 1093–5, revised by Chalmers and reproduced in Literary Anecdotes (ix. 54–6). See also Gent. Mag. li. 69, 117, liii. 982, 1014, 1036, lxxiv. 518, lxxxi. 319; and General Index, v. 8; Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes and Illustrations; Description of Works printed by Record Commission, 1831; S.D.U.K. Biog. Dict.; Allibone's Dict. of English Literature.] H. R. T.

AYSCOUGH, WILLIAM, LL.D. (1450), bishop of Salisbury, is believed to have come of an ancient Lincolnshire family seated at Kelsey. The date of his birth is unknown, and the only thing which gives an interest to his name is the manner of his death. Indeed all that is recorded of him before he was made a bishop is that his name occurs in the list of prebendaries of Sutton in Lincoln Cathedral, where he was installed on 10 Nov. 1436. But on 11 Feb. 1438 he was promoted by papal bull to the bishopric of Salisbury, and was consecrated at Windsor on 20 July following; on which promotion he gave up his prebend. He was Henry VI's confessor, and appears to have been constantly called to council by that king, whom he married to Margaret of Anjou, at Titchfield, on 22 April 1445. He was also one of the bishops who examined Eleanor Cobham, the wife of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, for sorcery. His continual residence at court seems to have been the principal cause of complaint against him in his own diocese, where bishops were expected to keep open house with the profuse hospitality of the middle ages. It was, in fact, a novelty in those days for a bishop to be a king's confessor; and it exposed him to the further criticism that if he was the king's confessor and an influential member of the council he was responsible for everything that was done amiss. Nothing but covetousness, it was believed, could have reconciled him to the atmosphere of the court if he had given the king good advice without effect. These feelings found a vent one day when he really did visit his diocese. In that year of civil tumult, 1450, at the very time that Jack Cade and his followers were upon Blackheath just before they entered London, the bishop said mass at Edington, in Wiltshire, on 29 June, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The sacred rite was scarcely completed when the people in church dragged him from the altar and

carried him forcibly up a neighbouring hill, with his alb and stole upon him; then beat him and killed him with murderous weapons, stripping his body naked to the skin and leaving it lying in the fields unburied. Nor was their fury satiated even after the deed, but they tore his bloody shirt to pieces, and bore the fragments away with them in triumph, glorying in what they had done.

[Fuller's Worthies (ed. Nichols), ii. 10; Will. Wyrcestre; Davies's English Chronicle (Camd. Soc.), 58, 61, 64; Gascoigne's Theol. Dict. (Loci e Libro Veritatum), ed. Rogers, 39, 42, 158, 174.] J. G.

AYSCU, or **AYSCOUGH**, EDWARD (*fl.* 1633), historian, was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1590. He afterwards resided at Cotham, in Lincolnshire, from which place he dates the preface to his only work, 'A Historie contayning the Warres, Treaties, Marriages, and other occurrents betweene England and Scotland, from King William the Conqueror untill the happy Union of them both in our gratious King James. With a briefe declaration of the first Inhabitants of this Island: And what severall Nations have sithence settled them-selves therein one after an other,' London, 1607, 4to. Ayscu appears to have been living in 1633.

[Cal. of State Papers, Dom., James I (1623–5), 128; Charles I (1627–8), 168, 232; (1629–31), 179, 236; (1633–4), 368; (1634–5), 466; MS. Addit. 5862, f. 34; Nicolson's Engl. Hist. Lib. (1786), 60.] T. C.

AYSCUE, SIR GEORGE (*fl.* 1646–1671), admiral, belonged to an old Lincolnshire family, many members of which took a prominent part in public affairs before and during the civil war. His father, William, was gentleman of the privy chamber to Charles I., by whom George was knighted, but for what reason or service no record remains. So far as we know, he held no command in the navy before 1646, when he was captain of the Expedition, one of the ships appointed for the winter guard. A few months later he was captain of the Antelope, and, in 1648, of the Lion (*Life of Penn*, i. 226, 236, 255), and throughout these services he appears to have ranked as one of the seniors in the fleet. During this time the navy had taken no distinct part in the struggle that was raging on shore, but had guarded England's coasts unaffected by party politics. In 1648, when the king was a prisoner and the Prince of Wales had fled the country, this neutrality could no longer be maintained, and in June a part of the fleet, under the command of Vice-Admiral William Batten, refusing obedience to the parliamentary authorities, weighed anchor from the Downs, and went over to Holland. That the whole or a still greater part did not go, was attributed mainly to the influence of Ayscue, whose service was rewarded by an appointment in the following year as admiral of the Irish seas. In this capacity, with his flag on board the St. Andrew, he was actively engaged in the operations on the coast of Ireland, and more especially in the relief of Dublin when besieged by the Marquis of Ormond, and for his conduct there he was officially thanked by order in parliament, dated 23 July 1649.

In April 1651, as second to Blake, he was engaged in the reduction of Scilly, then held for the Prince of Wales by Sir John Grenville, and was afterwards sent to the West Indies in command of a squadron, with which he reduced Barbadoes, after a stout defence on the part of Lord Willoughby, its royalist governor. Antigua, Nevis, St. Christopher's, as well as the settlements on the coast of Virginia, surrendered without further resistance, and Ayscue, finding his work in the West Indies finished, returned to England. He arrived at Plymouth in the end of May 1652, bringing in with him a number of Dutch merchant ships captured in accordance with the orders for reprisals which had been issued several months before the actual outbreak of the war. A few days later, having intelligence of a Dutch fleet sailing westward, he put to sea, and found it, on 12 June, a little to the west of the Lizard. It was, in fact, the outward-bound trade, under the convoy of a number of men-of-war, and, when attacked by Ayscue's squadron, stood stoutly on the defensive, and got away with the loss of some five ships. After this Sir George went round to the Downs, where he was left by Blake to command, and where, on 3 July, he was attacked by the Dutch with a much superior force. They were, however, unable to overcome the advantage of position, and were driven back; whilst Ayscue, following up his success, fell in with a number of Dutch merchant ships, of which he captured seven, and sank or ran ashore many more. Presently, however, the Dutch returned, mustering 102 men-of-war, besides ten fire-ships, against which Ayscue could oppose no more than sixteen vessels. Batteries for his support were erected on shore; but it might well have gone hard with him if a fortunate shift of wind had not driven the Dutch back (*Calendar of State Papers*, 11 July; WHITELOCKE, 13 July).

Afterwards, having received large reinforcements, which raised his fleet to some fifty sail all told, he went round to Plymouth, and off that port, on 16 Aug., met the Dutch under De Ruyter, whose force, on a comparison of the many differing and opposing estimates, may be considered to have been equal to that with Ayscue. After a close and confused action, which lasted from two or three o'clock in the afternoon till nightfall, the fleets separated without any decided advantage on either side. During the next day they lay in sight of each other, neither of them wishing to begin or to appear to shun a renewal of the fight; but towards evening the Dutch pursued their way to the westward, and the English, too shattered to follow them, went into Plymouth. Both claimed and have continued to claim the victory, which, so far as the immediate contest was concerned, belonged to neither, though undoubtedly the advantage rested with De Ruyter, since he had protected his convoy and pursued his voyage. And this would seem to have been the opinion of the parliament; for with implied, if not expressed censure, they superseded Ayscue in his command, assigning him, however, a pension of 300*l.* a year. Either by inheritance, by commerce, or by prize-money, Sir George would seem by this time to have amassed a comfortable fortune. Whitelocke relates how, on 13 Aug. 1656, the ambassador of Sweden was elaborately entertained at Sir George Ayscue's house in Surrey (Ham-Haw in the parish of Chertsey). 'The house,' he writes, 'stands environed with ponds, moats, and water, like a ship at sea: a fancy the fitter for the master's humour, who is himself so great a seaman. There, he said, he had cast anchor and intended to spend the rest of his life in a private retirement.' Within two years, however, he was persuaded by Cromwell to go to Sweden and take the command of the Swedish fleet; and though no opportunity for active service occurred, he stayed in Sweden, presumably as adviser on naval affairs, until the Restoration, when he returned to England, and was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy. On the outbreak of the second Dutch war, in 1664, he was appointed rear-admiral of the blue, and served in that rank in the action of 3 June 1665, with his flag in the Henry. On the Duke of York's quitting the fleet he was made vice-admiral of the red, under Lord Sandwich. The following spring he was admiral of the blue, in the Royal Prince; but on 30 May, when Prince Rupert had taken part of the fleet away to the westward, and with him Sir Thomas Allin, the admiral of the white, Ayscue was appointed admiral of the white in the division of the fleet that remained with Monck; and it was as admiral of the white that he took part in the four days' engagement off the North Foreland (*State Papers, Domestic*, Charles II, vol. clvii. No. 57, Clarke to Williamson, 30 May, 1666). On the third day of this great battle, whilst endeavouring to join Prince Rupert's division, which had just come on the scene, the Royal Prince struck on the Galloper—a dangerous shoal on the Essex coast—was surrounded by the Dutch and captured. They were unable, however, to get the ship off, and eventually set her on fire; but they carried Sir George Ayscue a prisoner to Holland, and are said, by all our contemporary writers, to have shown a most ignoble exultation over their illustrious captive. That they paraded him through their towns, exhibiting him to the populace, seems to be well established, even if we are unwilling to believe that they first painted him and fastened a tail on him (*Calendar*, 10 July 1666). He was kept a prisoner till after the peace, in October 1667. He arrived in London in November, and on the 12th was presented to the king, by whom he was graciously received. It may be doubted whether he ever served again, though he is said on doubtful authority to have hoisted his flag in 1668 on board the Triumph, and again in 1671 on board the St. Andrew. In the third Dutch war, beginning in 1672, he held no command; and it would therefore appear probable that he died about that time; but no record of his death has been preserved. His portrait by Lely is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich.

Sir George Ayscue always wrote his name thus; but contemporary writers, with the carelessness of their age, misspelt it, among many other ways, Ayscough and Askew.

[Campbell's Lives of the Admirals; Charnock's Biog. Nav. i. 89; Calendars of State Papers, 1649–52, 1660–66; Pepys's Diary; Whitelocke's Memorials; Brandt's Vie de De Ruyter. A number of contemporary pamphlets, mostly bearing such titles as 'A Bloudy Fight,' or 'Another Bloudy Fight at Sea' (Brit. Mus. Catalogue, s.n. 'Ayscue, George'), are mere crude, hasty, and exaggerated reports, without any authority.]

J. K. L.

AYTON, RICHARD (1786–1823), dramatist and miscellaneous writer, was born in London in 1786. His father, a son of William Ayton, banker in Lombard Street, removed some time afterwards to Macclesfield, Cheshire, and at the grammar school of that town young Ayton obtained a good elementary knowledge of Latin and Greek. In accordance with the wish of his father, who

died in 1799, that he should be educated for the bar, he was sent to study law at Manchester, and at the end of a year became the pupil of a barrister in London; but conceiving from the beginning a distaste for the profession, he never set himself seriously to prepare for it. As soon as he came of age, he retired to the coast of Sussex, resolved to limit his expenses to his comparatively small income, and to consult only his own inclinations in the occupation of his time. There he amused himself with desultory reading and active outdoor exercise, boating being his special delight. In 1811 he returned to London, and accepted a situation in a public office; but this he relinquished in 1813, to accompany William Daniell, A.R.A., in a voyage round Great Britain. An account of the voyage, with views drawn and engraved by Daniell, appeared in 8 vols. folio, 1814–25 [see DANIELL, WILLIAM]; but the letterpress of only the first two volumes is by Ayton. Disagreeing with Daniell in regard to his plans for the future volumes, Ayton declined to proceed further with the book, and betook himself to play-writing. Two of his farces, acted at Covent Garden, were total failures; but he adapted from the French several pieces for the English Opera House with moderate success. During a voyage between Scarborough and London, Ayton was nearly shipwrecked, and received an injury to his ankle which confined him to bed for more than a year. In the spring of 1821 he was sufficiently recovered to go to the coast of Sussex, but his health continued uncertain and precarious. In July 1823 his illness assumed so serious a form, that he removed for medical advice to London, where he died shortly afterwards. During the last eighteen months of his life Ayton occupied himself in the composition of a number of essays, chiefly on pastimes and similar subjects, written in a genial and playful spirit, and displaying considerable sprightliness and humour. These, with a short memoir prefixed, were published in 1825.

[Memoir in Edinburgh Magazine, new series, x. 254–5, which contains some additional details to those given in Monthly Magazine, iv. 153–4, and Gent. Mag. vol. lxvii. part 2, pp. 731–2.]

T. F. H.

AYTON, or AYTOUN, SIR ROBERT (1570–1638), poet, was a descendant of the Norman house of De Vescy, lords of Sprouston in Northumberland. Gilbert de Vescy, a younger son of the family, settled in Scotland in the reign of King Robert Bruce, having received from him the lands of Aytoun in Berwickshire. Thereupon he changed his name to that of his estate.

In Berwickshire the Aytouns continued as landowners until James III (1460–1488), when a brother of the family of Home married the heiress, and carried the lands into that house. The uncle of the heiress, her father's younger brother, Andrew Aytoun, was captain of Stirling Castle and sheriff of Elgin and Forres during the reign of James IV (1488–1513). For 'faithful services' the king gave him several charters, confirming him in the lands of Nether Dunmure, Kilgour, and Glenduckie in western Fifeshire. By a new charter from the crown somewhat later these lands were constituted into a barony called Aytoun, the proprietor being designated 'of that ilk.'

This Captain Aytoun of Stirling had three sons and seven daughters. John, eldest son, succeeded his father in the estate of Aytoun; Robert, second son, obtained the estate of Inchdairnie; and Andrew, third son, succeeded in 1567 Robert Aytoun, his first cousin, in the estate of Kinaldie, which had come into the family about 1539. Andrew Aytoun, who was a student of the university of St. Andrews in 1539, married Mary Lundie, and she bore him three sons and two daughters. John, the eldest, succeeded to the estate of Kinaldie in 1590; Andrew, second son, proceeded to Ireland; and the third son was Robert, who devoted himself to literature.

Sir Robert Aytoun was born at the castle of Kinaldie, in the parish of Cameron, near St. Andrews, in 1570. He proceeded to the university of St. Andrews (St. Leonard's College) in 1584, and took his degree of M.A. in 1588. He obtained his patrimony in 1590, and thereupon went on the usual round of continental travel. He also studied civil law at the university of Paris. According to Thomas Dempster (*Historia Eccles. Gentis Scotorum*), 'he long cherished useful learning in France, and left there distinguished proof and reputation of his worth' in certain verses in Latin, Greek, and French. An overlooked book by David Echlin [Echlinus], 'Periurium Officiosum ad Vere Nobilem et Generosum optimeque de me meritum virum Robertum Aytonvm Equitem . . . 1626,' more than bears out the laudation of Dempster. He is thus addressed:—

> Rarum Aytone decus Britanniarum
> Musarum soboles Apollinisque . . .

Aytoun returned from the continent in 1603, bringing over with him a Latin poem in hexameters, addressed to James I: 'De Fœlici, et semper Augusto, Jacobi VI, Scotiæ Insularumque adiacentium Regis, Imperio nunc recens florentissimis Angliæ et Hiberniæ

Sceptris amplificato Roberti Aytoni Scoti Panegyris. Paris, 1603.' He was cordially received at the English court. He rose at once into royal favour, and shared in the king's lavish if rather indiscriminate bounty to his fellow-countrymen. He was appointed gentleman of the bedchamber and private secretary to the queen. He received knighthood at Rycot on 30 Aug. 1612. He was sent as ambassador to Germany to deliver the king's 'Apology' before published anonymously, but now avowed and 'delivered' to all the sovereigns of Europe by its complacent author. On 11 Dec. 1619 he obtained a grant of 500*l.* per annum on certain 'royal profits' (*Docquet Book of Exchequer*) for 'thirty-one years;' but in 1620 this was commuted for a life-pension of the same amount. Dr. Charles Rogers has printed a number of his letters on these and other 'affairs.' In 1623 he was a candidate in competition with Bacon for the provostship of Eton. It fell to Sir Henry Wotton, notwithstanding an application addressed to James by Aytoun in verse. This correspondence and casual notices in state and domestic papers show him to have been on intimate terms with the literary men of the period. 'Rare Ben' told Drummond of Hawthornden proudly that 'Sir Robert Aytoun loved him [Jonson] dearly.' Aubrey says of him that 'he was acquainted with all the wits of his time in England,' and that 'he was a great acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, who told me he made use of him (together with Ben Jonson) for an Aristarchus, when he drew up his epistle dedicatory for his translation of Thucydides.'

On the death of James I in 1625, all his offices and honours were continued to him by Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria.

In 1633–4 he is found mixed up with a 'patent' quarrel. In 1636 he was appointed master of the royal hospital of St. Katherine, with 200*l.* a year. He was also made master of requests and of ceremonies and privy councillor. In his various offices, and on receiving his successive advances, it was acknowledged in his lifetime that 'he conducted himself with such moderation and prudence that when he obtained high honours in the palace, all held he deserved greater.' He died at Whitehall, February 1637–8, in his sixty-ninth year, having a few days before prepared his will. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his great monument, which includes his lifelike bust, 'remains with us unto this day.' He is thus entered in the Register of Westminster: '1637–8, Feb. 28, Sir Robert Aeton, secretary to his majesty, near the steps ascending to King Henry VII's chapel' (Chester, p. 133).

The literary repute of Sir Robert Aytoun is as much of a paradox as Sir Edward Dyer's. His Latin productions are stilted and unmellifluous, mere echoes of the iron age of classic Latinity, and simply grotesque beside Buchanan's and Johnston's. Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet indeed gives him a relatively large space in his 'Delitiæ Poet. Scot.,' but simply from his contemporary repute. Among his Latin poems appear several epitaphs and epigrams celebrating eminent contemporaries. The latest event to which any of them refers is the death of Buckingham in 1628, commemorated in elegiacs. Aytoun's 'Diophantus and Charidora' has a certain interest as having been among the earlier writing in English by a Scot, but it is poor in substance. His 'Inconstancy Upbraided' has a ring of truthfulness and touches of music. Such praise as is due to the elegant trifles of an accomplished man of the world is all that can be allowed his poems. If it could be proved that he wrote 'I do confess thou'rt smooth and fair,' of which Burns gave a Scottish version, it would not be necessary to modify this estimate; and it is all but certain that Sir Robert Aytoun did not write it. For (*a*) in the manuscript of his poems (*Add. MS.* 10308), so reverentially collected and prepared by Sir John Aytoun, his nephew and successor in the estate, it does not appear; (*b*) neither does it appear in Dr. Rogers's manuscript, also carefully and critically compiled; (*c*) while in Watson's 'Scots Poems,' which contains other of his poems with his name, this particular poem is placed apart and under no author's name. It seems clear that it came to be ascribed to him from confusion of its title, 'To an Inconstant Mistress,' with his 'Inconstancy Upbraided.' Sir Robert himself made no claim to be a poet. As Sir John Aytoun in his epistle (*Add. MS. ut supra*) put it, 'The author of these ensueing poems did not affect the name of a poet, having neither publisht in print nor kept coppyes of anything he writt, either in Latin or English.' A copy of his 'Basia' is in the Drummond collection of the university of Edinburgh. Dr. Charles Rogers, first in 1844, very uncritically, and more recently in a revised 'privately printed edition,' showing some advance on the former, yet needing improvement, published the poems of Aytoun, with a full if rather discursive life.

[Rogers's edition of Aytoun's poems; Campbell's Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, 1798; notice by John Hill Burton

in S.D.U.K. Biog. Dict.; Dr. Irving; Public Records; Hew Scott's Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, 1869 (4to), i. 462, 464; Chester's Reg. of Westminster Abbey; Hobbes of Malmesbury's Life and Works—Aytoun assisted in his Thucydides; Addit. MS. 10308, in the Brit. Mus. Library; Rogers without any authority includes 'Auld Lang Syne' (pp. i and ii) and Raleigh's 'Sweet Empress' in Aytoun's Poems.]

A. B. G.

AYTOUN, WILLIAM EDMONSTOUNE (1813–1865), poet, born in Edinburgh on 21 June 1813, was the son of Roger Aytoun, writer to the signet, and of Joan Keir. Through both father and mother he belonged to old Scottish families, his progenitors on the father's side being the Aytouns of Inchdairnie in Fifeshire, and the Edmonstounes, formerly of Edmonstoune and Ednam, and afterwards of Corehouse in Lanarkshire, and on the mother's side the Keirs of Kinmonth and West Rhynd in Perthshire. Among his ancestors he counted Sir Robert Ayton, who followed James VI to England, and was attached to the court till his death in 1638, when he was buried in Westminster Abbey, having been a friend of all the leading men of letters in London, including Ben Jonson and Hobbes of Malmesbury, and himself taken rank among them as a poet. In that character he is chiefly known as the reputed author of two songs, which Burns worked into more modern shape, one of them being 'Should auld acquaintance be forgot,' the song, of all others, dear to Scotchmen [see AYTON or AYTOUN, SIR ROBERT]. Both Aytoun's parents were of literary tastes; and by his mother he was early imbued with a passion for ballad poetry and an imaginative sympathy for the royal race of Stuart. She had seen much of Sir Walter Scott in his boyhood and youth, and supplied his biographer Lockhart with many of the details for his life of Scott. Her knowledge of ballad lore was great, and was very serviceable in enabling her son to fill up gaps, and to correct false readings when preparing his edition of the 'Ballads of Scotland' in 1858. Aytoun was educated at the Edinburgh academy and university, and wrote verses fluently and well while still a student. At the age of seventeen he published a small volume called 'Poland, Homer, and other Poems,' in which the qualities of his later style were already apparent. He thought of going to the English bar, but after a winter in London, attending the courts of law, he abandoned this intention. Aytoun disliked the idea of following his father's profession, but after a residence of some months at Aschaffenburg, where he devoted himself with enthusiasm to the study of German literature, he returned to Edinburgh. Having no fortune, he put aside the thought of devoting himself to literary pursuits, resumed his place in his father's office, and was admitted as a writer of the signet in 1835. The discipline of his legal practice was of great use in giving him a power of mastering the details of political and other questions which was of distinct service to him at a later period. In 1840 he was called to the Scottish bar, which had more attraction for him than the irksome monotony of a solicitor's practice, and made a fair position for himself there during the years in which he remained in active practice. His heart, however, was in literary pursuits, and he had already begun to feel his way in them by translations from Uhland, Homer, and others, as well as in original poems, which appeared in 'Blackwood's Magazine' during the years from 1836 to 1840. Between that period and 1844 he worked together with [Sir] Theodore Martin in the production of what are known as the 'Bon Gaultier Ballads,' which acquired such great popularity that thirteen large editions of them were called for between 1855 and 1877. They were also associated at this time in writing many prose magazine articles of a humorous character, as well as a series of translations of Goethe's ballads and minor poems, which, after appearing in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' were some years afterwards (1858) collected and published in a volume. It was during this period that Aytoun began to write the series of ballads known as 'Lays of the Cavaliers,' which first drew attention to him as an original poet, and which have taken so firm a hold of the public that no less than twenty-nine editions of them have appeared, eleven of them since Aytoun's death in 1865. In 1844 he became one of the staff of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' to which he continued till his death to contribute political and other articles on a great variety of subjects with unflagging industry and a remarkable fertility and variety of resource. Among these were several tales, in which Aytoun's humour and shrewd practical sense were conspicuous. Of these perhaps the most amusing were 'My First Spec in the Biggleswades,' and 'How we got up the Glenmutchkin Railway, and how we got out of it;' and they had a most salutary effect in exposing the rascality and folly of the railway mania of 1845. People laughed, but they profited—for a time—by the lessons there read to them. In 1845 Aytoun was appointed professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in the univer-

sity of Edinburgh. Here he was in his element; and he made his lectures so attractive that he raised the number of students from 30 in 1846 to upwards of 1,850 in 1864. His professorial duties did not interfere with his position at the bar, and in 1852, when the tory party came into power, they requited his services as a political writer by appointing him sheriff of Orkney. In the following year Oxford conferred on him the honorary degree of D.C.L. The duties of Aytoun's sheriffship did not engross much of his time. These, and his work as professor, both most conscientiously discharged, left him leisure for literary work. In 1854 he produced the dramatic poem 'Firmilian,' perhaps the most brilliant of his works, which was written in ridicule of the extravagant themes and style of Bailey, Dobell, and Alexander Smith. It was, however, so full of imagination and fine rhythmical swing, that its object was mistaken, and what was meant for caricature was accepted as serious poetry. In 1856 Aytoun published 'Bothwell,' a poetical monologue, dealing with the relations between the hero and Mary Queen of Scots. It contained many fine passages, and three editions of it were published. In 1858 he published a collection, in two volumes, of the 'Ballads of Scotland,' carefully collated and annotated, of which four editions, the last in 1860, have been published. In 1861 his novel of 'Norman Sinclair' was published: it had already appeared in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' and is interesting for its pictures of society in Scotland, as Aytoun saw it in his youth, and for many passages which are, in fact, autobiographical. About this time Aytoun's health began to fail, and his spirits had sustained a shock, from which he never wholly recovered, in the death (15 April 1859) of his wife, the youngest daughter of Professor Wilson (Christopher North), whom he had married in April 1849, and to whom he was devotedly attached. He sought relief in hard work, but life had thenceforth lost much of its zest for him. Being childless, its loneliness became intolerable, and in December 1863 he married again. But by this time his constitution was seriously shaken, and on 4 Aug. 1865 he died at Blackhills, near Elgin, whither he had gone to spend the summer in the hope of recruiting his health. Aytoun's life had been, upon the whole, a happy one. He was of a genial, kindly disposition, full of playfulness, and of original and cultured humour, warmly esteemed by his friends, and constant in his attachments to them. Nature and education fitted him for a man of letters, and he took delight in the very varied literary labours by which his free and facile pen enriched the pages of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' and added a few books to literature of permanent interest.

His published works are:—1. 'Poland, Homer, and other Poems,' Edinburgh, 1832. 2. 'The Life and Times of Richard the First,' London, 1840. 3. 'Lays of the Cavaliers,' Edinburgh, 1848, 29th edition 1883. 4. 'Bon Gaultier's Ballads' (jointly with Theodore Martin), London, 1855, 13th edition 1877. 5. 'Bothwell,' London, 1856. 6. 'Firmilian,' 1854. 7. 'Poems and Ballads of Goethe' (jointly with Theodore Martin), London, 1858. 8. 'Ballads of Scotland,' 2 vols. London, 1858, 4th edition 1870. 9. 'Nuptial Ode to the Princess Alexandra,' London, 1863. 10. 'Norman Sinclair,' 3 vols. London, 1861.

[W. E. Aytoun's Life, by Theodore Martin, 1867.] T. M.

B

BAALUN, or **BALUN**, JOHN DE (*d.* 1235), justice itinerant, was a baron who possessed estates in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Wiltshire, and was descended from one Hameline de Baalun, who came over with the Conqueror, built the castle of Abergavenny, and died in 1089. His father was Reginald de Balun, and in 1207 John de Balun paid a fine for the lands of Hameline, on behalf of his father, to Geoffrey Fitz-Ace and Agnes, his wife, and 100 marks and a palfrey to the king. In 12 John (1210–11) Balun accompanied the king to Ireland, but at the end of John's reign lost his lands for taking part in the barons' attack upon the king. On the accession of Henry III he was restored on returning to his allegiance, and in 9 Henry III (1224–5) was appointed a justice itinerant for Gloucestershire along with Matthew de Pateshull, archdeacon of Norfolk, Richard de Veym, and the abbot of Tewkesbury. He died in 1235. His son John paid 100*l.* for his relief, and did homage for his inheritance, and, dying in 1274, was succeeded by another of John's sons, Walter (*Abb. Rot. Orig.* i. 24). A justice itinerant who was appointed 9 Henry III and died in the following year (1226) bore the name of ROGER DE BAALUN

or Balun, and was probably a son or grandson of Wynebald de Balun of Eastington Manor, in Gloucestershire, brother of Hameline de Balun.

[Foss's Lives of the Judges; Dugdale's Origines Juridic. (Chron. Ser.); Courthope's Historic Peerage.] J. A. H.

BAAN. [See De Baan.]

BABBAGE, CHARLES (1792–1871), mathematician and scientific mechanician, was the son of Mr. Benjamin Babbage, of the banking firm of Praed, Mackworth, and Babbage, and was born near Teignmouth in Devonshire on 26 Dec. 1792. Being a sickly child he received a somewhat desultory education at private schools, first at Alphington near Exeter, and later at Enfield. He was, however, his own instructor in algebra, of which he was passionately fond, and, previous to his entry at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1811, he had read Ditton's 'Fluxions,' Woodhouse's 'Principles of Analytical Calculation,' Lagrange's 'Théorie des Fonctions,' and other similar works. He thus found himself far in advance of his tutors' mathematical attainments, and becoming with further study more and more impressed with the advantages of the Leibnitzian notation, he joined with Herschel, Peacock (afterwards Dean of Ely), and some others, to found in 1812 the 'Analytical Society' for promoting (as Babbage humorously expressed it) 'the principles of pure *D*-ism in opposition to the *Dot*-age of the university.' The translation, by the three friends conjointly (in pursuance of the same design), of Lacroix's 'Elementary Treatise on the Differential and Integral Calculus' (Cambridge, 1816), and their publication in 1820 of two volumes of 'Examples' with their solutions, gave the first impulse to a mathematical revival in England, by the introduction of the refined analytical methods and the more perfect notation in use on the continent.

Babbage graduated from Peterhouse in 1814 and took an M.A. degree in 1817. He did not compete for honours, believing Herschel sure of the first place, and not caring to come out second. In 1815 he became possessed of a house in London at No. 5 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, in which he resided until 1827. His scientific activity was henceforth untiring and conspicuous. In 1815–17 he contributed to the 'Philosophical Transactions' three essays on the calculus of functions, which helped to found a new, and even yet little explored, branch of analysis. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1816. He took a prominent part in the foundation of the Astronomical Society in 1820, and acted as one of its secretaries until 1824, subsequently filling the offices, successively, of vice-president, foreign secretary, and member of council. In 1825 he joined with Herschel in repeating and extending Arago's experiments on the magnetisation of rotating plates, reaching the conclusion that 'in the induction of magnetism, time enters as an essential element' (*Phil. Trans.* cxv. 484). The 'astatic' needle in its present form was devised for use in these researches (*ib.* p. 476).

It was at Cambridge about 1812 that the first idea of calculating numerical tables by machinery occurred to Babbage. The favourable opinion of Wollaston encouraged him in 1819 to make a serious effort towards its realisation. Machines, such as had existed since Pascal's time, for performing single arithmetical operations, afforded neither saving of time nor security against error, since the selection and placing of a number of arbitrary figures was no less laborious and uncertain than the calculation itself. The essential novelty of Babbage's design consisted in setting wheelwork to develop the numerical consequences of the law of any given series, thus insuring the accurate calculation of an entire table without any further trouble to the operator than a few original adjustments. The mathematical principle selected by him as the basis of his invention was the 'method of differences,' by which it appears that the numbers composing nearly all arithmetical series can be formed by the repeated addition to fundamental numbers of a common difference or 'element'—a process eminently capable of being performed by machinery.

A small engine, of which he constructed a model on this system between 1820 and 1822, was described by Babbage in a note read before the Astronomical Society on 14 June 1822 (*Memoirs*, i. 309). The announcement was received with enthusiasm, and the highest anticipations were formed as to the results eventually to be derived from the invention (see Baily in *Phil. Mag.* lxiii. (1824) 355, and *Astr. Nach.* No. 46). It was rewarded on 13 June 1823 with the first gold medal bestowed by the society, in presenting which the president, Mr. Colebrooke, declared it to be 'in scope, as in execution, unlike anything before accomplished to aid operose computations' (*Mem. R. A. Soc.* i. 509).

Babbage now proposed to construct a machine upon a greatly enlarged scale, and made his views on the subject public in a letter dated 3 July 1822, addressed to Sir Humphry

Davy, president of the Royal Society. The prospect of vastly increased facility and accuracy in the production of the innumerable tables needed in navigation, astronomy, &c., could not be overlooked by the government, and the practicability of the scheme was on 1 April 1823 officially submitted to the judgment of the Royal Society. Having been favourably reported upon, an interview took place in July between Babbage and the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Robinson), at which some indistinct verbal agreement was come to. The upshot was that, aided by a grant of 1,500*l.* from the Civil Contingencies Fund, the works were without delay set on foot, and were continued actively for four years. At the end of that time Babbage went abroad under medical advice, and devoted a year to completing his extensive acquaintance with the resources of British mechanical art by the study of foreign workshops and factories. The results were embodied in an admirable little treatise 'On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures' (1832, 4th edition 1835), of which the merit was attested by translation into four languages, and by reprints in America.

On his return to England towards the close of 1828 fresh applications to the treasury became necessary, which, after the council of the Royal Society had repeated its verdict of encouragement, and the Duke of Wellington, by a personal inspection of the works, had convinced himself of their satisfactory progress, were liberally responded to. Nevertheless, little more was done. Misunderstandings arose with Clement, the engineer; the previous prompt payment of his bills was suspended; and the removal of his business from Lambeth to the neighbourhood of Babbage's residence, No. 1 Dorset Street, Manchester Square, where the government had caused fire-proof buildings to be erected for the reception of the drawings and workshops, was made the occasion of an extravagant claim for compensation. On its refusal he withdrew his men, carried off (as he was legally entitled to do) the valuable tools made at the expense of his employers, and thus brought about a complete deadlock in the construction of the machine. In the interval of a year and a quarter which elapsed before an accommodation could be arrived at, Babbage's speculative mind had grasped the principle of an entirely new invention. The powers foreseen by him for the 'analytical engine' not only transcended, but superseded, those of its predecessor. It promised to do the work of the 'difference engine' with greatly increased rapidity, besides executing operations of a far higher range of complexity. These views he considered it his duty to communicate to the government, but failed, during *eight years*, to elicit any answer to the question whether, under the altered circumstances, they desired the fulfilment of his original (implied) engagement with them. At length, on 4 Nov. 1842, Mr. Goulburn (Sir Robert Peel's chancellor of the exchequer) acquainted him with the final decision to abandon, on the ground of excessive and indefinite expense, a construction which had already cost 17,000*l.* of public money, besides (probably) about 6,000*l.* of the inventor's private means.

The machine, of which the plan was thus rendered abortive, was to have had twenty places of figures with six orders of differences, and included mechanism for printing its results. A small portion, put together in 1833, capable of calculating to the third difference, gave a highly satisfactory earnest of the working of the whole. It was shown at the International Exhibition of 1862, and is now in the South Kensington Museum. An elaborate article on the subject by Dr. Lardner, published in the 'Edinburgh Review' for July 1834, led to the construction of the Swedish difference engines by Scheutz of Stockholm (whose original inventiveness Babbage was foremost in acknowledging), one of which was used by the late Dr. Farr in computing the 'English Life Table,' No. 3 (1864). As further secondary, but most important, results of Babbage's labours may be mentioned, first, improvements in machinery and tools, stated by Lord Rosse (*Proc. R. Soc.* vii. 257) to have more than repaid the sum expended on the unfinished machine; secondly, the invention of a scheme of notation applicable to the interpretation of all mechanical actions whatever, first explained in a communication by Babbage to the Royal Society, 16 March 1826 ('On a Method of expressing by Signs the Action of Machinery,' *Phil. Trans.* cxvi. part ii. 250), and afterwards more fully developed to meet the requirements of the analytical engine.

The capabilities of the new machine, to the perfecting of which Babbage devoted thirty-seven years of his life and no inconsiderable share of his fortune, were not limited, like those of the difference engine, to the tabulation of a particular function, but extended over a wide range of analysis. Two sets of perforated cards, similar to those used in Jacquard's looms, prescribed in the one case the numbers to be worked with ('variable cards'), and in the other the kind and sequence of operations to be performed upon them ('operation cards'). A committee appointed by the British Association

in 1872 (including the names of Cayley and Clifford), to report upon the feasibility of the design, recorded their opinion that its successful realisation might mark an epoch in the history of computation equally memorable with that of the introduction of logarithms (*Report*, 1878, p. 100); yet did not counsel the attempt, the state of the drawings not being such as to admit of any reasonable estimate as to cost, strength, or durability, being founded upon them. This extraordinary monument of inventive genius accordingly remains, and will doubtless for ever remain, a 'theoretical possibility.'

Babbage occupied the Lucasian chair of mathematics at Cambridge during eleven years (1828–39), but delivered no lectures. He attended in 1828 the meeting of 'Naturforscher' at Berlin, and the scientific congress of Turin in 1840, when he was received with singular and unexpected favour by the king, Charles Albert (see chap. xxiv. of his *Passages in the Life of a Philosopher*). The drawings and models of the analytical engine exhibited by him on that occasion formed the subject of a valuable essay by Menabrea (*Bibl. Un. de Genève*, t. xli. October 1842), translated, with copious notes, by Ada, Lady Lovelace (Taylor's *Scientific Memoirs*, iii. 666). His outspoken attack upon the management of the Royal Society in a volume entitled 'The Decline of Science in England' (1830) contributed materially to the origin of the British Association in the following year. Of this body he acted as one of the trustees during six years (1832–8), and originated the statistical section at the Cambridge meeting in 1833. The foundation, moreover, of the Statistical Society of London on 15 March 1834 was mainly his work. Amongst his ingenious ideas, that of signalling by 'occulting solar lights,' brought into practice by the Russians during the siege of Sebastopol, deserves mention. It had been recommended by him as a mode of identification for lighthouses (see his tract, *Notes respecting Lighthouses*, 1852). He twice—in 1832 and 1834—unsuccessfully contested the borough of Finsbury on liberal principles. Nor were what he regarded as his equitable claims to remunerative employment under government recognised. He was, however, a member of scientific bodies in all parts of the world, including the Paris Academy of Moral Sciences, the Royal Irish and American Academies.

In his latter years Babbage came before the public chiefly as the implacable foe of organ-grinders. He considered that one-fourth of his entire working power had been destroyed by audible nuisances, to which his highly-strung nerves rendered him peculiarly sensitive. In the decay of other faculties, his interest and memory never failed for the operations of the extensive workshops attached to his house. There what might be called the wreckage of a brilliant and strenuous career lay scattered, and thence, after his death on 18 Oct. 1871, some fragmentary portions of the marvellous engine destined to have indefinitely quickened the application of science to every department of human life, were collected and removed to the South Kensington Museum.

Of the eighty works enumerated by Babbage himself (*Passages*, &c. pp. 493–6) scarcely one, except the 'Economy of Manufactures,' can be regarded as a finished performance. The rest are mostly sketches or enlarged pamphlets, keen and suggestive, but incomplete. The 'Comparative View of the various Institutions for the Assurance of Lives' (1826), however, though not exempt from error, was a highly useful work, and one of the first attempts to popularise the subject. It contained a table of mortality deduced from the experience of the Equitable Society, to the construction of which Babbage had been led by his appointment as actuary to the Protector Life Assurance Company (No. 1) on its establishment in 1824 (see Walford's *Insurance Cyclopædia*, iii. 10). The book was reviewed at length in the 'Quarterly' and 'Edinburgh' Reviews (January and March, 1827), was translated into German, and its table of mortality adopted by the Life Assurance Bank of Gotha, founded in 1829. The 'Table of Logarithms of the Natural Numbers from 1 to 108000' (1827), to the preparation of which Babbage devoted singular care, is still in repute. Several foreign editions were printed from the stereotyped plates. The 'Ninth Bridgewater Treatise' (1837, 2nd edition 1838), a work nobly planned, but very partially executed, was remarkable as one of the earliest attempts to reconcile breaches of continuity with the government of the universe by law, and vindicated the serviceableness of mathematics to religion. A volume entitled 'The Exposition of 1851; or Views of the Industry, the Science, and the Government of England' (1851), is the diatribe of a disappointed man, and, like his autobiographical 'Passages from the Life of a Philosopher' (1864), is disfigured by personal allusions, in giving utterance to which he wronged his better nature.

[Month. Not. R. Astr. Soc. xxxii. 101; Times, 23 Oct. 1871; Athenæum, 28 Oct. 1871; Ib. 14 Oct. and 16 Dec. 1848 (De Morgan); Weld's Hist. R. Society, ii. chap. xi.; Nature, v. 28; Ann. Reg. 1871, p. 159.] A. M. C.

BABELL or **BABEL, WILLIAM** (1690?–1723), musician, was the son of a bassoon-player, and received his first musical instruction from his father. He was for some time the pupil of Dr. Pepusch, under whose care he attained to great proficiency as a player both on the harpsichord and violin, and to some skill in composition. He was appointed one of George I's private musicians, and was also given the post of organist of All Hallows, Bread Street. Such celebrity as he attained was due rather to his arrangements for the harpsichord of popular airs from the operas of Handel and others, than to any original work of his own. He may claim to be regarded as the originator of those 'transcriptions' which have since his day been so fashionable in a certain circle of the world of music. Burney criticises him very severely, accusing him of 'wire-drawing the favourite songs of the opera of Rinaldo, and others of the same period, into showy and brilliant lessons, which by mere rapidity of finger in playing single sounds, without the assistance of taste, expression, harmony, or modulation, enabled the performer to astonish ignorance, and acquire the reputation of a great player at a small expense.' Hawkins, however, considers them to have deserved the celebrity which they attained. Besides these arrangements there exist several collections of solos for the violin, oboe, German flute, &c., and some concertos for 'small flutes' and violins mentioned by Hawkins. A Vivace with florid variations, and a Gavotte and Aria in manuscript, are contained in the British Museum (*Add. MS.* 31577). He died at Canonbury on 23 Sept. 1723, his early death being probably due to his intemperate habits. He was buried in All Hallows Church.

[Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, i. 287; Burney's History of Music; Hawkins's History of Music; Manuscript and Printed Music in Brit. Mus.] J. A. F. M.

BABER, HENRY HERVEY (1775–1869), philologist, was born in 1775. He was educated at Oxford, and took his degree as master of arts in 1805. Two years later he entered the service of the British Museum, and in 1812 was promoted to the office of keeper of the printed books, in the general duties of which post, and in work upon the catalogue of books in the collection, he was actively engaged for twenty-five years. Besides his keepership, Baber also held the rectory of Stretham in Cambridgeshire, to which he was appointed in 1827. In the year 1837 he resigned his post at the British Museum, and retired to his rectory. His resignation was partly made in consequence of a recommendation of a parliamentary committee in 1836, that officials of the museum should not hold any other situation conferring emoluments or entailing duties. Mr. Baber died on 28 March 1869, at the age of 94. His chief published work was an edition of the Old Testament portion of the Codex Alexandrinus, 'Vetus Testamentum Græcum e Codice MS. Alexandrino . . . typis ad similitudinem ipsius codicis Scripturæ fideliter descriptum cura et labore H. H. Baber,' 3 vols. London, 1816–21 [28], fol.

[Cowtan's Memories of the British Museum (London, 1872); Statutes and Rules of the British Museum; Catalogue of Oxford Graduates; Clergy Lists.] W. W.

BABER, Sir JOHN, M.D. (1625–1704), physician to Charles II, was the son of John Baber, recorder of Wells, Somersetshire, and was born 18 April 1625. He was educated at Westminster school, whence he was elected in 1642 a student of Christ's College, Oxford. He graduated bachelor of medicine 3 Dec. 1646, being admitted by virtue of the letters of Colonel John Lambert, governor of the garrison for Oxford. Proceeding to the continent, he studied medicine at Leyden, and on 10 Nov. 1648 took the degree of M.D. at Angers. On his return to England he was made M.D. at Oxford 18 July 1650, candidate of the College of Physicians, London, 4 July 1651, and a fellow 17 Aug. 1657. He commenced to practise in London, his residence being in King Street, Covent Garden. Through the recommendation of a near neighbour, Dr. Manton, rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, who, with other presbyterian divines, had taken a prominent part in the restoration of Charles II, he was made physician to the king, the honour of knighthood being also bestowed on him 19 March 1660. Baber was frequently made use of by Charles in his negotiations with the puritans. North, who styles him 'a man of finesse,' states that he was 'in possession of the protectorship at court of dissenting preachers.' In September 1669 he informed Dr. Manton of the king's intention to do his utmost to 'get them accepted within the establishment;' but it would appear that Charles made use of him to inspire trust in intentions which were at the best feeble and vacillating. Baber died in 1704. He was three times married, and had three sons by his first marriage, but no issue by the other two marriages.

[Le Neve's Knights in Harl. Soc. Pub. vol. viii.; Wood's Fasti, i. 503, ii. 91 (163); Burrows's Register of the Visitors of Oxford (1881), 484; North's Examen; Manton's Memoirs; Baxter's

Reliquiæ; Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians, i. 277; Donne's Humble Petition of Covent Garden against a Physician (1661); the Grateful Nonconformist (1665).] T. F. H.

BABINGTON, ANTHONY (1561–1586), leader of a catholic conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth, was descended from a family of great antiquity. John de Babington, who traced his ancestry to the Norman era, was, in the reign of Henry III, the owner of the district round Mickle and Little Babington, or Bavington, in Northumberland. By the marriage, early in the fifteenth century, of Thomas Babington, the fifth in descent from John, with the heiress of Robert Dethick, of Dethick, the main branch of the family became identified with Derbyshire, and by a series of intermarriages with neighbouring heiresses acquired additional property in adjoining counties. A northern branch of the family continued to flourish till the eighteenth century, and offshoots of the Derbyshire branch settled in Leicestershire and Oxfordshire. Lord Macaulay was named after his father's brother-in-law, Thomas Babington, of the Leicestershire branch, in whose house at Rothley Temple he was born.

Anthony was born at Dethick in October 1561. He was the third child and eldest son of Henry Babington, of Dethick, by his second wife, Mary, daughter of George, Lord Darcy, of Darcy, and granddaughter of Thomas, Lord Darcy, who was beheaded in 1538 as a principal actor in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Anthony's father is said to have been 'inclined to papistrie,' and to have 'had a brother that was a doctor of divinitie' of the same religious profession. He died in 1571, at the age of forty-one, and left Anthony his infant heir. To his three guardians —his mother, the descendant of a catholic rebel, to her second husband, Henry Foljambe, and to Philip Draycot, of Paynsley, Staffordshire—Anthony was indebted for his education. Although all the three outwardly conformed to protestantism, they were undoubtedly secret adherents of the Roman catholic faith, and in that belief Anthony was brought up. He apparently remained at Dethick till about 1577, only diversifying his life with occasional visits to Draycot's house at Paynsley, where his Roman catholic predilections were sedulously encouraged. There, too, he made the acquaintance of Margery, Draycot's daughter, whom he seems to have married about 1579, when barely eighteen. For a short time, probably before his marriage, he served as page to Queen Mary of Scotland, when she was imprisoned at Sheffield under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and he then became passionately devoted to her and her cause. In 1580 Babington came to London, with the avowed intention of studying law, and he is stated to have entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. But he soon abandoned all prospects at the bar for fashionable town life. His wealth, his cultivated intelligence, his charm of manner, his handsome features, secured for him a good reception at court, and he met there many young men of his own creed, infatuated admirers of Queen Mary, whom Jesuit conspirators from the Continent were drawing into treasonable practices. Early in 1580, on the arrival of Edmund Campion and Parsons, the Jesuits, in disguise in England, Babington joined a number of youths of good family in the formation of a secret society for the protection and maintenance of Jesuit missionaries in England. To the conversion of 'heretics' (i.e. protestants) all the members swore to devote their persons and abilities and wealth. On 14 April 1580 Pope Gregory XIII sent them a message blessing the enterprise (cf. Simpson's *Edmund Campion*, p. 157). Babington and his friends—Lady Babington, of Whitefriars, London, and Lady Foljambe, of Walton, Derbyshire—did all in their power to advance the society's cause, and frequently invited Fathers Campion and Parsons to lodge in their houses on their secret tours through England in 1580 and 1581. Early in 1582, after the capture and execution of Campion, Babington withdrew to Dethick. In the same year he came of age, and assumed the management of his vast landed property. He acknowledged the disinterested care with which his stepfather Foljambe had administered his estates during his minority by settling upon him an annuity of one hundred marks. At the same date the names of Babington and of his wife appeared in a list of Derbyshire recusants (*Cal. State Papers*, 1581–90, p. 88). Subsequently Anthony travelled in France and made the acquaintance of Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan, Mary Stuart's emissaries at Paris, who were vigorously plotting with Spain in their mistress's behalf. According to a passage in Leti's 'Vita di Sisto V' (iii. 103, ed. 1821), Babington extended his journey to Rome, and was accompanied by many fellow-members of the Roman catholic secret society. Queen Mary's friends abroad evidently marked Babington out, while on the continent, as a fitting leader of a catholic insurrection in England. After his return, in 1585, they sent him letters to be delivered to the imprisoned queen. But it was not until April 1586 that he was induced to take the leading

part in the task of organising the famous conspiracy called after him, which aimed at a general rising of the catholics in England, the murder of Elizabeth and her chief advisers, and the release of Mary Stuart. John Ballard, a catholic priest of Rheims, had, in 1585, paid many secret visits to England at the instigation of the queen's supporters in France, and had secured promises of aid from the catholic gentry throughout the country towards a vigorous attack on the existing order of things. To him Babington chiefly looked for guidance. Ballard represented that the plot had already received the approval of the Spanish ambassador at Paris, and was to be supplemented by a foreign invasion. Babington eagerly consented to charge himself with the murder of Elizabeth and the release of Mary, and selected as his assistants a number of young catholic gentlemen, all members of the secret society formed in 1580. On 12 May 1586 Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, who placed the fullest reliance in Babington, wrote to his government that news of the death of Elizabeth might be soon expected (*Papiers d'Etat*, Bannatyne Club, iii. 411). Throughout June 1586 the conspirators met in city taverns or in St. Giles's Fields almost nightly. To six of them was delegated the task of assassinating Elizabeth; for Babington, who also talked vaguely of sacking London, was reserved the duty of liberating Mary from the custody of Sir Amias Paulet at Chartley. Before the close of July all was finally determined. Babington was very sanguine of success, frequently entertained his associates at supper in London inns and at his house in Barbican, and had his portrait drawn, surrounded by his friends, and subscribed with the verse—

Hi mihi sunt comites, quos ipsa pericula ducunt,

a motto that was afterwards prudently changed to the enigmatic 'Quorsum hæc alio properantibus?' The conspirators appear to have heard mass regularly at a house in Fetter Lane, and to have been generally known among catholics at home and abroad as 'the pope's white sons for divers pieces of services, which they do to Rome against this realm' (Foley, *Records*, i. 205).

Babington's conduct was throughout marked by much 'foolish vanity.' From the first he was desirous that Mary should be informed of his plans, and was anxious to receive from her special marks of favour. As early as 29 April 1586 Morgan wrote to her from Paris that Babington was jealous of another person, whose services she had preferred to his, and that it would be expedient for her to send him an expression of gratitude by letter. On 28 June Mary sent Babington a friendly note. On 12 July the young conspirator forwarded to the Scottish queen a long reply, describing all the means to be taken for the murder of Elizabeth, and for her own deliverance. Five days later Mary wrote in answer a favourable criticism of the plot, and demanded further information. On 3 Aug. Babington informed her that a servant of Ballard had turned traitor, but, begging her not to falter, promised to carry out the enterprise or die in the attempt. Meanwhile, Mendoza was watching from Paris all the movements of Babington and his associates with the utmost anxiety, and he forwarded to Philip II on 13 Aug. a long account of their methods and of their hopes and fears. They had, he wrote, supporters throughout the country; they wanted a definite assurance that help would reach them from the Low Countries and Spain without delay; they relied on no foreign prince except Philip. The arrangements were so perfected that as soon as the queen was assassinated, the ships in the Thames were to be seized, and Cecil, Walsingham, Hunsdon, and Knollys to be captured or killed. Mendoza finally pointed out that this was the most serious of all catholic plots as yet attempted, but that all depended on the successful accomplishment of the murder of the queen. The original of this interesting letter is preserved among the Simancas archives, and its margin is scored with notes in the autograph of Philip himself. In reply the king dwelt with admiration on Babington's courage, and announced his resolve that the holy enterprise ('tan santa empresa') should not fail for lack of his assistance in money and troops (*Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 433–54).

But Babington was throughout in fear of treachery, and in this he was fully justified. Almost from the first Walsingham's spies had known of the conspiracy: by means of Godfrey Gifford, one of Ballard's adherents won over to the service of the government, every action of Babington and his associates was reported to the government during the months of June and July, and all their letters, which were always in cipher and in French, intercepted and deciphered before they were delivered. In July warrants against Ballard and Babington were prepared; but Walsingham was in no hurry to arrest the conspirators, and awaited further revelations from his spies. The letters that finally passed between Babington and Queen Mary proved to him that further delay was unnecessary, and on 4 Aug. Ballard was suddenly

seized, after a meeting of the conspirators in London. No hint was given at the time that the government had information against any other member of the band, but Babington had been for some days previously thoroughly alarmed, and had already applied to Walsingham for a passport to France, where he promised to act as a spy upon Elizabeth's enemies. He had told his friends at the same time that his visit to France was necessary to supervise the final arrangements for a foreign invasion. But no passport was given him, and with unpardonable cowardice he subsequently sent word to Walsingham that he could reveal, if he chose, a dangerous conspiracy. Still Walsingham made no sign, but his servants were ordered to keep a careful watch upon Babington. One night the young man was invited to sup with them, but while in their company he caught sight of a memorandum concerning himself in Walsingham's handwriting. He hurried from the room on a trivial pretence, changed clothes with a friend who lived at Westminster, and hid himself in the thickest part of St. John's Wood. There he was joined by some of his associates. Babington disguised himself by cutting off his hair and staining his skin with walnut-juice, and travelled to Harrow, where he was sheltered by one Jerome Bellamy, a recent convert to catholicism. But before the end of August he was discovered and taken to the Tower. All the other conspirators were captured a few days later. On 13 and 14 Sept. Babington, Ballard, and five other young men (Chidiock Titchbourne, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Barnewell, John Savage, and Henry Donn) were tried before a special commission. Babington did not attempt to conceal his guilt: he declared all 'with a mild countenance, sober gesture, and a wonderful good grace;' but he laid the blame on Ballard. Ballard acknowledged the justice of the rebuke, and told Babington, before the court, that he wished the shedding of his blood could save his young companion's life. Two days later, seven more of the conspirators (Edward Abington or Habington, Charles Tilney, Edward Jones, John Charnock, John Travers, Jerome Bellamy, and Robert Gage) were tried. Sentences of hanging and quartering were passed on all the band. On 19 Sept. Babington wrote to Elizabeth, imploring her to work upon him 'a miracle of mercy,' if not for his own sake for that of his distressed family. To a friend he offered, on the same day, 1,000*l.* if his release could be procured. The next morning—on the day appointed for his execution—he explained the cipher which had been used in the letters to and from Mary.

Babington's prayers for pardon were not entertained, and on Tuesday 20 Sept. he and Ballard, with five of their companions, were drawn on hurdles 'from Tower Hill, through the cittie of London, unto a fielde at the upper end of Holborne, hard by the high way side to S. Giles, where was erected a scaffolde convenient for the execution' (*The Censure of a Loyall Subiect*, 1587). A great crowd collected to see the conspirators die. Babington declared from the scaffold that no private ends had influenced him, but that he honestly believed himself engaged in 'a deed lawful and meritorious.' Ballard suffered first, and Babington witnessed his barbarous death. According to an eye-witness he showed to the last 'a signe of his former pride' by standing, instead of praying on his knees, 'with his hat on his head as if he had been but a beholder of the execution' (*The Censure*). He himself followed Ballard, and underwent diabolical tortures. He was still alive when taken down from the gallows, and exclaimed, 'Parce mihi, Domine Jesu,' while the executioner was using the knife upon him (cf. Mendoza's account sent to Philip II 20 Oct. in *Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 481). When Elizabeth was informed of the revolting cruelty of his death, she directed that the other conspirators, who were to be executed on the following day, should hang till they were dead.

Babington expressed anxiety on the scaffold as to the fortunes of his property. By law the crown confiscated it all; but the entailed estates of Dethick, Derbyshire, and Kingston, Nottinghamshire, his largest manors, were allowed to pass to his brothers Francis and George. Some of his lands, and almost all his personal property, were granted by Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh. Elizabeth herself took a valuable clock. At Dethick were found many books on theological controversies, and 'papers of prophecies' foretelling Elizabeth's downfall. According to the evidence of some of his tenants, examined previous to his death, Babington had been a hard landlord, and had systematically raised his rents. Shortly before his arrest he sold a large house in Derby, called Babington Hall, which was pulled down about 1822. Its site is still marked by Babington Lane. A cenotaph in Kingston Church, Nottinghamshire, among the tombs of other members of Babington's family, bears no inscription, and is locally believed on doubtful evidence to have been erected to the conspirator's memory (*Gent. Mag.* new ser. vii. 287). By his wife Margery, Babington had an only daughter, who died at the age of eight, in all probability before her father (*Harl. MS.* 1537, f. 115 *b*).

The discovery and death of Babington formed the subject of many contemporary ballads (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. v. 572). One of them, full of valuable biographical details, entitled 'The Complainte of Anthonie Babington,' by Richard Williams, is among the Arundel MSS. (418, art. 3) at the British Museum. Another, entitled 'A proper new ballad, breefely declaring the Death and Execution of fourteen most wicked Traitors,' which bitterly vituperates 'proud young Babington,' has been reprinted in J. P. Collier's 'Broadside Ballads' (1868), pp. 36–41. A third poetical tract is entitled 'A short discourse; expressing the substance of all the late pretended treasons against the Queenes Maiestie;' and a fourth, by William Kempe, who is to be distinguished from the actor of the same name, bears the title 'A dutiful invective against the moste haynous treasons of Ballard and Babington,' 1587. A full description of the execution is found in 'The Censure of a Loyall Subiect,' by G[eorge] W[hetstone], 1587. Dr. George Carleton gives an account of the conspiracy in his 'Thankfull Remembrance' (1609), and reproduces there the picture of Babington and his confederates drawn in 1586. A Dutch translation of the correspondence between Babington and Queen Mary was circulated in Holland and the Low Countries in 1587.

The historical importance of the conspiracy lies in Mary Stuart's complicity. The discovery of the letter sent by her to Babington approving of the murder of Elizabeth in July 1586 brought her to the scaffold. Apologists for Mary in vain deny the genuineness of this letter, and represent it to have been a forgery of Walsingham. Babington never doubted its authenticity, and, as we have seen, on the day of his death fully explained the cipher in which it was written. And Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, writing to Philip II on 10 Sept., states that Mary had written him a letter which left no doubt in his mind that she was fully acquainted with the whole business (*Papiers d'Etat*, iii. 458). In the presence of evidence of this kind, it is impossible to attach any weight to Mary's indignant denial at Fotheringay of all knowledge of Babington and his conspiracy (*State Trials*, i. 1182). But it is unnecessary, on the other hand, to credit the rumour circulated, as it was said, on the authority of Cecil, that Queen Mary had resolved to marry Babington.

[Collectanea Topog. and Genealog. viii. 313 et seq.; W. D. Cooper's Notices of Anthony Babington, reprinted from the Reliquary for April 1862; State Trials, i. 1127 et seq.; Thorpe's Cal. Scottish Papers; Cal. State Papers, 1581–90, and Addenda, 1580–1625, p. 202; Turnbull's Letters of Mary Stuart, pp. 344 et seq.; Froude's Hist. vol. xii.; Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'histoire de l'Ecosse au xvi^e^ Siècle (ed. A. Teulet), pub. by Bannatyne Club, vol. iii.; Camden's Annals; Simpson's Edmund Campion.] S. L. L.

BABINGTON, BENJAMIN GUY (1794–1866), physician and linguist, was the son of Dr. William Babington, and was born in Guy's Hospital when his father was resident apothecary there. He entered the navy as a midshipman, and served at Walcheren and Copenhagen, but left the service early, and, having obtained a nomination for the Indian civil service, studied at Haileybury College, and was appointed to the Madras presidency. He possessed a remarkable faculty for languages, and soon became distinguished as an oriental scholar. He translated into English the Tamul-Latin Grammar of C. J. Beschius, and published other translations. Though a man of powerful frame, Babington found the climate of India trying to his health, and, returning to England, studied for his father's profession at Guy's Hospital and Cambridge. Entering the university comparatively late in life, and a widower with a family, he did not (says his contemporary, Sir James Alderson) go out in honours, but became M.D. in 1830. He was elected fellow of the College of Physicians, 1831; assistant physician to Guy's Hospital, 1837; and full physician in 1840. He was also fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1861 president of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society. He was the founder, and for some years the president, of the Epidemiological Society. He was appointed by the crown a member of the medical council of the General Board of Health. He was also physician to the Deaf and Dumb Hospital, and to other charities. He resigned his appointments at Guy's Hospital in 1855, and died on 8 April 1866.

Dr. Babington was a man of remarkable and very versatile intellectual power. He was proficient in several sciences, and in all of them exact and thorough. Soon after his appointment at Guy's Hospital he gave much attention to the subject of animal chemistry, and assisted Sir Astley Cooper, Dr. Bright, and others of his colleagues by making analyses of morbid products. He also wrote in the 'Medico-Chirurgical Transactions' two memoirs on the blood, in one of which he described the fat constantly present in the serum; in another he employed for the first time an expression now always used for the fluid portion of the blood, 'liquor sanguinis.' He wrote some more strictly medical papers in the 'Guy's Hospital Reports,' which are

thoroughly done, but not very notable. He translated from the German Hecker's 'Epidemics of the Middle Ages,' and edited a translation of Feuchtersleben's 'Medical Psychology' for the Sydenham Society (London, 1847).

Those who knew Dr. Babington best had the highest opinion of his abilities; by the profession in general he was greatly respected, but he hardly enjoyed the public reputation or gained the success which might have been considered his due. Partly this was owing to his retiring and unambitious character; partly, perhaps, to his having entered the profession somewhat late in life. He was a man of genial character, and physically well-favoured. His wife, a daughter of Mr. Benjamin Tayler, died before him.

Dr. Babington wrote no independent and separate work in medicine, but published: 1. 'A Grammar of the High Dialect of the Tamil Language. Translated from the Latin of Constantius Josephus Beschius,' Madras, 1822, 4to. 2. 'The Adventures of the Gooroo Paramartan,' by C. J. Beschius. With a translation and vocabulary (Tamul and English), London, 1822, 4to. 3. 'The Vedàla Cadai, being the Tamul version of a collection of ancient tales in Sanscrit,' translated by B. G. Babington. Oriental Translation Fund, London, 1831, 8vo. 4. 'An Account of the Sculptures and Inscriptions at Mahâma Laipûr, in Captain M. W. Carr's Descriptive Papers relating to the Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast,' Madras, 1869, 8vo. 5. An English Translation of Hecker's 'The Black Death in the Fourteenth Century,' London, 1833, 12mo. (This is included in the translation of Hecker's 'Epidemics of the Middle Ages,' London, 1844 (Sydenham Society) and 1859.) Besides papers in 'Guy's Hospital Reports:' 'Cases of Small-Pox which occurred in the Deaf and Dumb Asylum,' series 1, i. 159; 'Experiments and Observations on Albuminous Fluids,' series 1, ii. 534; 'Observations on Epilepsy,' series 1, vi. 1; 'On Chorea,' series 1, vi. 411. Also papers in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' in the 'Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology,' and elsewhere.

[Obituary Notice in Proceedings Roy. Med. and Chir. Society, v. 249, 1867; Lancet, 21 April 1866; Medical Directory, London, 1866.]

J. F. P.

BABINGTON, BRUTE (*d.* 1610), bishop of Derry, is said to have been a native of Cheshire. He was admitted into Christ's College in 1572, was B.A. 1575–6, and became a fellow in 1576. He was incorporated at Oxford 15 July 1578, on the same day with Gervase Babington. He was collated to the prebend of Bishopshall, in Lichfield Cathedral, 18 Sept. 1592. He was also rector of Thurcaston, Leicestershire, and Tatenhill, Staffordshire. On the death of Dr. Bolevn, Babington applied for the deanery of Lichfield unsuccessfully. On 6 July 1603 he complains to the Earl of Shrewsbury that the chancellor of the diocese, Zachary Babington, had obstructed his suit and dispossessed him of his divinity lectureship. In 1610 he was appointed to the bishopric of Derry, after some opposition from supporters of Dean Webb: resigning Thurcaston 8 Nov. 1610, but holding his prebend and Tatenhill *in commendam*. He was consecrated at Drogheda, and died in 1611, probably on 10 Sept. O'Sullivan tells the story that his death was ascribed to a divine punishment for his sacrilege in attempting to burn a statue of the Virgin Mary, which, however, remained unconsumed, while the perpetrators of the outrage were either struck dead on the spot, or, like the bishop himself, died a lingering death.

[Le Neve's Fasti, i. 590, iii. 316; Dyer's Hist. of Camb. Univ. ii. 65; O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. iv. 13; Cal. State Papers (Dom. 1603–10), pp. 614, 641, (Irish, 1608–10) pp. 448, 487, 490; Cotton's Fasti Eccl. Hib. iii. 316, v. 254; Lodge's Illustrations (1838), iii. 36; Talbot Papers, M. 97, 374; Ware's Bishops of Ireland (Harris), 292; Willis's Cathedrals, i. 427; Wood's Fasti (Bliss), i. 211.]

T. A. A.

BABINGTON, FRANCIS (*d.* 1569), Oxford divine, is said to have been a native of Leicestershire: to have entered Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1544, and to have taken his B.A. degree in 1548–9. Two years later he was appointed fellow of St. John's, and in 1552 became M.A. By 1555 he must have changed his religion, for at that date his name is found appended to the Roman catholic articles of belief (Lamb, *Cambr. Doct.* 176). About the same time he seems to have transferred his residence to Oxford, where he 'incepted' in arts 1554. (Gutch's *Wood*, App. 95). After three years he was unanimously chosen proctor of his new university (1557), being already a fellow of All Souls. In 1557 and 1558 he successively took his bachelor's and doctor's degree in divinity; but Wood adds a special warning that such rapid promotion was only due to the fact that the university was very empty, and wanted 'theologists' to perform the requisite offices. 'There were only three doctors in theology who proceeded in six years; and sermons were so rare, that scarce one was given.' It is only fair, however, to

add that in another passage Wood mentions Francis Babington as renowned for his philosophical and logical disputations.

In 1559 the Queen's visitors removed Dr. Wright from the mastership of Balliol, and appointed Dr. Babington in his stead; for with him conscience never seems to have stood in the way of preferment. Nor had Dr. Babington any objection to heaping together a plurality of livings and offices. Between 1557 and 1560 he was rector of at least four parishes, Milton Keymes, Twyford, Sherrington Aldworth, and Adstock; and two or three of these he must have held together. Besides these preferments he was, in May 1560, appointed rector of Lincoln College, and was Sir John Mason's commissary or vice-chancellor in 1560, 1561, and 1562. He even held the Lady Margaret readership in divinity for 1561, although the statutes forbade its being held by the vice-chancellor. In March 1562, he appears in conjunction with 'Anthony Forster, of Cumnore, gent.' (Sir W. Scott's Tony Foster), as assisting in forcing a protestant warden upon the Roman catholic fellows of Merton College. Wood has given a graphic description of the whole scene (*Annals*, anno 1562). Dr. Babington was the Earl of Leicester's chaplain, and seems about this time to have been high in favour with that nobleman. Anthony à Wood tells us that he was one of Leicester's five most trusted advisers in Oxford, and was chosen to preach Amy Robsart's funeral sermon at St. Mary's, on which occasion he 'tript once or twice by recommending to his auditors the virtues of that lady so pitifully murdered instead of so pitifully slain.' His text was 'Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur' (1560) (Bartlett's *Cumnor*). In the same year Dr. Babington stood as the representative of the more conservative party for the deanery of Christ Church against Dr. Sampson, the great pillar of the puritanical body. Strype, in his account of this contest, describes Dr. Babington as 'a man of mean learning and of a complying temper' (*Annals of Refor.* i. chap. 43), and it is hardly necessary to say that he failed in his candidature. He seems by this time to have been losing Leicester's favour, and was more than suspected of being a concealed papist. In 1563 he had to resign the rectorship of Lincoln, and two years later was forced to flee beyond seas, where he is said to have died in 1569.

[Cooper's Athen. Cantab. i. 557; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, Fasti, and History and Antiquities of Oxford; Lipscombe's History of Buckingham, ii. 515, iii. 133, iv. 249, 336; Nares's Burghley, i. 55; and authorities cited above.] T. A. A.

BABINGTON, GERVASE (1550–1610), bishop in succession of Llandaff, Exeter, and Worcester, is described in his 'Effigies before his Works' (published posthumously in 1615) as aged fifty-nine; and assuming this to have been his age at death (in 1610), the date of his birth has been set down as 1551, though doubts are raised by Dr. Berkenhout (Kippis's *Biogr. Brit.* i. 413). From the 'Reg. Bancroft' (as cited in Le Neve's *Fasti*, by Hardy, iii. 66) we learn that his age at death was sixty, and thus 1549 or 1550 was the date of his birth. Fuller (in his *Abel Redivivus*, 1651, and *Church History*, 1655) states that he was of Nottinghamshire, while Izacke ('Catal. of Bishops of Exeter,' in *Antiq. of Exeter*), and after him Prince (*Worthies of Devon*) claim him for Devonshire. Sir William Musgrave's 'MS. Memoranda' (Kippis, as before) confirm Fuller, and connect him with the ancient family of the Babingtons of Nottinghamshire [see Babington, Anthony]. Of his early education nothing has been transmitted. He was first sent to Cambridge University, being entered at Trinity College, of which he became fellow (*Preface to his Questions and Answers to the Ten Commandments*). As was not infrequent, he passed to Oxford University, where, on 15 July 1578, he was incorporated M.A. (Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 211). He returned to Cambridge, and became known as a 'hard student' of theology. In the dedicatory epistle to his collected works (published in 1615), addressed to the brothers William earl of Pembroke and Philip earl of Montgomery, it is told how their father had received Babington at his house as tutor to the family, having been 'sent thither by the ancients and heads of the said university.' And mention is made of the intimate relations in which he stood to their mother,

> Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.

He was credited with having assisted her in her versification of the Psalms, but on shadowy grounds: 'For it was more than a woman's skill to express the sense so rightly as she hath done in her verse, and more than she could learn from the English and Latin translations' (Kippis, as before, i. 412). Ballard gravely controverts the allegation, which originated with Sir John Harington (*Brief View*, 1653, and Ballard's *Memoirs of British Ladies*).

By his patron's influence he was appointed treasurer of Llandaff, collated 28 Jan. 1589–90 (Le Neve's *Fasti*, ii. 262). He had previously, in 1588, obtained the prebendary of Wellington in Hereford Cathedral (*ibid.*

i. 531). By the same influence he was elected bishop of Llandaff 7 Aug. 1591, confirmed on the 27th, and consecrated at Croydon on the 29th (*Reg. Whity.* i. fol. 77, and Le Neve). Four years later he was translated to the see of Exeter, elected 4 Feb. 1594–5, and enthroned 22 March (*ibid.*) He is severely condemned for having alienated from this bishopric 'the rich and noble manor of Crediton, in the county of Devon,' which Prince pronounces 'an irreparable injury.' Finally, he was nominated by the queen to Worcester, on 30 Aug. 1597, elected 15 Sept., and confirmed 4 Oct. (*ibid.*) Among other subsidiary offices held by him was that of queen's counsel for the Marches of Wales (Fuller). Early in 1600 Babington was believed to favour the Earl of Essex. On 5 March 1599–1600 Chamberlain wrote to Carleton that Queen Elizabeth had called him to account while he was preaching a sermon before her, because of the hints he made in behalf of the earl. In 1604 Babington was summoned to the Hampton Court conference. He died 17 May 1610, and was buried in his cathedral.

Before and after his advances in the church Babington was a constant preacher and a laborious student. Lovers of Elizabethan literature contend eagerly for copies of his many little quartos, some of the rarest of which are to be found in the British Museum. In 1583 he issued his 'Very fruitful exposition of the commandements by way of questions and answers,' which was republished in 1590, and again about 1600. A similar work on the Lord's Prayer was issued in 1588. In 1584 appeared his 'Briefe conference betwixt man's frailtie and faith wherein is declared the true use and comfort of those blessings pronounced by Christ in the fifth of Matthew. . . . Laide downe in order of dialogue.' This was republished in 1590 and again in 1596. In 1592 the first edition was published of 'Certaine, plaine, briefe, and comfortable notes upon everie chapter of Genesis,' of which an enlarged edition appeared in 1596 and 1602. In 1604 he issued his 'Comfortable notes upon the bookes of Exodus and Leviticus.' Several sermons preached at St. Paul's Cross by Babington were also published. The great folio of his works (edited by Miles Smith, afterwards bishop, and T. C.), having been issued originally in 1615, was republished in 1622 and 1637. The volume consists of Babington's 'Comfortable Notes upon the Five Books of Moses, also an exposition upon the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, with a conference betwixt man's frailtie and faith, and three sermons,' &c. Throughout his multiplied divisions are scholastic and complicated; his reading extensive and varied. He was well acquainted with Hebrew and Greek, and his style is quaint and pleasant. Some passages from Babington's treatise on the commandments, in which the vices of his age are forcibly exposed and attacked, are reprinted in the New Shakspere Society's edition of Stubbes's 'Anatomy of Abuses,' pt. i. pp. 75–93. A sermon preached by Babington in 1590, and published in his 'Works,' was reprinted by Sir Richard Hill as an appendix to his 'Apology for Brotherly Love,' in 1798.

[In addition to authorities quoted, see Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, 1727; Godwin de Præsul., 1616; Hooker's Catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter; Strype's Whitgift; Berkenhout's Biogr. Literaria, i. 244–5; Cal. State Papers (Dom.), 1595, 1600, 1608.] A. B. G.

BABINGTON, HUMFREY, D.D. (1615–1691), divine, the second son of Humfrey Babington of Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He succeeded Sanderson, on his appointment to the bishopric of Lincoln, as rector of Boothby Painel in Lincolnshire. He preached a sermon at the Lincoln assizes, which, at the request of his hearers, was published at Cambridge in 1678. It is a curious instance of the style of the time, being elaborately learned and crammed with quotations in Latin and Greek, and even Hebrew. Its political views may be estimated by its assertion that 'monarchy is the best safeguard to mankind, both against the great furious bulls of tyrannical popery, and the lesser giddy cattle of schismatical presbytery.' This sermon probably procured him the degree of D.D. *per literas regias* in 1669. He afterwards became vice-master of Trinity College, built two sets of rooms for the use of the Babington family in the college, and founded the Barrow Hospital.

[Notes and Queries, 2nd series, ix. 152, 195; Brit. Mus. Cat.] R. B.

BABINGTON, JOHN (*fl.* 1635), mathematician and gunner, published in 1635 a folio volume, entitled 'Pyrotechnia, or a Discourse of Artificiall Fireworks,' to which was added a 'Short Treatise of Geometrie . . . with the tables for the square root to 25,000, and the cubick root to 10,000 Latus, wherein all roots under those numbers . . . are extracted onely by ocular inspection.' The first part of the book, which dealt with the use of fireworks for military purposes as well as for amusements, was dedicated to the 'Earl of Newport, Master of his Majesties Ordnance,' and in the preface the author says of him-

self, 'I have been for certaine yeeres past, and so at present am, one of the inferiour gunners of his Majestie.' Three copies of English verses in praise of the author are prefixed, of which one is by John Bate, the author of 'Mysteries of Nature and Art.' The second part, the geometrical treatise, was especially designed for the use of guns, and is dedicated to 'Sir John Heyden, Lieutenant of his Majesties Ordnance.' The logarithmic tables, which form the third part of the book, were the earliest published in England. A portrait of Babington by J. Droeshout is in the Duke of Devonshire's copy of the work at Chatsworth.

[Babington's work; Chatsworth Libr. Cat.; Brit. Mus. Cat.] R. E. A.

BABINGTON, Sir WILLIAM, (*d.* 1455), judge, of an ancient Northumbrian family, was the second son of Sir John Babington, Knt., of East Brigford in the county of Nottingham, by Benedicta, daughter of Simon Ward, Esq., of Cambridgeshire, who held the offices of escheator (a functionary whose business it was to safeguard the interests of the crown in escheats, wardships, and the like incidents of the royal prerogative) for the counties of Northampton and Rutland, and custos of the castle and manor of Okeham. Babington married Margery, daughter of Sir Peter Martell, Knt., of Chilwell in Nottingham, through whom he became possessed of estates in that place, and by whom he had five sons and five daughters. He was appointed king's attorney on 16 Jan. 1414, and in the following year (11 July 1415) was commanded to take the rank of serjeant-at-law, at that time one of greater dignity than that of king's attorney, but generally shunned as a barren and expensive honour. Accordingly, in company with several other 'apprentices of the law' who were summoned about the same time, he neglected to appear to the writ, and it was only under pressure of an order from parliament (November 1417) that he and his colleagues were induced to comply. This incident is referred to by Pym in his speech in impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham (in 1626) as one which might be distorted, though manifestly irrelevant, into a precedent for the practice of compelling the purchase of titles of honour, which was one of the offences with which the duke was charged. It is about this date (1417) that Babington's name begins to appear with frequency in the year books. His rise henceforward must have been rapid, for he was appointed chief baron of the exchequer in 1419, and in 1420 justice of the common bench. In 1423 he became chief justice of the common bench, and so continued until 1436, when he retired. In that year his name appears in the list of those called upon to contribute to the loan raised for the purpose of infusing new vigour into the war in France, the sum exacted from him being 100*l.* He endowed the Babington chantry at Flaforth in Nottinghamshire with some houses and rents, and is said by Foss to have founded 'a chantry for two chaplains at the altar of St. Catherine in the church at Thurgarton' in the same county. There occurs in the St. Alban's Registry the following memorandum: 'For one cup given to W. Babington, Knt., Chief Justice of the Common Bench, for favours done to the Monastery, c. s.' Babington died in 1455, and was buried at Lenton Priory in Nottinghamshire.

[Burke's Landed Gentry; Foss's Judges; Rot. Parl. iv. 107, 1353; State Trials, ii. 1315, 1353; Dugdale's Chronica Series, 57, 58, 62; Proceedings of the Privy Council, 316, 327; Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem et Escætarum, iv. 263, 298.] J. M. R.

BABINGTON, WILLIAM (1756–1833), physician and mineralogist, was born at Portglenone, near Coleraine, in the county of Antrim, Ireland. He was first apprenticed to a practitioner at Londonderry, and afterwards completed his medical education at Guy's Hospital, London, but without at that time taking a medical degree. In 1777 he was made assistant surgeon to Haslar (Naval) Hospital, and held this appointment four years. He then obtained the position of apothecary to Guy's Hospital, and also lectured on chemistry in the medical school attached to the hospital. Of these appointments Babington made stepping-stones to a higher professional position. He resigned the post of apothecary, and, having obtained the necessary degree of M.D. from the university of Aberdeen in 1795, was in the same year elected physician to Guy's Hospital. In 1796 he was licentiate of the College of Physicians, and remained so till 1827, when he received the unusual honour of being elected fellow by special grace. In 1831 he was made honorary M.D. by the university of Dublin. He ceased to be physician to Guy's in 1811.

Dr. Babington was a very able and successful physician, whose skill and knowledge are attested by the general verdict of his contemporaries; while a not less unanimous voice testifies to the elevation and purity of his character. 'History does not supply us,' says Dr. Munk, 'with a physician more loved or more respected than was Dr. Babington.'

If in the course of his busy life he made no conspicuous addition to the science of medicine, it was that his energies were devoted to the sciences of chemistry and mineralogy. He lectured on chemistry at Guy's Hospital for many years, and published some memoirs in 'Nicholson's Journal.' In mineralogy his interest was still greater, and he achieved more. While apothecary to Guy's Hospital he became possessed of the valuable cabinet of minerals which had belonged to the Earl of Bute: of this he made an elaborate catalogue, which probably served as the foundation of one of his books. His works on mineralogy are described by Mr. Greenough, president of the Geological Society in 1834, as having well represented the state of the science when they were written, but they have long ceased to have any importance. Dr. Babington did more by encouraging science than by his own work; and as such he has some claim to be regarded as the founder of the Geological Society. The circumstances are thus stated by Mr. Greenough (Presidential Address to the Geological Society, 1834): 'In 1807, with a view to enable Count Bournou, of whom he had been a pupil, to publish his elaborate monograph on the carbonate of lime, Dr. Babington invited [to his own house] a number of gentlemen the most distinguished for their zeal in the prosecution of mineralogical knowledge. A subscription was opened and the necessary sum readily collected. The object having been accomplished, other meetings of the same gentlemen took place, for the joint purpose of friendly intercourse and mutual instruction. From such small beginnings sprang the Geological Society, and among the names of those by whose care and watchfulness it was supported during the early period of its history that of Dr. Babington must always stand conspicuous.' He was president of the society in 1822, but did not contribute to its 'Transactions.' It is recorded that after this he took lessons in geology of a Mr. Webster, and attended the chemical lectures at the London University the year before his death. He was appointed by government one of the referees to put a price upon the Greville collection of minerals, bought by the nation, and now in the British Museum. Dr. Babington was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and took part in founding the Hunterian Society. He rapidly acquired a large and lucrative practice, and continued in the full exercise of professional and scientific activity till within four days of his death, which occurred from influenza, during the severe and destructive epidemic of that disease in London, on 29 April 1833. Dr. Babington was buried in the church of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Four years after his death a monument was erected to him in St. Paul's Cathedral by public subscription, Behnes being the sculptor. His bust is in the College of Physicians, and his portrait by Medley has been engraved by Branwhite. He left a son, Benjamin Guy Babington, also physician to Guy's Hospital, and one of his daughters married the eminent physician, Dr. Richard Bright.

He wrote: 1. 'A Systematic Arrangement of Minerals reduced to the Form of Tables, founded on the joint consideration of their chemical, physical, and external characters,' 4to, 1795. 2. 'A new System of Mineralogy in the form of a Catalogue, after the manner of Baron Born's Catalogue of the Fossils of Mdlle. E. de Raab,' 4to, 1799. 3. 'A Catalogue of the genuine and valuable Collection of Minerals of a Gentleman Deceased' (by Dr. Babington and others), 8vo, London, 1805. 4. 'Syllabus of the Course of Chemical Lectures at Guy's Hospital,' 1789, &c. 5. 'A Case of Exposure to the Vapour of Burning Charcoal' (Med.-Chirurg. Transactions, vol. i. 1806).

[Annual Biography and Obituary, 1834; Gent. Mag. 1833; Munk's Roll Coll. Physicians, ii. 451; Medical Gazette, 1833.] J. F. P.

BABYON, or BABYO, or BABION, PETER (*fl.* 1317–1366), poet and divine in the reign of Edward II, by birth an Englishman, was educated from his earliest youth in the *literæ humaniores* by masters of approved ability and long experience. He practised so diligently both prose and verse writing that he soon became an elegant poet and most adept rhetorician. His compositions excited the wonder of the age in which he lived. When speaking of him as a poet, Pits says that he was chiefly remarkable for talents which are rarely found in combination—

Ingenium felix, inventio, lucidus ordo,
Gratia, majestas, ad rem bene congrua verba.

As his judgment became more matured by years, he was unwilling to spend all his life and all his ability in exercises of ordinary choice. He therefore betook himself to the reading of the holy scriptures, and in the midst of that labour he undertook the task of preaching the divine word, for which his previous education had so eminently qualified him. All the polite learning of his youth was now devoted to this sacred purpose. He achieved, as might be expected, a great success, and made for himself a name amongst theologians of no little fame. He was still living, according to Possevino, in 1366. His

chief work was a 'Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew,' in one book, which is bound up in the older editions of the works of St. Anselm. His other works are 'De officio Missæ Liber unus;' 'Sermonum Septuaginta Liber unus;' 'Homiliarum Liber unus;' 'Comœdia carmine Liber unus;' 'Carminum diversorum Liber unus.'

[Jöcher's Gelehrten-Lexicon; Pits, De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 406; Bale's Scriptor. Brit. p. 467; Oudin, De Script. Eccles. iii. 799; Possevino's Apparatus Sacer. ii. 240; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.-Hibern. p. 59; MS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. B. 52; MS. Cotton. Titus A. xx. 30; Theoph. Raynaud, De malis ac bonis Libris, p. 126.] J. M.

BACHE, FRANCIS EDWARD (1833–1858), musician, born 14 Sept. 1833 at Birmingham, was the eldest son of Samuel Bache [q.v.]. From a very early age he showed extraordinary talent for music, learning assiduously the piano, organ, and violin, in the last of which instruments he made such progress under the tuition of Alfred Mellon as to play in the orchestra of the Birmingham festivals of 1846 and 1847. Having determined to adopt music as his profession, he left school in the summer of 1849, and, after studying for a short time with Mr. James Stimpson, came to London, and continued his studies with Sir Sterndale Bennett. In Oct. 1850 he obtained the post of organist at All Saints Church, Gordon Square, and in November of the same year his first overture was performed at the Adelphi Theatre. From 1849 to 1853 he worked hard in London, teaching, studying, and composing numerous pianoforte pieces. In Oct. 1853 he went to Leipzig, where he remained till the end of the following year, returning to England, after a short stay in Paris, in 1855. He obtained an appointment as organist at Hackney, but he was soon forced by illness to return home. In 1856 Bache went to Algiers, where for a time the consumptive symptoms from which he suffered were arrested. From Algiers he returned by way of Paris to Leipzig, spending the following winter in Rome. In June 1857 he returned home, and spent the next winter at Torquay, but on his return to Birmingham in April 1858 he gradually sank, dying on 24 Aug. of the same year. In estimating Bache's position as a composer, it cannot be denied that as far as regards his published works his promise was greater than his performance; of his unpublished works, which include two complete operas, a polonaise for pianoforte, orchestra, &c., there has been, unfortunately, no opportunity of judging the merits. But though much that he wrote was obviously the ephemeral and immature work of one whose powers were prevented by illness from attaining their full development, yet there are some of his compositions, notably amongst his songs, which show that he was possessed of genius of no mean order, and which will continue to occupy an honoured position amongst the best productions of English musicians.

[The Christian Reformer for December 1858; information from Miss Constance Bache.] W. B. S.

BACHE, SAMUEL (1804–1876), unitarian minister, was born on 24 Dec. 1804 at Bridgnorth, where his father, Joshua Tilt Bache (*d.* 28 Oct. 1837, aged 63), was a grocer. His mother was Margaret Silvester, of Newport, Salop. On her death, in 1808, he was entrusted to his father's sister, Mrs. Maurice, at Stourbridge, and he became the pupil of Rev. Ebenezer Beasley, a dissenting minister at Uxbridge. He was some time assistant in the school of the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL.D., at Bristol, and was educated for the ministry (January 1826–29) at Manchester College, York, under Charles Wellbeloved (theology), John Kenrick, M.A. (classics), and William Turner, M.A. (science). He was minister at the Old Meeting, Dudley, 1829–32, and in 1832 became colleague of John Kentish (1768–1853) at the New Meeting, Birmingham (Priestley's congregation), and married Emily (*d.* 1855), second daughter of the Rev. Edward Higginson of Derby (1781–1832), whose eldest daughter, Helen (*d.* 1877), was the wife of the Rev. James Martineau. He had seven children, of whom F. E. Bache, the composer [see BACHE, FRANCIS EDWARD], was the eldest; another is Walter Bache, the musician; the youngest son, John Kentish, some time a dissenting minister, took Anglican orders in 1876. For many years Mr. Bache kept a school. In 1859 he took a leading part with the Rev. Dr. Miller, rector of St. Martin's, in the establishment of Hospital Sunday, an institution originated in Birmingham. He was visitor of Manchester New College, London, 1861–65. In 1862 the New Meeting, Moor Street, was sold to Roman catholics, the congregation removing to a handsome structure in Broad Street, called the Church of the Messiah (foundation laid 11 Aug. 1860). Mr. Bache had as colleague in 1863–7 the Rev. Henry Enfield Dowson. In 1868 he resigned the ministry from failing health, and, being afflicted with softening of the brain, he resided for the last two years of his life in the house of a physician at Gloucester, where he died

on 7 Jan. 1876. He was a preacher and public man of strong powers, correct attainment, and cultivated taste; formal and urbane in manner. Among unitarians he represented that conservative school which aims to carry out the principles of Locke's 'Reasonableness of Christianity,' regarding Jesus Christ as the miraculously attested exponent of a pure morality and a simple theology, and the revealer, by his resurrection, of an eternal life. On 23 May 1866 he proposed the embodiment in the constitution of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association of a 'recognition of the special divine mission and authority, as a religious teacher, of Jesus Christ,' which was met by carrying the previous question. A list of twenty-two of his publications (1833–70) is given by J. Gordon, including 'Harmony of Science and Revelation,' 1839; 'Funeral Sermon for J. Kentish,' 1853; 'Exposition of Unitarian Views of Christianity,' 1854; 'Miracles the Credentials of the Christ,' 1863.

[Roll of Students Man. New Coll. 1868; Birm. Daily Gazette, 13 Jan. 1876; Funeral Sermon by John Gordon, 1876; Unitarian Chronicle, 1832; Report of B. and F. Unit. Ass. 1866; Beale's Memorials of Old Meeting Ho. Birm. 1882.] A. G.

BACHE, SARAH (1771?–1844), hymn writer, was born at Bromsgrove, but brought up at Worcester by relatives named Laugher, members of the Rev. T. Belsham's congregation. Rev. Timothy Laugher, of Hackney (*d.* 1769), was her uncle, and she was a cousin of Joshua Tilt Bache. She removed to Birmingham (before 1791, for she had attended the ministry of Dr. Priestley), and for many years kept the Islington School, in conjunction with a half-sister, Miss Penn. Another half-sister, Anna Penn, married the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL.D. She was the author of the hymn 'See how he loved,' which first appeared in the Exeter collection in 1812, compiled by Dr. Carpenter. She died at Birmingham on 23 July 1844, æt. 74.

[Chn. Reformer, 1844, obituary by N. (Rev. John Kentish); Birm. Daily Gazette, 13 Jan. 1876.] A. G.

BACHHOFFNER, GEORGE HENRY (1810–1879), one of the founders of the London Polytechnic Institution, and in his day a well-known and popular lecturer on scientific subjects, was a native of London. It was in 1837 that he, in conjunction with a few others, established the Polytechnic, which was intended for a place of popular instruction, and, indeed, while it was under Bachhoffner's control, sufficiently fulfilled that intention. Here he held the position of principal of the department of natural and experimental philosophy till 1855. Afterwards he became lessee and manager of the Coliseum in the Regent's Park, and there gave lectures similar to the courses he had established at the Polytechnic. In the later part of his life he held a post as registrar of births and deaths in Marylebone. Bachhoffner was an inventor, and took out several patents for inventions connected with the electric telegraph, gas stoves, oil lamps, &c.

[The above details were communicated by some of Dr. Bachhoffner's relatives.] H. T. W.

BACK, Sir GEORGE (1796–1878), admiral and Arctic navigator, was born at Stockport, in Cheshire, and entered the navy as midshipman of the Arethusa in 1808. He was present at the destruction of the batteries at Lequeitio, in the north of Spain, and after being repeatedly under fire was, in 1809, taken prisoner by the French at Deba, while on a cutting-out expedition with the Arethusa's boats. The prisoners were sent to St. Sebastian, and Back was small enough to be carried in one of the panniers of a sumpter mule across the Pyrenees. While a prisoner at Verdun, he occupied himself in the study of mathematics, French, and drawing. In the winter of 1813–14 he travelled on foot through a large part of France, and on reaching England was appointed midshipman to the Akbar, and in her served against the French on the North American station. The Akbar was dismasted in a hurricane off Cape Hatteras, and nearly foundered. In 1816 she was paid off, and in 1817 Back was appointed admiralty mate of the Bulwark. Next year he volunteered for service in the Trent, under Franklin, who was then entering on the first modern voyage of discovery in the Spitzbergen seas. Of that voyage his friend—afterwards Admiral—Beechey is the graphic historian. On his return he rejoined the Bulwark, but in the very next year set out with Franklin on his expedition by land to the Coppermine river, the object of which was to determine the latitude and longitude of the northern coast of North America, and the trend of the coast east of the Coppermine. In that terrible expedition it was to Back's dauntless determination that the safety of the survivors was to a great extent due. At Fort Enterprise Franklin sent him back to Fort Providence, and he was in imminent danger of starvation on the way. In five months he travelled 1,204 miles on snow shoes, with no other covering at night in the woods but a blanket and a deerskin, when the ther-

mometer was frequently at 48 deg. and once at 67 deg. below zero, and sometimes without tasting food for two or three days at a time. Later on, when Franklin was in dire straits, he again sent Back to get help from the Indians, and after incredible exertions and sufferings, and after seeing one of his companions die on the road, he succeeded in his mission just in time to save Franklin's life. On coming back to England he was made lieutenant in 1822. In 1823 he was appointed to the Superb, and sailed to the West Indies. Next year, while at Lisbon, he was invited to join Franklin's expedition to the Mackenzie river, and hastened to do so. In that memorable expedition he rendered Franklin signal service, especially in his dealings with the Esquimaux, and on coming home in 1827 found himself promoted to the rank of commander. His repeated applications for a ship met with no response, and he went to Italy to improve himself in the arts. At Naples he heard of the supposed loss of Captain Ross in the Arctic regions, and offered the Royal Geographical Society to go in search of him. He had been informed by Copper Indians on his previous journey of the existence of a river rising in the neighbourhood of the Great Slave Lake, and debouching on the Polar Sea, and by tracing this river to its mouth he hoped to make his way to Regent's Inlet, where he thought Captain Ross might be beset. The council accepted his offer, and a grant from government, supplemented by a public subscription, supplied the funds for the expedition, on which he set out with only one companion of his own rank, Dr. Richard King, as surgeon and naturalist, in February 1833. His instructions were, in brief, first to make for the sea by the aforesaid river and, if possible, aid Captain Ross, and, secondly, to survey the sea-coast as far as possible. The first winter was spent by him at Fort Reliance—a house which he constructed near the Great Slave Lake, when himself half starved and amid starving Indians. The cold was so extreme that while washing his face close to a fire his hair froze before he could dry it. In April he received news of Captain Ross's arrival in England, but he was ordered to push on to the river and survey the coast thence to Cape Turnagain. His first difficulty was to discover where the river lay, and to avoid embarking on the wrong one. The name of it was Thlew-ee-choh-deeseth, or Great Fish River, and how doggedly he traced it to the sea, amid perils from the ice and the rapids, managing the Indians, and making friends with the Esquimaux, he has vividly recounted in his 'Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, in 1834 and 1835.' The narrative is beautifully illustrated by sketches made by himself. Some falls on the river Ah-hel-Dessy, which he named Parry Falls, he describes as far surpassing the Falls of Niagara in splendour of effect. The ice prevented his proposed survey of the coast, and after again wintering at Fort Reliance he reached La Chêne, the Hudson's Bay station, whence he had started over two years before, in August 1835, having since he quitted it travelled 7,500 miles, including 1,200 of discovery. Besides his discovery of a river, over 440 miles long, he had made important observations of the Aurora Borealis, and had given the name of Montreal to an island, afterwards to be so sadly familiar in connection with the fate of Franklin. In October he reached England, was awarded the Geographical Society's gold medal, and was promoted by the admiralty to the rank of captain, by order in council—an honour which no other officer in the navy had received except William IV. In the following year he was, at his own proposal, appointed to the command of an expedition, the object of which was to complete the coast line between Regent's Inlet and Cape Turnagain. On his return home he published a narrative of his voyage, and a terrible story it is. Off Cape Comfort the ship was frozen in, and then drifted up Frozen Channel. From December to March she was driven about, and floated powerless till 10 July, and for three days was on her beam ends, but on the 14th suddenly righted. When 'it wanted but one day to complete four months since the ship had been thrown upon the ice,' she was 'once more in her own element, and subject to the will of man.' But the crazy vessel nearly sank in a gale as she crossed the Atlantic, and it was not till 3 Sept., 'fifteen months since the pleasing sound of a falling anchor had greeted' his ears, that she anchored in Lough Swilly. Two extracts from Back's account of this voyage will illustrate the perils which he encountered, and the style in which he narrated them. 'The ship was still setting fast along shore and much too close to the fixed ice, but it was not till 8 P.M. that any suspicious movement was noticed near us. Then, however, a continually increasing rush was heard, which at 10.45 P.M. came on with a heavy roar towards the larboard quarter, upturning in its progress, and rolling onward with it, an immense wall of ice. This advanced so fast that though all hands were immediately called they had barely time, with the greatest exertion, to extricate three

of the boats, one of them, in fact, being hoisted up when only a few feet from the crest of the solid wave, which held a steady course direct for the quarter, almost overtopping it, and continuing to elevate itself until about twenty-five feet high.' 'On 14 July they beheld the strange and appalling spectacle of what may be fitly termed a submerged berg, fixed low down, with one end to the ship's side, while the other, with the purchase of a long lever advantageously placed at a right angle with the keel, was slowly rising towards the surface. Meantime, those who happened to be below, finding everything falling, rushed or clambered on deck, where they saw the ship on her beam ends, with the lee boats touching the water, and felt that a few moments only trembled between them and eternity. Yet in that awful crisis there was no confusion.' It may be safely said that few sailors ever survived more terrible perils and hardships than Back did in the two expeditions under Franklin, and the two which he commanded himself. 'Arctic work,' as Lord Brougham said of Franklin, 'had got into his blood,' and he could not help going again and again if he had the chance. But the exposure and anxiety of eleven years' service in the northern seas at last told even on his iron frame. For six years he was more or less an invalid, and was never sufficiently restored to resume the ordinary duties of his profession afloat. In 1837 he received from the Geographical Society both its medals. In 1839 he was knighted. He also received the gold medal of the Geographical Society of Paris, and was presented with a service of plate by the subscribers to the Arctic Land Expedition. He was employed by government to report on the harbour of Holyhead, but afterwards lived in retirement on half-pay. He was a vice-president and long on the council of the Geographical Society, and contributed many reports. He was made admiral in 1857, and was also D.C.L. and F.R.S. Of all these honours he was indeed worthy, for in bravery, intelligence, and love of adventure he was the very model of an English sailor. Sir George died 23 June 1878.

[Information given by the Rev. Henry Back; Narrative of an Expedition in H.M.'s ship Terror, in the years 1836–7; Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the mouth of the Great Fish River in 1833–5, both by Back; Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, and Second Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, by Franklin.]

A. H. B-y.

BACKHOUSE, EDWARD (1808–1879), author of 'Early Church History,' was born at Darlington on 8 May 1808. He lived from early boyhood at Sunderland, where he was partner in collieries and in the bank with which his family had been connected for many years. He took no active part in business, and was a man of cultivated tastes, fond of travel, a good amateur painter, and a student of natural history. He devoted himself chiefly to the promotion of philanthropic and religious purposes. He was a most generous and judicious supporter of various institutions in Sunderland, and is said to have spent over 10,000*l.* a year in charities. In politics he was an energetic liberal, and especially interested in questions bearing directly upon morality. In later life he was a prominent opponent of the Contagious Diseases Acts. He was a devoted member of the Society of Friends, to which his family belonged. He began to preach in 1852, and two years later was 'recognised' as a minister. He married Katharine Mounsey in 1856. He had no family, but he always delighted in the society of children and the promotion of their happiness. In 1874 he was impressed by the belief that he ought to devote himself to writing upon church history. He laboured at this task till his death on 22 May 1879. His manuscripts were entrusted to Mr. Charles Tylor, who published in 1884 'Early Church History to the Death of Constantine; compiled by the late Edward Backhouse; edited and enlarged by Charles Tylor.' The book, which makes no pretence to profound research, is interesting as an account of the early church by an intelligent writer from the quaker point of view.

[Preface to Early Church History by Charles Tylor; Northern Echo, 24 May 1879; Sunderland Daily Echo, 23 and 28 May 1879; information from the family.]

L. S.

BACKHOUSE, WILLIAM (1593–1662), Rosicrucian philosopher, a younger son of Samuel Backhouse, Esq., of Swallowfield, in Berkshire, was born in that county 17 Jan. 1593, and entered Christ Church, Oxford, as a commoner, in 1610, but left the university without taking a degree. At length, settling on his patrimony, he devoted his time to the study of the occult sciences, became a renowned alchemist, Rosicrucian, and astrologer, and gave great encouragement to those who were addicted to similar pursuits, especially Elias Ashmole, whom he adopted as his son, and to whom he freely imparted the arcana of his mysterious lore. The subjoined laconic entries in Ashmole's diary show the intimacy of the friendship subsisting between them:—26 April 1651: 'Mr. William Backhouse, of Swallowfield, in *com.* Berks, caused me to call him father thenceforward.' 10 June

1651: 'Mr. Backhouse told me I must now needs be his son, because he had communicated so many secrets to me.' 10 March 1652: 'This morning my father Backhouse opened himself very freely, touching the great secret.' And finally, under date 13 May 1653, Ashmole writes: 'My father Backhouse lying sick in Fleet Street, over against St. Dunstan's church, and not knowing whether he should live or die, about eleven of the clock told me, in syllables, the true matter of the Philosopher's Stone, which he bequeathed to me as a legacy.' It is almost superfluous to add that no hint is given as to the nature of this wonderful secret. Backhouse died at Swallowfield 30 May 1662. He married Ann, daughter of Bryan Richards of Hartley Westfield, Hampshire, by whom he had two sons (who predeceased him), and a daughter, Flower, who married, first, William Bishop, of South Warnborough, Hampshire, and secondly, her father's kinsman, Sir William Backhouse, Bart., who died 22 Aug. 1669.

Backhouse left in manuscript: 1. 'The pleasant Founteine of Knowledge: first written in French anno 1413, by John de la Founteine of Valencia in Henault;' translated into English verse in 1644. MS. Ashmol. 58. 2. A translation of 'Planctus Naturæ: The Complaint of Nature against the Erroneous Alchymist, by John de Mehung.' MS. Ashmol. 58, art. 2. 3. 'The Golden Fleece, or the Flower of Treasures; in which is succinctly and methodically handled the stone of the philosophers, his excellent effectes and admirable vertues; and, the better to attaine to the originall and true meanes of perfection, inriched with Figures representing the proper colours to lyfe as they successively appere in the pratise of this blessed worke. By that great philosopher, Solomon Trismosin, Master to Paracelsus;' a translation from the French. MS. Ashmol. 1395. Wood adds that 'he was also the inventor of the "Way wiser" in the time of George Villiers, the first duke of Bucks.'

[MS. Addit. 14284 f. 20; Lives of Ashmole and Lilly (1784), 313, 314, 315, 319, 329, 335; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 86, iii. 575, iv. 355, 361, 715, Fasti, i. 422; Black's Cat. of Ashmol. MSS. 94, 221, 222, 514, 529, 533, 1089.]

T. C.

BACKWELL, EDWARD (*d.* 1683), alderman, a celebrated London goldsmith, and the principal founder of the banking system in England, was descended from a family which at a very early period had settled at Backwell, Somersetshire. The earliest member of the family of whom there is special mention is Roger de Backwell, who was one of the squires to Lord James Audley at the battle of Poictiers in 1356. Edward Backwell was the second son of Barnaby Backwell of Backwell, who, after his marriage to Jane, daughter of John Temple, Esq., of Burton Dasset, Buckinghamshire, settled in that county (Pedigree from manuscript in possession of William Praed, Esq., of Tyringham, printed in Lipscomb's *Buckinghamshire*, iv. 376). Possibly the father had some business connection with London, for John, the eldest son, like his younger brother Edward, married the daughter of a London merchant. The earliest mention of Edward Backwell in the State Papers is under date 30 April 1650, as having been asked to 'provide 500*l.* in pieces of eight.' In 1653 he has a bill of 1,380*l.* for the victualling of ships. That he was already a person of considerable wealth and enterprise is proved by his purchase from the parliament of Old Bushy Park and other grounds connected with Hampton Court Palace, which after a long negotiation were rebought from him by the Commons in the beginning of 1654 for 6,202*l.* 17*s.* The principal causes of the rapid fortunes made at this time by the more enterprising of the goldsmiths are stated, in a curious pamphlet, published in 1676, entitled 'The Mystery of the New-fashioned Goldsmiths or Bankers discovered,' to have been the facilities afforded them for obtaining large profits by melting down money of more than the proper weight, and the introduction of the system of taking money on deposit and lending it again at a higher rate of interest. The deposit system may be said to have originated about the time of the civil war. After Charles I in 1640 seized 200,000*l.* which, according to the custom of the period, was lodged for safety in the Tower, it gradually became a habit to lodge money with the goldsmiths. The goldsmiths, who already were money changers, now became money borrowers and lenders. For the money deposited they gave receipts called 'goldsmiths' notes,' the earliest kind of bank notes issued in England. There is every reason to suppose that Backwell was the chief originator of the system, as he was undoubtedly the most successful and best known banker of his day. Besides the rents of the country gentlemen, the goldsmiths received clandestinely from servants the money of their masters, which was lent them at the rate of 4*d.* per cent. per day. The deposits were lent out by the goldsmiths at a high rate of interest to necessitous merchants; and in addition to this, as is stated in the pamphlet above quoted, 'when Cromwell usurped the government, the greatest of them began to deal with him to supply his wants of money upon

great advantage, especially after they had bought those dollars whereof he robbed the Spaniards to about the value of 300,000*l.*' The 'dollars' referred to are the 'eight-and-thirty wagonloads of real silver' (Carlyle, *Cromwell*, iv. 224) taken by Blake when he captured and burned the Plate fleet, and which Cromwell sold to Sir Thomas Viner and Edward Backwell, who together paid for it 130,000*l.*, and coined it at the Tower mint on their own charge.

The dealings of Backwell with Cromwell were not remembered against him at the Restoration, for he was not only able to carry on a much more lucrative banking business under the auspices of Charles II, but was employed to negotiate the king's principal money transactions. 'As soon,' we are told, 'as the parliament had voted the king certain sums of money out of particular taxes, the bankers advanced at once the money voted by parliament, and were repaid in weekly payments at the exchequer as the taxes were received.' In 1660 (or 1666) an accusation was brought against Backwell for concealing large sums from the king; but, as it had no result, it probably originated in envy. In addition to the king and the queen mother, most of the nobility and persons of celebrity, the farmers of customs, the excise, several city companies, the East India Company, and all the leading goldsmiths had accounts with Backwell. His shop, which bore the sign of the Unicorn, was situated at the south end of Exchange Alley, next to Lombard Street, its site being now probably occupied by No. 70. In 1663 his premises were greatly extended, but they were burned down in the great fire of 1666, when, at the request of the king, he obtained accommodation in Gresham House. Pepys, who was on intimate terms with him and mentions him frequently in his 'Diary,' refers to his having a residence in Mark Lane. He was the owner of several farms, one of which was at Crestloe near Aylesbury, and he also bought in 1668 an estate at Buckeworth, Huntingdonshire, in addition to which his name several times occurs in county histories as the temporary possessor of estates which doubtless had come into his hands through the pecuniary difficulties of their owners. The wife of Backwell, whom Pepys praises for her beauty and sprightliness, was his second wife Mary, daughter of Richard Leigh of Warwickshire, who died in 1670, and was buried in St. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate (Malcolm, *Londinum Redivivum*, iii. 556). Of the death of his first wife, Alice Brett, the daughter of a London merchant, there is no record.

In October 1662 Backwell was sent to Paris to receive the money (180,000*l.*) for the sale of Dunkirk to the French; and for discharging this duty he obtained from the king in 1664 a present of 1,500*l.* That he was employed by the king in negotiations of even greater importance, is evident from an entry in the State Papers in 1664 of 12,000*l.* paid to him for secret services without account, and in 1665 of 1,750*l.* After the treaty of Dover in 1670 he was also a frequent intermediary in the money transactions between Charles II and Louis of France. Under date of 21 Jan. 1666, there is an entry in the State Papers of a 'warrant for Edward Backwell to be a baronet;' but possibly he declined the honour. The prediction of Pepys that 'the king and kingdom must as good as fall with that man' was scarcely fulfilled; for when Charles in 1672 found himself involved in hopeless money difficulties he had recourse to the expedient of closing the exchequer. Of the 1,328,526*l.* in the exchequer, the amount borrowed from Backwell was 295,995*l.* In the same year, as appears from the 'Commons' Journal,' his name was sent to the House of Commons as elected to represent Wendover, but on petition the name of Thomas Wharton was inserted instead. Towards the close of the year, we find from 'Hatton's Correspondence' (Camden Society, 1878, i. 101) that he had been sued by several of his creditors and judgment given against him. Indeed it was currently, though erroneously, reported, that it was for refusing to interfere on his behalf that Sir Orlando Bridgman, the lord keeper, was removed from office. 'Backwell,' says Hatton, 'moved the late L^d^ Keeper upon pretence y^t^ he had lent all y^e^ money to y^e^ king, whose exchequer was now shut up, to grant him an injunction to stop y^e^ proceedings of all his creditors, and for denying this it is generally reported y^e^ seales were taken away.' Whether Backwell subsequently obtained an injunction to stop the proceedings of his creditors does not appear, but possibly it was at this time that, as tradition has it, he took refuge in Holland. He discontinued in any case his banking business, and in the list of the merchants and bankers of London for 1677 (the oldest printed list, republished in 1878) the name of John Ballard appears as occupying his shop at the Unicorn, Lombard Street. In whatever way he satisfied the claims of his creditors, he continued till 1674 comptroller of the customs at a salary of 250*l.* a year; and he was also frequently employed by the king in receiving sums of money from abroad.

The letters patent granted under the great

seal in 1677 to each of the goldsmiths who had lent money to the exchequer, 'of a yearly rent for ever upon the revenue of the excise, equal in value to the interest of their debts after the rate of 6 per cent. per annum,' must have removed the money embarrassments of Backwell, and, as the whole debt was discharged in the reign of William IV, his heirs ultimately suffered no pecuniary loss by the transaction. The statement of Mr. Hilton Price that Backwell removed to Holland in 1676 and died there in 1679, is contradicted, not merely by the pedigree printed in Libscomb's 'History of Buckinghamshire,' which gives the year of his death as 1683, but also by the fact that he was a member for Wendover in the parliament of 1679, and in the Oxford parliament of 1680. Backwell was chosen an alderman for Bishopsgate ward in 1657, and from a list given in Northbrook's 'History of London' it appears that a new alderman was chosen for that ward in 1681: but possibly the change may have been connected with the disputes between Charles and the city. The tradition that Backwell took refuge from his creditors in Holland and died there seems to have had its origin in a statement of Cole (*MSS.* xxxviii. 389) that he heard the two maiden daughters of Tyringham, grandson of Edward Backwell, say in their father's lifetime at Tyringham, that 'Alderman Backwell, on some failure of the government security, was forced to retire to Holland, where he died, and being embalmed was brought over to England and buried at Tyringham.' As Tyringham Backwell died in 1754, or only seventy years after the death of his grandfather, the main substance of his daughters' statement is doubtless correct: but as there is no record of a failure of government security after 1677, he had no reason for remaining after this in retirement in Holland, and possibly at the time of his death was there merely on business. John Backwell, eldest son of Alderman Backwell by his first wife, succeeded to the property of Tyringham through marriage with Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir William Tyringham. John Backwell's son Tyringham married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Child, banker, by whom he had two sons, Barnaby and William, both of whom became partners of Child. The latter son in 1756 began a bank of his own in Pall Mall.

[Libscomb's History of Buckinghamshire; Diary of Samuel Pepys; Cole's MSS. vol. xxxviii.; State Papers, Domestic Series; The notices of Backwell by F. G. Hilton Price in Temple Bar or some Account of 'Ye Marygold' (1875), in Handbook of London Bankers (1876), and especially in vol. vi. part i. (1883) of Transactions of London and Middlesex Archæological Society, pp. 191–230. These notices are in several respects incomplete, but contain various interesting particulars of Backwell, gleaned from his ledgers in possession of Messrs. Child.] T. F. H.

BACON, Lady ANN (1528–1610), mother of Francis Bacon, was the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke [q. v.]. Her mother was Ann, daughter of John Cawnton, of London, esquire. Her eldest sister was Mildred, second wife of William Cecil, Lord Burghley; of three younger sisters, Katharine became the wife of Sir Henry Killegrew; Elizabeth, the wife of (1) Sir Thomas Hoby, (2) Lord Russell, son of Francis, earl of Bedford; and Margaret married Sir Ralph Rowlett 27 June 1558.

Ann was born in 1528, and had the same liberal education as her elder sister Mildred, and indeed all the remarkable household, under the vigilant eyes of a father 'eminent in the whole circle of arts and learning.' When her father was appointed tutor to young Edward VI, Ballard and subsequent authorities allege that his daughter Ann was associated with him as governess. She very early won repute for learning, being reported to read Latin, Greek, Italian, and French 'as her native tongue.' It was probably in 1556–7 that she married Sir Nicholas Bacon. Anthony, the first child of this marriage, was born in 1558; the younger son, Francis, was born on 22 Jan. 1560–1.

Lady Bacon's religious faith grew with her years, and all her extant letters testify to her puritan fervour. Before her marriage, she is believed to have translated into English some sermons of Bernardine Ochine; and the little volume entitled 'Foureteene Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne . . . translated . . . in to oure natyue tounge by A. C.' (1550?), and dedicated to the translator's mother, has been attributed to Ann Cooke. The fourteen sermons were reprinted in the collection of Ochine's sermons issued by John Day, the printer. In 1564 Lady Bacon was occupied with a translation from the Latin of Bishop Jewel's 'Apologie of the Church of England.' She received permission from the author to publish the work (1564), and benefited by the assistance of her husband's friend, Archbishop Parker. The 'Apologie' was reprinted in 1600. Theodore Beza, who learned of her piety and ability from her son Anthony, dedicated to her his 'Meditations.'

It is as a letter-writer that Lady Bacon appears in her most attractive light. Most of her extant letters are addressed to her sons Anthony and Francis, and have been printed in Spedding's 'Life of Bacon.' Of her solicitude for the spiritual welfare of her

sons, and of the jealousy with which she regarded her authority over them long after they had reached manhood, they all give ample proof. She is always fiercely rebuking them for disregard of her wishes, and seeking to keep herself informed of all the details of their daily life. Plays and masques were abominations to her; the nonconformists she admired, and in one long letter to Lord Burghley she prayed that they might be treated fairly. All her letters are interspersed with lavish quotations from Greek and Latin. Her mind gave way during the later years of her protracted life. 'She was but little better than frantic in her age,' writes Bishop Goodman in his 'Court of James I,' i. 285 (cf. SPEDDING'S *Life*, iv. 217). But she lived on little noticed until 1610. A letter from Bacon, dated 27 Aug. 1610, invites Sir Michael Hicks to 'the mournful occasion' of her funeral (SPEDDING'S *Letters and Life*, iv. 216–18). When her illustrious son drew up his own last will, its second clause ran: 'For my burial, I desire it may be in St. Michael's Church, near St. Albans —there my mother was buried' (*ibid.* vii. 539).

[Kippis's Biogr. Britannica, iv. 96–8; Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies, 126–32 (2nd edit.); Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; Spedding's Life of Bacon, vols. i.–iv.; Goodman's Court of King James the First, i. 285.] A. B. G.

BACON, ANTHONY (1558–1601), diplomatist, and friend of the Earl of Essex, was born in 1558, probably at Gorhambury, Hertfordshire. He was the elder of the two sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, by his second wife, Ann, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. The younger son was the great Francis Bacon. From infancy Anthony was in very delicate health. In a letter dated 17 June 1560 his father writes of his recovery from a dangerous fever. At fourteen his sight was in danger. Throughout his life he was lame. On 5 April 1573 he and his brother Francis went into residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, as fellow-commoners. They matriculated on 10 June, and shared the same rooms. Their tutor was John Whitgift, master of the college and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. They remained at Cambridge till Christmas 1575, but between August 1574 and the following March the plague kept them from the university. They were both diligent students, but Whitgift's accounts of the money spent 'for Anthonie beeing syck' between 1573 and 1575 prove his studies to have been repeatedly interrupted by serious illness. In June 1576 the two brothers were admitted 'ancients' (being the sons of a judge) of Gray's Inn. In February 1578–9 their father died, and Anthony succeeded to much of his landed property in Hertfordshire and Middlesex. The estate of Gorhambury in the former county was bequeathed to his mother for her life, with remainder to himself. His half-brother, Nathaniel Bacon, Sir Nicholas's second son by his first marriage, disputed these bequests; but the quarrel, on being referred to Lord Treasurer Burghley, the husband of Lady Bacon's sister, Mildred, and thus Anthony's uncle by marriage, was settled in Anthony's favour.

Late in 1579 Bacon set out, at Lord Burghley's suggestion, on a long continental tour in search of political intelligence. He stayed for some time at Paris, and there, to the alarm of his relatives—all sturdy protestants—he made, for diplomatic purposes, the acquaintance of William Parry, LL.D., an English catholic refugee, who was executed for treasonable conspiracy in London in 1585. Bacon began, very soon after his arrival on the continent, to correspond regularly with Walsingham, and in 1580 he entertained at Paris one of Walsingham's secretaries, Nicholas Faunt, who became his most intimate friend and correspondent. In August 1580 Anthony removed to Bourges, whence he wrote two very affectionate letters to his uncle Burghley (14 Jan. and 13 Feb. 1580–1; *Cal. State Papers*, 1581–90, pp. 2, 5), but the corrupt life led by the inhabitants of the city induced him to hurry thence to Geneva. There he lodged in the house of Theodore Beza, who esteemed him so highly as to dedicate, 'out of respect to him,' his 'Meditations' to his mother, Lady Bacon, and to send to Lord Burghley for presentation to the university of Cambridge an ancient copy of the Pentateuch in six languages (STRYPE'S *Annals*, III. i. 110, ii. 197). Early in 1582 he was staying at Lyons, whence he journeyed to Montpellier and Toulouse. In May of that year he received permission through Faunt to remain abroad for three years longer. He afterwards proceeded to Marseilles and to Bordeaux, where he was living at the close of 1583. Thence he forwarded letters addressed by the Duke de Montmorenci to Elizabeth, and she expressed to him, through the Earl of Leicester, her satisfaction in having 'so good a man as you to have and receive letters by' (7 Oct. 1583). Bacon used his influence at Bordeaux to improve the position of the protestants there, an undertaking in which, as he wrote to his old tutor, Whitgift, then archbishop of Canterbury, he ran the risk of personal danger, and he made the acquaintance of

Montaigne, the essayist. After some fifteen months' sojourn at Bordeaux, he removed to Bearn, where he visited Henry of Navarre and met Lambert Daneau, an eminent protestant theologian, better known as Danæus. Daneau dedicated to Anthony his commentary on the minor prophets, which was published at Geneva in 1586; and in the 'Epistola Dedicatoria' speaks with affectionate admiration not only of Anthony himself, but of his father, Sir Nicholas, and of his half-brother, Edward. Early in 1585 Bacon settled at Montauban, and for the five following years lived on close terms of intimacy with Navarre's counsellors, the leaders of protestant France. In 1590 he was driven from Montauban by the persecution of Madame du Plessis, who desired him to marry her daughter, and he retired for a second time to Bordeaux. He subsequently made friends with Anthony Standen, an English catholic—well known as a spy of Walsingham—who was at the time in prison at Bordeaux on suspicion of holding treasonable correspondence with Spain. Bacon's influence with the English government procured his release in 1591, and Standen was afterwards one of Bacon's many regular correspondents. At the end of 1591 Bacon returned to England, where he arrived in very poor health in February 1591-2. During his continental tour Bacon had corresponded regularly with Walsingham's secretary, Faunt, with his brother, and with the English agents in various parts of Europe. Very many of these letters are extant in manuscript, and prove him to have utilised every opportunity of obtaining information on foreign politics.

But his mother and brother had by no means approved of his long absence, and Lady Bacon had exerted all her influence with the English ministers to induce them to recall him earlier. She had feared the effects on his religious opinions of his intimacy with foreign papists, and had found his vast expenditure a severe strain upon her own resources, and his health a continual source of anxiety. As early as 1583 she, with Francis Bacon and Walsingham, had entreated him to leave Bordeaux for England on account of 'the troubled state of France' and 'the sickly state of his body.' In 1586 Walsingham sent Anthony a message of recall from the queen, but this was disregarded. In 1589 Lady Bacon contrived to have Anthony's servant, Lawson, who brought despatches to Burghley, arrested on suspicion of being a papist, and Bacon had to send a friend, Captain Allen, to England to reassure her on this point. His subsequent relations with Anthony Standen confirmed in his mother's eyes her worst suspicion of his religious instability. In his pecuniary difficulties there was more substantial ground for Lady Bacon's dissatisfaction. Anthony was clearly living beyond his means. In 1584 Francis drafted in his behalf a power of attorney enabling persons in England to raise money on his landed property. While at Montauban he was constantly borrowing money of the King of Navarre and of his counsellors, and his mother declared at the time that 'she had spent her jewels to supply him, and had borrowed the last money she had sent him of seven different persons.'

But Lady Bacon's anger cooled as soon as she heard of her son's arrival in England, and she desired Faunt, an undoubted protestant, to conduct him to his brother's lodgings at Gray's Inn. Soon afterwards she addressed to him a series of letters which prove how sincere was her interest in his physical and spiritual welfare. In August 1592 he stayed with her at Gorhambury, but gout prostrated him there, and he was unable to pay his respects to Queen Elizabeth—a duty that he never found an opportunity of performing later, and thus fatally injured his chances of preferment. When Bacon sought the favour of his uncle, Lord Burghley, in the hope of securing a post at court, he was disgusted to receive nothing but fair words—such words, according to his own account, as 'make fools fain, and yet even in these no offer or hopeful assurance of real kindness, which I thought I might justly expect at the lord treasurer's hands, who had inned my ten years' harvest into his own barn without any halfpenny charge.' In February 1592-3 he was returned to parliament as M.P. for Wallingford, and did not increase his influence with his powerful relative by opposing a government bill imposing new penalties on recusants.

Early in 1593 he took the decisive step of entering the service of the rival of the Cecils, the Earl of Essex [see Devereux, Robert, second Earl of Essex, 1567–1601], to whom, he says, he found (1592) his brother 'bound and in deep arrearages,' and in whom he recognised 'rare virtues and perfections.' Francis, in his 'Apologie . . . concerning the late Earle of Essex,' claimed to have been the author of this arrangement (Spedding's *Life*, iii. 143). Anthony—'being' (in his brother's words) 'a gentleman whose ability the world taketh knowledge of for matters of state, especially foreign'—undertook in Essex's behalf to obtain earlier foreign intelligence than the queen's advisers were in the habit of receiving, and the earl hoped to secure the royal favour permanently by com-

municating Bacon's information to Elizabeth. To Essex Anthony remained faithful till death, and worked industriously for seven years as his private 'under-secretary of state for foreign affairs.' So long as this relationship lasted, Essex's confidence in Anthony increased year by year, and they corresponded with each other on terms of closer and closer intimacy. And Anthony never ceased to urge his brother to remain firm in his adherence to their common patron. But Burghley still continued to hold out shadowy hopes of preferment to both the brothers, and wrote to their mother (29 Aug. 1593) that they were 'so qualified in learning and virtue, as if they had a supply of more health they wanted nothing.'

Anthony at once entered into elaborate correspondence with agents in Scotland, where Essex was anxious to advance James VI's claims to the English throne. He was soon fully trusted by King James, and received in 1594 the king's thanks for the zeal he was displaying in his behalf. With the French king, Henry IV, Bacon similarly endeavoured to keep on the friendliest terms. On 14 April 1596 Henry sent Bacon an autograph letter, in which he expressed his high esteem of his 'prudence in the conduct of public affairs,' and in May of the same year Anthony was visited by the Duke de Bouillon, Henry IV's envoy to England. His regular correspondents from 1596 onwards included Sir Thomas Bodley, the English ambassador at the Hague; Sir Anthony Sherley, the far-famed traveller; John Napier, the Scotch inventor of logarithms, who sent him mathematical papers; Dr. Hawkins, the ambassador at Venice; and Sir Thomas Challoner, an accomplished scholar, whom Anthony had introduced into Essex's service.

Bacon lived until 1594 chiefly with his brother Francis, either at Gray's Inn or at Twickenham Park, by the Thames. At intervals he visited his mother at Gorhambury, or went to reside at Kingston and Redbourne in Hertfordshire, where he had inherited property from his father. In 1594 he hired a house in Bishopsgate, London, but its contiguity to the Bull Inn—a playhouse—was so bitterly disapproved of by his mother, that in the following year he removed to Chelsea. In October 1595 Essex invited him to take up his residence in Essex House by the Strand, and, in spite of Lady Bacon's protest that such a step would expose him to the taunt that he was no longer Essex's 'worthy friend,' but 'his follower'—'a rare kind of good wit and speech'—the invitation was gratefully accepted. The gout and stone still oppressed him, and money troubles did not cease. Before the close of 1593 he sold his estate of Baily, and he was constantly borrowing of his friends in the following years, but these loans were often contracted to supply Francis's needs rather than his own. Early in 1595 he made a fruitless application to his uncle, Sir Henry Killigrew, for a loan of 200*l*. In 1597 Essex in vain appealed to Nicholas Bacon, Anthony's half-brother, to assist him. The only one of his half-brothers who showed Anthony any kindness was Edward Bacon, and Anthony endeavoured in 1597 to obtain a small post at court for him from Sir Robert Cecil, who 'had of late professed very seriously an absolute amnesty of all misconceits passed.' In 1600 Bacon seems to have contemplated the alienation of Gorhambury, which his brother Francis, then no longer poor, was anxious to secure for himself.

In Francis's advancement at court and in health Anthony meanwhile showed an assiduous anxiety. Constantly in his correspondence with Essex in 1596 he implores his patron to secure for Francis the mastership of the rolls. Francis, who had the highest opinion of Anthony's political abilities, partially reciprocated these kindnesses, but the fraternal sentiment was certainly better developed in Anthony than in his brother. At one time Francis was endeavouring, through his friend Sir John Fortescue, to bring Anthony's diplomatic services to the notice of the queen, but the scheme met with no success. Francis also dedicated the first edition of his essays (published in 1597) to Anthony, and he wrote there: 'I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon myself, that her majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind and I might be with excuse confined to those contemplations and studies for which I am fittest.' Anthony, in his cherished hope that Francis would still adhere to Essex, was anxious that the dedication should be transferred to the earl, and at once forwarded a copy to him begging for 'leave to transfer any interest unto your lordship, then humbly to crave your honourable acceptance and trustworthy protection [for the book].'

In the early months of 1596 the court-factions of Essex and the Cecils (Sir Robert Cecil was then secretary of state) were in hot dispute as to the advantages to be derived from the Cadiz expedition, upon which Essex was resolved, and Anthony did his best to support his friend's policy. In the autumn of the same year his aunt, Lady Russell, made a strong endeavour to detach him from Essex. The attempt was doubtless prompted by Lady Bacon, who preferred the serious demeanour of her brother-in-law Burghley to

the impulsiveness and gaiety of Anthony's patron. Lady Russell told Bacon that he was too well beloved in Scotland to be a true Englishman, and that he had not only abandoned the kind old nobleman (Burghley), but did him ill offices, not only with the earl here but in France and Scotland. She proceeded to reproach him (in his mother's vein) with all his past life, and he defended himself in a detailed speech which is very useful to his biographer. An account of the lengthy interview was sent by Bacon to Essex, and there Anthony stated that there was a mortal enmity between himself and his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil (which seems in the next year to have somewhat abated), and he reiterated 'the entire devotion of his heart' to the earl. On the return of Essex from Cadiz, where he had been hampered by the home government in all his movements, he forwarded to Anthony from Plymouth a 'True Relation of the Action' for publication; but the council forbade this step, and Bacon had a number of manuscript copies and translations distributed in Scotland, the Low Countries, and France (cf. *Cal. State Papers*, 1598–1601, p. 203). In 1597 Bacon was returned to parliament a second time as M.P. for Oxford, and in the same year Essex parted from him to take the command of another expedition by sea against Spain; but its failure to gain any decisive victory brought Essex into disfavour with the queen, and he retired for a time from public life, only to re-enter it to involve himself in more serious complications. Bacon had twice in the early part of the year warned Essex against allowing acts prompted by personal pique to give colour to the malicious reports of his enemies, and Essex in 1598 addressed to Bacon, as his 'true friend,' a paper for publication to refute the report that he was 'the only hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country.' A manuscript copy of this tract is in the Public Record Office; it was published for the first time in 1603.

With the close of 1597 Bacon's correspondence with Essex comes to an end, and it has been reasonably inferred that the later letters were burnt by Anthony to prevent their exposure and misapplication when Essex was in disgrace in 1599 and 1600. After Essex's return to England from Ireland and his imprisonment in the former year, Bacon was ordered by the queen to quit Essex House (10 March 1599–1600), so that the earl might be kept in confinement there. Both Francis and Anthony seemed to be then working together in the earl's behalf. On 5 June 1600 Essex was sentenced, after an informal trial at York House, to virtual suspension from all his offices of state. Francis, although he acted with the government on this occasion, took no prominent part in the proceedings, and immediately afterwards, at Anthony's suggestion, he drew up a pretended correspondence between Anthony and the earl, in which the attempt was made to 'picture forth unto her Majesty my Lord's mind to be such as . . . her Majesty would fainest know it.' Here Francis, in his brother's name, begged Essex not to despair, but humbly to wait for a change of fortune, while, as the spokesman of Essex, he represented Anthony to be the most devoted of the earl's friends. The letters, 'by the advice of Mr. Anthony Bacon and with the privity of the said earl, were to be showed to Queen Elizabeth' (cf. *Addit. MS.* 4130 f. 50).

Nearly three months later Essex was released from confinement (26 Aug. 1600). Soon afterwards he entered into further clearly treasonable practices, and was arrested again (8 Feb. 1600–1). An important part in the prosecution was then entrusted to Francis Bacon, and Essex suffered on the scaffold (25 Feb. 1600–1). At the final trial Essex referred to the correspondence between himself and Anthony, drawn up by Francis in the preceding June, as proof of the latter's sudden change of front. Although we have no direct information as to Anthony's relations with the earl or with his brother during the last six months of Essex's life, it is clear that Anthony anticipated as little as the earl the *rôle* played by Francis in its closing scenes. From a long letter addressed (30 May 1601) to Anthony by an anonymous writer, which was never seen by him, for he died some days before it was written (Camden, *Annales*, ed. Hearne, 957–61), we learn that Anthony was interesting himself to the last to prove his patron innocent of the worst accusations brought against him. The story related by Sir Henry Wotton—at one time a secretary of Essex and the companion of Anthony Bacon — to the effect that Anthony — 'a gentleman' (in Wotton's words) 'of impotent feet but nimble head'—was faithless to the earl, and extorted money from him on several occasions by threatening either to reveal diplomatic secrets to the Cecils, or to abandon Essex's service, may justly be rejected as false (cf. *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 13; *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. iii. 121, 190, 252). We know that Anthony received little or no money from Essex. He had lodgings in Essex House, but maintained himself out of his private resources. Soon after his removal thither his mother, who treated him as a wayward child to the last,

complained of his extravagant expenditure in coals (Birch's *Memoirs*, ii. 371). So far from growing rich in Essex's household, it is clear that he grew poorer and poorer. Essex appears to have promised, and to have made some effort, to repay him for his self-denying services, but the schemes did not take effect. 'The Queen hears,' wrote Chamberlain to Carleton (28 June 1599), 'that he [Essex] has given Essex House to Antony Bacon, which displeases her; I believe it is but instead of 2,000*l.* he meant to give him with a clause of redemption for that sum' (*Cal. State Papers*, 1598–1601, p. 222).

Anthony died just before 27 May 1601, three months after his patron's execution, aged 43. Doubtless the shock which the last events of Essex's life caused him hastened his death. 'Anthony Bacon,' writes Chamberlain to Carleton under date 27 May 1601, 'died not long since, but so far in debt that I think his brother [to whom his property reverted] is little the better by him.' After James I's arrival in England in May 1603, Francis sought the favour of the king mainly on the ground of 'the infinite devotion and incessant endeavours (beyond the strength of his body and nature of the times) which appeared in my good brother towards your majesty's service . . . all which endeavours and duties for the most part were common to myself with him, though by design (as between brethren) dissembled' (Spedding's *Life*, iii. 62–3). On 25 Aug. 1604 Francis received the grant of a pension of 60*l.* a year, in consideration (in the words of the patent) of his brother's 'good, faithful, and acceptable service' (Rymer's *Fœdera*, xvi. 597). There seems every reason to accept Dr. Birch's inference that this grant formed the king's reply to Francis's petition of the previous year (*Historical View*, p. xx).

Bacon's voluminous correspondence, in sixteen volumes, is mainly preserved in Lambeth Palace Library, to which it was presented by Archbishop Tenison. There are sixteen volumes of transcripts from the Lambeth papers at the British Museum (*Addit. MSS.* 4109–24). Some additional letters are also at the museum, and others are in the Public Record Office. These letters and papers are the only source of Anthony Bacon's biography, but they cover far more ground than his personal history. Besides the letters from and to his mother, his steward, his creditors, his brother, his friends, doctors, and money-lenders, there are notes of political intelligence from spies and ambassadors stationed in all parts of Europe. His papers present, in fact, as full a picture of European history of the period as any extant collection of documents. Mr. Spedding, who made an examination of the manuscripts, described Bacon as a grave, assiduous, energetic, religious man, remarkable for his power of attaching men to him, generous beyond his means, a little too apt to suspect and resent an injury, driven at times into injustice by pecuniary embarrassments, but generally fair and tolerant. We should add that in his religious opinions he showed a liberality far in advance of his age. He did not permit his strong personal sympathy with the principles of the Reformation to debar him from numbering men of other religious professions among his friends. His epistolary style, although occasionally cumbersome in expression, is full of quaint humour, and the writer's unswerving honesty of purpose gives a very pathetic interest to the whole of his correspondence with Essex.

[Dr. Thomas Birch printed in 1754, in two volumes, a large number of extracts from the Anthony Bacon MSS. at Lambeth, under the title of 'Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,' but he injured the literary effect of the letters by transferring them, in almost all cases, from the first to the third person. Dr. Birch also made use of a few of these papers in his Historical View of the Negotiations between France and England, 1592–1617, published in 1749, and has given an account of Bacon in the introduction, pp. xix–xxii, which proves of very little value. Mr. Spedding, in the first three volumes of his life of Bacon, makes many references to Anthony Bacon. See also Dr. Abbott's Bacon and Essex (1877); Devereux's Lives and Letters of the Earls of Essex; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. ii. 314–16; Todd's Cat. Lambeth MSS.]

S. L. L.

BACON, FRANCIS (1561–1626), lord chancellor, born at York House on 22 Jan. 1561, was the son of Lord Keeper Bacon, by his second wife, Ann, second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and sister of the wife of Sir William Cecil, better known by his later title as Lord Treasurer Burghley. In April 1573, at the age of twelve years and three months, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, leaving it in March 1575. In June 1575 he was admitted to Gray's Inn.

Bacon was thus destined to the profession of the law. Few youths of his age, however, are content to look forward to a life of merely professional success; and in Bacon's case, partly by reason of his own mental qualities, and partly by reason of the influence of the exciting events of the great national struggle in the heart of which he lived, the visions of youth were peculiarly far-reaching. The boy already longed not merely to do something for the defence of protestantism against

its enemies, and something for the improvement of the government of his native country, both which thoughts were likely to arise in the mind of Elizabeth's 'young lord keeper,' as she playfully called him, but also to achieve a task which was peculiarly his own, to create a new system of philosophy to replace that of Aristotle, not merely for the satisfaction of the cravings of his own speculative reason, but for the practical benefit of humanity at large.

In 1576 young Bacon was attached to the embassy of Sir Amias Paulet to France. He was still abroad when, on 20 Feb. 1579, his father died, leaving him with but a small fortune. On his return to England, which followed soon after he received the bad news, he devoted himself to the study of the law, though he was not without hope of more suitable work. In 1580, at least, he was looking to his uncle, Lord Burghley, to support a suit for some kind of preferment, the exact nature of which is unknown. As, however, he did not receive a favourable answer, he continued his legal studies, and on 27 June 1582 was admitted utter barrister.

Bacon's rise in life was brought about by his election to the parliament which met on 23 Nov. 1584, in which, no doubt through Burghley's interest, he sat for the borough of Melcombe Regis. The time was one in which the greatest questions were at issue. The danger arising from the activity of the supporters of Mary Stuart was coming to a head, and at the same time, though the queen and the House of Commons were completely at one in their desire to establish the national independence by keeping the catholics in check, there was a division of opinion between them on the form of religion to be maintained in the country, the commons wishing to see the established religion modified in the direction of Calvinistic puritanism, and the queen wishing to preserve the worship of the Prayer-book intact.

Bacon's views upon the political situation were embodied in a 'Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth,' written in the end of 1584 or the beginning of 1585. There is nothing crude or immature in this his first political memoir. Every line of it, in fact, is full of a wisdom too far in advance of the time to be palatable either to the queen or to the commons. Most remarkable at that day was Bacon's recommendation of the best mode of dealing with the catholics. Arguing on the hypothesis that they were the queen's enemies, he spoke of the impossibility of contenting them, and of the danger of driving them to despair. The latter, however, was precisely what the government was doing by urging the oath of supremacy. It would, thought Bacon, be 'better to frame the oath in this sense: That whosoever would not bear arms against all foreign princes, and namely the pope, that should any way invade her majesty's dominions, should be a traitor.' Having thus not merely anticipated but improved upon the oath of allegiance of 1606, he touched upon another string. 'For preachers,' he wrote, 'because thereon grows a great question, I am provoked to lay at your highness's feet my opinion touching the preciser sort, first protesting . . . that I am not given over, no, nor so much as addicted, to their preciseness; therefore till I think that you think otherwise, I am bold to think that the bishops in this dangerous time take a very evil and unadvised course in driving them from their cures.' His reasons were two: first, because it injured the queen's reputation to have it known that there were divisions amongst her protestant subjects; and secondly, 'because, in truth, in their opinions, though they are somewhat over squeamish and nice, and more scrupulous than they need, yet with their careful catechizing and diligent preaching they bring forth that fruit which your most excellent majesty is to wish and desire, namely the lessening and diminishing of the papistical number.' Other suggestions for indirectly weakening the catholics follow, after which the writer turns his attention to foreign affairs.

By any one who wishes to understand Bacon's career this letter should be attentively studied. He must very early have got into the habit of entertaining thoughts for which persons in authority were not yet ripe, and of looking about for means by which he might alter their judgment. The way open now was not open then. He could not stir up opinion by public writing or public speaking. His words as a member of parliament would not go beyond the walls of parliament, and were likely to fall on deaf ears within them. Not only did the one way of influencing the course of affairs lie in ability to win the queen and those immediately around her, but Bacon was well content that it should be so. In the queen and her council, with all their defects, was to be found the regulative authority which controlled the manifestations of the national life, and Bacon had no wish to subordinate the queen's government to the irregular impulses of a House of Commons untrained by experience in the management of great affairs. To say this is to say that Bacon must look to achieve a statesman's ends by the means of a courtier, to gain access, to offer services,

to watch the rise and fall of favourites. To do so soon became a habit with him, but there is nothing to show that it was ever repulsive to him. The breadth of his intellect left little room for any strength of emotional nature. In the 'Letter of Advice' there is a singular want of enthusiasm where enthusiasm would be expected in so young a writer.

In the parliament which met on 29 Oct. 1586 Bacon sat for Taunton. In the course of this year he became a bencher of Gray's Inn, and was thus enabled to plead in the courts of Westminster. In the parliament which was opened on 4 Feb. 1589 Bacon was member for Liverpool. He had by this time caught the ear of the house, and was frequently employed on committees. He was aware, however, of the importance of gaining the queen to his views. The execution of Mary and the defeat of the Armada, indeed, had made the question of the treatment of catholics less pressing; but the appearance of the Marprelate libels had brought into greater prominence the question of the conduct to be pursued towards the puritans. In 'An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England,' a paper written in 1589 though not printed till 1640, Bacon amplified the opinion which he had expressed in the 'Letter of Advice,' deprecating the factious temper of the puritans on the one hand, and the rigid insistence on conformity by the government on the other.

It was Bacon's fate through life to give good advice only to be rejected, and yet to impress those who received it with a sufficiently good opinion of his intellectual capacity to gain employment in work which hundreds of other men could have done as well. At the end of 1589 or the beginning of 1590 Bacon wrote a letter in the name of Sir Francis Walsingham in defence of the queen's proceedings in ecclesiastical causes. He must have longed to get an opportunity of doing more than this, and now that opportunity seemed to have arrived at last.

At some time, probably not later than July 1591, Bacon made the acquaintance of the young Earl of Essex. In this way began the first of Bacon's so-called friendships. That the earl soon became warmly attached to Bacon is beyond doubt. The intelligent, but impulsive and passionate nobleman of twenty-three found in the cool and wary adviser, who was in years his senior, those qualities so different from his own which were likely to rivet his affection. It was Bacon's misfortune that he never passed through the stage of admiration which goes far to develope a complete character. The author of the 'Letter of Advice' knew himself to be capable of giving lessons in politics to Burghley, and, if he did not expect intellectual assistance from Essex, he failed to perceive that the young nobleman's generosity of temper was at least as admirable as any power of brain could possibly be. In his intercourse with men there was none of that intellectual give-and-take which is the foundation of the highest friendship. What he gave was advice, the best that he had at his disposal. What he hoped to receive, as he looked back upon the past after fourteen years, may be given in his own words: 'I held at that time,' he wrote, 'my lord to be the fittest instrument to do good to the state; and therefore I applied myself to him in a manner which I think happeneth rarely among men.' In 1596 he put it in another way, in asking Essex 'to look about, even jealously a little if you will, and to consider whether I have not reason to think that your fortune comprehendeth mine' (Spedding, ii. 40; see also Abbott's *Bacon and Essex*, 36). It is not necessary to suppose that Bacon meant to refer merely to his personal fortune. That would no doubt be included, but the allusion must in fairness be understood to imply that he looked to Essex to carry through to success all that Bacon was, the political reformer as well as the aspirant after promotion.

Of the nature of the advice given to Essex by Bacon during the early years of their intimacy we have no direct evidence. In November 1592 he wrote a set of discourses to be used in a 'device' prepared by Essex (*A Conference of Pleasure*, edited by Spedding), and shortly afterwards he enlarged one of these discourses into an argumentative defence of the queen's government, under the title of 'Certain Observations made upon a Libel published this present year, 1592,' and which therefore must have been composed before 25 March 1593, according to our present reckoning. Before that date, on 19 Feb., a new parliament met, in which Bacon sat for the county of Middlesex.

The circumstances under which this parliament met were critical. A Spanish intrigue in Scotland had been discovered, and the queen stood in need of supply to enable her to defeat it. The committee of the lower house appointed to consider the amount reported in favour of granting two subsidies with their accompanying four-fifteenths and tenths, in spite of the prevalent feeling against giving more than one subsidy at a time. Upon this, however, the commons were sent for to the upper house, and were informed by Burghley not only that the lords would not consent to a bill granting less than three subsidies, but

also that the amount to be granted must be discussed at a conference. In the commons Bacon led the opposition to this proposal. He was ready to vote for increased supply, but he objected to join with the lords in a discussion about supply as prejudicing the privileges of the lower house. The result was that after some days' confused discussion the lords tacitly abandoned their claim to join with the commons in discussing a subsidy.

So far Bacon had only come into open collision with the lords, though there can be little doubt that the demand of the lords was made at the instance of the queen. The next stage of the debate brought him into collision directly with the crown. In their original statement the lords had proposed that three subsidies payable in three years should be granted, whereas the practice had been that each subsidy should be spread over two years. In speaking for the government Sir R. Cecil now contented himself with asking that the three subsidies should be payable in four years. Bacon, however, opposed the demand on the ground that by causing discontent this increase of the burden of taxation would do more harm than good. Though it is not known what he himself proposed, except that he wished to spread the payment over six years and in some way to mark the payment of the last subsidy as extraordinary, yet, as the house unanimously decided against him, 'we may,' as Mr. Spedding says, 'at least conclude that there was no popular party in opposition strong enough to be worth conciliating at the expense of offending the party in power.'

There is every reason to believe that Bacon's opposition was a conscientious one. When called on by Burghley for an explanation, he simply claimed his right to speak according to his conscience. Every personal reason must have influenced him to make an apology, as he was at the time in pecuniary difficulties, and, though the evidence is not complete, it would seem that at this time he was again contemplating a withdrawal from the court. The attorney-generalship was, moreover, likely to be vacant, and, though Coke was a candidate for the office, some one, probably Essex, urged Bacon to apply for it, and warmly advocated his cause with the queen. Elizabeth, however, was too angry with his behaviour in parliament even to see him. On 25 Jan. 1594 Bacon removed one objection to his promotion, that he had never held a brief, by appearing in court, where he acquitted himself so well that Burghley congratulated him on his success, and the reputation thus gained he increased by further arguments on 5 and 9 Feb. Yet, though Essex with all the impetuosity of his nature continued to plead for Bacon, Burghley stood firmly by Coke, and by the end of March 1594 it was understood that Bacon's suit for the attorney-generalship was finally rejected. The solicitor-generalship was, however, now vacant; and as both Essex and Burghley concurred in recommending him for that, there would have been no difficulty in his way if he could have soothed the displeasure of Elizabeth.

At last, in the beginning of June 1595, Bacon learned from Burghley that the queen was still offended with him for his conduct in parliament. If Elizabeth was waiting for an apology, Bacon had none to offer. 'It is not unknown to your lordship,' he wrote to Burghley, 'that I was the first of the ordinary sort of the lower house of parliament that spake for the subsidy; and that which I after spake in difference was but in circumstance of time and manner, which methinks should be no great matter, since there is variety allowed in counsel, as a discord in music to make it more perfect.' Such language did not satisfy the queen, and on 5 Nov. the solicitor-generalship was given to Serjeant Fleming.

The story just told is not only most creditable to Bacon: it settles in his favour the question whether he was the fawning sycophant which he has been represented as being. Everything that he could desire for the higher and the lower objects of his life was in the scale on one side; on the other the mere confession that he had done wrong where he believed himself to have done right. Nor can the evidence in his favour be set aside as merely proving that he still retained the ingenuousness of youth. During the life which remained to him he was consulted on a great variety of subjects under a great variety of circumstances. An intellectual unity pervades the whole of the advice which he gave. He may sometimes have held his tongue when he knew that his counsel would be disregarded, but he never prophesied smooth things to suit the wishes of those by whom his counsel was required.

To the impetuous Essex, who had thrown himself heart and soul into Bacon's suit, the result of his repeated applications was a deep disappointment. Too generous to feel only his own share in the rebuff, he offered to do his best to make up the loss to Bacon. 'Master Bacon,' he said, according to the account of the conversation subsequently given by Bacon himself, 'the queen hath denied me yon place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the least part of

your own matter, but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your mean and dependence; you have spent your time and thoughts in my matters. I die if I do not somewhat towards your fortune; you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you.' Bacon told the earl that it was not well for him to turn his estate into obligations, for he would find bad debtors. As Essex continued to press the gift, Bacon accepted it. 'My lord,' he said, 'I see I must be your homager and hold land of your gift; but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with a saving of his faith to the king and his other lords; and therefore, my lord, I can be no more yours than I was, and it must be with the ancient savings.'

The land which Bacon received was probably in Twickenham Park, and was afterwards sold by him for 1,800*l*. The manner in which the gift was made and received was characteristic of both parties.

Bacon's next letter to Essex contained a warning similar to that which he had given in conversation: 'I reckon myself as a common—and as much as is lawful to be enclosed of a common, so much your lordship shall be sure to have.' He seems to have begun to think that Essex was too self-willed and impetuous to be the instrument for the public good which he had hoped that he would be. Before the end of the year 1595, however, Essex had fully recovered the queen's good graces, and Bacon employed himself in drawing up a 'device' to be presented by Essex on the anniversary of her accession.

In the letter just quoted Bacon expressed a wish to retire from the practice of the law, and to devote himself to philosophy. His pecuniary embarrassments, which were the greater from his long expectancy of office, probably stood in the way. The queen was at least sufficiently favourable to him now to employ him as one of her learned counsel. Though Essex warmly recommended him in May 1596 for the mastership of the rolls, he did not himself make suit for it after his late disappointment.

The year 1596 marks the highest point in the life of Essex. In the capture of Cadiz he acquitted himself well in every respect. On his return home he showed himself captious and jealous of his fellow commanders, whilst the favour which he acquired in the eyes of soldiers and sailors might easily make him a dangerous man to a queen who had no standing army on which to rely. It was to this latter point especially that Bacon applied himself in a letter of advice written to Essex on 4 Oct., a letter in which Bacon unintentionally displays the worst side of his character as fully as he did afterwards in the 'Commentarius Solutus' of 1608. At the bottom the advice given is thoroughly sound. Essex is to convince the queen that he is not a dangerous person by avoiding further connection with military enterprises, and by shunning all suspicion of popularity, that is to say, of courting the people with the object of obtaining an independent position in opposition to the government. All this, however, is fenced about with recommendations to use a variety of petty tricks, to make agreeable speeches, and to appear otherwise than he is. No doubt the character of Elizabeth has to bear much of the blame for the possibility that such advice could be given, but Bacon cannot be altogether cleared. Firm as a rock on the principles on which he acted, he had learned early and too well the lesson that it was only by personal flattery and petty hypocrisies that he could hope to accomplish his ends.

It was at this time that Bacon was preparing for publication the shrewd observations on men and affairs which appeared under the name of the 'Essays.' The dedication to his brother Anthony in the first edition is dated 30 Jan. 1597, and a copy was sold on 8 Feb. One passage has a special pathos in it: 'There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.' In his letter of advice Bacon had written to Essex that 'your fortune comprehendeth mine.' In the 'Essays' he shows his belief that the obligation of friendship ought to be mutual, though it looks also as if he were longing for a friend who might give him counsel as well as receive it. If he had this feeling, it would explain his dedication to his brother instead of the earl better than other reasons which have been suggested. His relations with his brother seem to have come nearer to his ideal of friendship than anything which he found elsewhere.

If Bacon wanted friendship, he also wanted money. In the spring of 1597 he obtained, in vain, the good word of Essex to help him to a marriage with a rich young widow, Lady Hatton, and about the same time he offered a reversion of the clerkship of the Star Chamber, which had been given him some time before by the queen, to lord keeper Egerton for his son, on condition of arriving through his mediation at the mastership of the rolls. The mere proposal would properly shock us at the present day; and if, as seems probable, Bacon's second letter of 12 Nov., in which

his offer was repeated, was written after he knew that Egerton had been named a member of the commission which had been appointed to examine certain charges brought against the actual holder of the clerkship, the transaction assumes an aspect which ought to have opened Bacon's eyes to its questionable character, though, judging from his subsequent proceedings as chancellor, his eyes were very hard to open.

In the parliament which opened on 24 Oct. 1597, Bacon, as member for Southampton, had the satisfaction of seeing legislation proposed and carried for objects of which he heartily approved, such as the maintenance of husbandry and the relief of the poor.

In the meanwhile Bacon's doubts of the possibility of making a statesman of Essex must have been growing. In the summer of 1597 the earl was absent from England on what is known as the Island Voyage. On his return after failing to capture the Spanish treasure fleet, he showed himself more discontented and unreasonable than ever. Bacon, who wished him to give up military enterprises, was not likely to obtain a cordial response from a man who would resent such a proposal as thrusting him off a field in which he believed himself specially qualified to shine, in order to give him a position in which Bacon would be his master and inspirer. However this may have been, in the middle of February 1598 circumstances concurred to assist Bacon's wishes. The secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, left England on a diplomatic mission to France, and Essex was employed to do his work in his absence. At this time, therefore, Bacon thought the opportunity had come to fix Essex in the career of a statesman by interesting him in that problem of the government of Ireland which was one of the most important of the political questions of the day. In a letter of advice he skilfully selected the ground on which he was most sure of gaining the good will of Essex, by speaking of the subject as 'one of the aptest particulars for your lordship to purchase honour upon.' For the present, however, he contented himself with recommending Essex to take advice from those who were best qualified to give it.

Essex appears to have been willing enough to take up the Irish question, and to have listened to Bacon's advice on the subject of the negotiations which were then pending with Tyrone. Before anything was settled, however, Essex's hot temper had again blazed up into defiance of the queen; and though a reconciliation was effected about the end of October, it was then too late to bring Ireland into order by peaceful statesmanship, as the greater part of the country was already in insurrection.

In the meanwhile Bacon's own private necessities had been growing upon him, and on 23 Sept. he was arrested for debt. He was not long detained, and soon after he recovered his freedom he found the whole world agitated by the question whether Essex was to take the command in Ireland or not.

Of the whole of the advice given by Bacon to Essex on his assumption of the Irish command we cannot speak with certainty. In his subsequent 'Apology' Bacon said that he had dissuaded Essex from going, on the ground that he would not only risk the loss of the queen's favour, but would find the Irish as difficult to conquer as the Romans had found the Gauls, Britons, or Germans. On the other hand we have an actual letter in which Bacon encourages Essex to go, on the grounds that he is likely to succeed, and that, as the Romans gained greater glory by reducing to civilisation barbarians like the Germans and Britons, he might gain glory by bringing the Irish under a just and civil government. He ends by begging Essex to remember 'that merit is worthier than fame,' and 'obedience is better than sacrifice,' and, in short, that he is not to act in the hot-headed manner usual to him. It is possible, as Dr. Abbott has suggested (*Bacon and Essex*, 115), that there was but one letter, and that Bacon's memory played him false; and it is also possible that there were really two written, the one before Essex had made up his mind, and the other after he had determined on his course, and that Bacon might urge at one time that people like the Britons and Gauls were hard to conquer, and at the other that glory might be achieved by bringing them under law and order. Such repetitions are very much after Bacon's style. At all events, even if this explanation be rejected, it is plain from the published letter that Bacon took the opportunity of warning Essex against a very real danger in his path.

On 27 March 1599 Essex set out. He was neither a good strategist nor a good administrator. By the beginning of August he had lost the greater part of his army in useless marches, so that the Irish council advised him not to proceed to Ulster against the chief rebel, Tyrone, that year at all. Just at this time, however, he received a letter from the queen forbidding him to return to England before he had attacked Tyrone. On this Essex lost his temper, and talked wildly to his confidants of going to England with two or three thousand soldiers, apparently to drive away from the queen those enemies to whose influence he attributed his misfortunes.

The idea, however, was promptly abandoned. Essex marched into Ulster, failed signally, and, fearing what might be the effect on the queen if his rivals had the telling of the tale, took ship for England, and on 28 Sept. presented himself before Elizabeth in his travel-stained attire. He was well received at first, but before night was ordered to keep his chamber and satisfy the lords of the council. A day or two later Essex was transferred to the custody of the lord keeper. The queen did not wish to be hard with him. Bacon did what he could to encourage her in this frame of mind, and to urge Essex to submission. As nothing was yet known of the earl's conversation about bringing 3,000 men to England, he might reasonably hope to accomplish his object. The queen, however, insisted on a public declaration of the offences of Essex in the Star Chamber, which took place 29 Nov. As Essex was not called upon to answer, he grew more popular than ever, as a man struck without the means of making a defence.

Bacon was not present in the Star Chamber. From the disjointed evidence which has reached us, it is impossible to track his conduct in details. He seems to have wished to see Essex once more in favour at court, and removed from further temptation to aspire after success in a military career for which he had shown himself unfit. To accomplish this he had to use his utmost diplomacy, as Elizabeth was bent on humbling Essex and punishing him in some way for his misconduct. Bacon, therefore, with the best wish to serve Essex, would have to suggest not such treatment as he considered Essex to have merited, but the least bad treatment which would seem at any given moment to be likely to satisfy the queen. Add to this that even his mind did not work with the accuracy of a calculating machine, but was liable to make mistakes, and even—as appears from his letter to the queen on his absence from the Star Chamber—to occasional ill-temper, and there will be no difficulty in understanding how it was that he offended both parties, and was thought by the queen to be remiss in her service, and by the numerous friends of Essex to be betraying his patron.

At last, on 5 June 1600, Essex had to submit to an informal trial at York House. In the proceedings, which were intended to satisfy public opinion, Bacon, as one of the queen's learned counsel, took part. He admits that he handled his part of the charge 'not tenderly,' as it was only by a show of vigour that he would be able to retain the queen's favour so as to be able to use his influence on behalf of Essex. It is no wonder that his conduct did not appear to the friends of Essex in the same light as it did to himself. His calculation, however, was for the time justified by the result, and in six weeks after the proceedings Essex was once more at liberty, though he was debarred from appearing at court.

In a letter to Essex of 20 July Bacon used words which may be taken as expressing his innermost thoughts on his relation to Essex: 'I desire your lordship,' he wrote, 'also to think that though I confess I love some things much better than I love your lordship, as the queen's service, her quiet and contentment, her honour, her favour, the good of my country, and the like, yet I love few persons better than yourself, both for gratitude's sake and for your own virtues, which cannot hurt but by accident or abuse.'

Before long Bacon was called on to weigh one against the other his obligations to the queen and the earl. As months passed on without bringing with them a restoration to favour, the discontent of Essex took the form of wild projects, ultimately settling down into a determination to make himself master of the court by violence, to bring to justice his enemies amongst the queen's ministers, and to substitute for them himself and his supporters. On 8 Feb. 1601, having reason to suppose that his purpose was known, he was persuaded by his followers to betake himself to the city with some two hundred armed men at his heels, and to call on the citizens to rally round him. Failing to gain support he returned to Essex House, and was soon a prisoner in the hands of the government. On 11 Feb. Bacon was appointed among others to investigate the causes of the sudden revolt, and on the 18th information was obtained which brought to light the earl's previous treasonable intrigues. On the 19th Essex was brought up for trial.

In obtaining the conviction which followed, Bacon was most serviceable. He called back the attention of the court from Coke's digressions, and he fixed upon Essex the responsibility for his actions, arguing that they afforded evidence of an intention to collect an armed force, and that for 'armed petitioners' to present petitions 'must needs bring loss of liberty to the prince,' and was therefore treasonable.

To Bacon's conduct on this occasion exception has been taken on two grounds. In the first place, it has been said that he ought not to have appeared against his benefactor at all. That the course which he took indicates poverty of moral feeling cannot be denied. Yet our sentiment on the precedence of personal over political ties is based upon our in-

creased sense of political security, and is hardly applicable to a state of affairs in which anarchy, with all its attendant miseries, would indubitably follow on the violent overthrow of the queen's right to select her ministers, even if her person continued for a time to be outwardly respected; and it is, at all events, one which Bacon studiously renounced from the very beginning of his connection with Essex. In the second place it has been alleged (Abbott, *Bacon and Essex*, 194–242) that Bacon sinned in charging Essex with a consistent purpose of treason which was foreign to his nature. It is no doubt true that Essex never did anything consistently, and that an analysis of character would spare his heart at the expense of his head. It does not, however, follow that Bacon went deliberately wrong. On the day of the trial he had only very recently become acquainted with the earl's very questionable proceedings in Ireland, and it was only in consonance with the weak side of his intellect to adopt a compact theory rather than one which left room for vagueness and uncertainty. As was afterwards the case in the opinion which he formed of Raleigh's guilt in the Guiana voyage, he left out of sight those tentative and shadowy intentions which had no place in his own mental constitution. At all events, whatever the character of Essex may have been, his actions were none the less dangerous to the state. A government without the protection of an armed force was liable to be overturned by a man who, like Essex, was the darling of the military class which was at that time forming, without that tie of discipline which, in standing armies, counterbalances the tendency of military men to use force rather than persuasion. The new form of danger which had succeeded to the danger from a feudal nobility lent weight to the opinion to which Bacon gave expression in his attack on Essex: 'You, my lord,' he said, 'should know that though princes give their subjects cause of discontent, though they take away the honours they have heaped upon them, though they bring them to a lower estate than they raised them from, yet ought they not to be so forgetful of their allegiance that they should enter into any undutiful act, much less upon rebellion, as you, my lord, have done.' To Bacon the maintenance of the authority of the state was a sacred work, and in the sixteenth century the authority of the queen was the equivalent of the authority of the state.

The two years which succeeded the trial of Essex were not years of great importance in Bacon's life. He drew up the official declaration of the treason of Essex, but that paper was so altered by others that it is impossible to say how much proceeded from himself.

In the parliament which met on 27 Oct. 1601 Bacon contributed to induce the house to apply to the queen by petition to redress the grievance caused by monopolies instead of proceeding in a more offensive manner by bill. In the autumn of 1602, after the defeat of the Spanish invasion of Ireland, he wrote a letter to Cecil, in which he boldly advocated, for that country, a toleration in religion, and the establishment of courts to do justice unfettered by the technicalities of English law. English and Irish were to be treated as one nation. In Ireland, however, the difficulty of maintaining order, in consequence of the inability of the English exchequer to maintain there a large military force, always stared the reformer in the face, and Bacon, like the rest of his contemporaries, had no better remedy to propose than the introduction of English settlers as a standing garrison, a plan which, when actually adopted, spoiled the whole scheme of reform.

The death of Elizabeth on 24 March 1603 opened a new prospect to Bacon, which might be turned to account if he could gain the ear of James. At first, however, his hope of usefulness was rather discouraged by the change. He was indeed continued as one of the king's learned counsel, and on 23 July was knighted at the same time as three hundred others; but neither Coke nor Cecil was likely to help him to that familiarity of access to James which he had long enjoyed at Elizabeth's court. It was probably in these days of expectancy that he wrote the 'Apology' concerning the late Earl of Essex, of which the earliest known printed copy bears the date of 1604. During the same period, besides a slight sketch of a proem to that great work on the interpretation of nature which was never quite out of his mind, he dedicated to James a paper on the mode of carrying out the union between Scotland and England which they both desired, and another on the pacification and edification of the church of England, in which he once more restated those comprehensive and tolerant principles which animated his former treatise on the same subject. James was to Bacon, at this stage of his career, very much what Essex had been before, a man powerful for carrying out Bacon's plans; but with this difference, that he was himself the head and representative of the state, and that in his case, therefore, there could never be that collision between personal and political claims to devotion which had brought about so tragic an ending to Bacon's relations with the favourite of Elizabeth. Unfortunately, though

the natures of Essex and James were entirely dissimilar, they were equally incapable of serving Bacon's high purposes, the king's want of earnestness and unsteadiness of purpose being as fatal to his chance of proving a successful ruler as the inconsistent vehemence of the earl. In weighing the terms of adulation in which Bacon continued to address him to the end, it must, however, be remembered that, if there was some hypocrisy, it was for the most part unconscious, and that Bacon's hopeful disposition was apt to fix as long as possible rather on the signs favourable to success than upon the indications of failure. In James's case the reasons for hoping better things than ultimately resulted from his reign were certainly not wanting. The mind of the new king was capable of taking in large ideas, and he had a dislike of intolerance which promised well, and which must have led Bacon to contrast him favourably with the average Englishman of the time, whose views were represented in the House of Commons.

An unhappy indication of the mode in which James was likely to deal with the ideas which he had in common with Bacon was given at the Hampton Court conference which opened on 14 Jan. 1604, where the intention of introducing rational reforms in the church was smothered in an outbreak of temper, and was followed before long by a resolution to draw the bonds of conformity even more tightly than they had been drawn in the days of Elizabeth.

When James's first parliament met on 19 March 1604, the possibility that Bacon's scheme of church reform might be, at least to some extent, carried out, was not quite at an end. Bacon therefore, when he took his seat in it, might still hope to do something in this direction, and might cherish even greater hopes of doing something in the direction of the union with Scotland. Yet it would be to misunderstand Bacon to associate him merely with the desire to pass particular reforms. Eager as he was to provide remedies for the disorders of his time, he was still more eager to avert that breach of sympathy between the king and the House of Commons which is now understood to have been the root of the miseries of the seventeenth century far more than any special tyrannical propensities of the Stuart kings. It was this intuitive perception of the source of danger which raises Bacon to the first rank amongst statesmen, whilst, at the same time, his failure to recognise that it was as impossible to bring James and the House of Commons to work together, as it had been to bring Elizabeth and Essex to work together—a failure the causes of which lay in Bacon's moral as well as his intellectual nature—led to the great catastrophe of his misused life.

The session of 1604 gave Bacon many opportunities of exercising his reconciling powers. The commons wanted to obtain from the king the redress of grievances arising from feudal tenures, from purveyance, and other antiquated rights of the crown, without sufficiently acknowledging the necessity of providing a sufficient income for the fulfilment of the duties of government. On the other hand, James was anxious to press on the union with Scotland without fitting consideration of the prejudices of his new subjects. On all these points, as well as on certain questions of privilege which arose, Bacon had much to say, and what he did say was conciliatory in the best way, by suggesting plans which might carry out the most justifiable desires of both parties. When, however, the end of the session arrived on 7 July, Bacon had effected no reconciliation. The question of the union was referred to a joint committee of Scottish and English commissioners to be put in shape for a future parliament; and the question of the grievances had been discussed with such acrimony, that, in dismissing the commons, the king gave vent to his feelings in a speech of mere scolding.

The breach thus accomplished was practically final; but it was not in Bacon's nature, perhaps not in the nature of any man, to acknowledge that the case was hopeless. His own political position was very similar to his scientific position. In both he had teaching to give which his own generation was incapable of comprehending. In both, therefore, all that he could really hope to accomplish was to expound his principles in such a way that future generations might act upon them. It is no wonder that from time to time he felt regret that he had not devoted himself to a scientific life, especially as he was himself unaware that he had not the qualifications of a scientific observer. It is no wonder either that, in addition to the attraction of worldly success, the great attraction of possibly averting the coming evil weighed with him in chaining him to the oar of political service. In so doing he no doubt underestimated the obstacles caused by the commonplace industry of men like Coke and Cecil, and overestimated the receptivity of James's mind. The fact is, that he stood to the English revolution with all its miseries as Turgot stood to the French revolution, and he was as distrustful as Turgot was of the domination of elected political assemblies. Turgot's stern independence of character, however, contrasts nobly with Bacon's suppleness; but both Bacon and Turgot undertook a task

in itself impossible, that of reconciling classes who already stood too far apart to be reconciled.

For the moment Bacon found employment suitable to him. He was chosen as one of the commissioners to discuss with the Scottish commissioners the terms of union. His interest in the matter had gained him the notice of James, and on 18 Aug. 1604 he was confirmed by patent in his office of learned counsel, with a pension of 60*l.* a year. He was soon busy in drawing up papers on the subject of the union. The actual business of discussion between the commissioners began on 29 Oct., and the last meeting was held on 6 Dec. Bacon, who had been an active member of the commission, might have expected to be soon employed in defending its scheme in the House of Commons. As it happened, however, partly through the prorogation of parliament, and partly through the interruption caused by the Gunpowder Plot, the subject was not brought forward till nearly two years later, towards the end of 1606. Bacon had therefore time to devote himself to literary work. About the end of October 1605 he published his 'Advancement of Learning.' In a letter to Sir T. Bodley he gave vent to his feeling of satisfaction in returning to the work in which he was able to do his best in the place of work in which others did not allow him to do his best. 'I think,' he wrote, 'no man may more truly say with the Psalmist, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, than myself. For I do confess, since I was of any understanding, my mind hath in effect been absent from that I have done; and in absence are many errors which I do willingly acknowledge, and amongst the rest this great one that led the rest: that knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes, for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the preoccupation of my mind.' This confession must not be taken too literally. Every man deeply engaged in politics sighs at times for a freer life; and if Bacon had a special reason for longing for it, in order that he might develope his scientific work, it is unnecessary to suppose that, except in moments of weariness, he regarded his political work as unworthy of himself.

In the session of 1605–6, which followed the Gunpowder plot, Bacon was once more immersed in civil causes, contributing to the discussion on purveyance and supply, the chief business of the session, that of providing new laws against the catholics being in other hands. The sense of a common danger to king and people arising from the Gunpowder plot had, however, brought about a more friendly temper, which was shown in the grant of three subsidies with their accompanying fifteenths.

On 27 May parliament was prorogued. On 10 May Bacon had been married to Alice Barnham, whose father had been a sheriff of London [see BARNHAM, BENEDICT], and was dead, and whose mother, a 'little violent lady,' as Chamberlain calls her, had married Sir John Packington. About the same time Bacon had a prospect of legal promotion. In October 1604 there had indeed been a vacancy in the solicitor-generalship; but as Bacon did not at that time even ask for the place, it is probable that he did not wish to have it as long as the attorney-generalship was held by Coke. On 29 June 1606 this obstacle was removed by Coke's promotion to the bench as chief justice of the common pleas. The attorney-generalship, however, was given to Hobart, upon which Bacon wrote to the king, reminding him that promotion had been promised to him, and asking that a suggestion which had been already made, of appointing him solicitor-general and providing for Doderidge, the actual solicitor-general, in another way, might be carried out. In the same way he wrote to Ellesmere and Salisbury. Nothing, however, was done for the present, and it was only in the beginning of 1607 that Bacon received a distinct promise of the place whenever Doderidge should be removed. It is quite possible that the obstacle lay with Cecil, now known as the Earl of Salisbury, who was as profuse in promises as Bacon was in compliments, but no evidence exists on the point. It is possible too, though evidence is here equally wanting, that the king was attracted to Bacon by his energy in supporting the union with Scotland in parliament, and was thus led to overrule Salisbury's objections.

The session which opened on 18 Nov. 1606 was mainly taken up in discussing the proposals of the commissioners for the union. They had suggested, besides measures for the abolition of hostile laws and for the extradition of criminals, to which no serious opposition was offered, one for freedom of commercial intercourse, and another for the naturalisation of Englishmen in Scotland and of Scots in England. To both these latter proposals the sentiment of the House of Commons was incurably hostile. Bacon, who had taken no inconsiderable part as a commissioner in drawing up the plan, now became its warmest champion in the House of Commons. The view taken in the house was the narrow one which was natural to occur to average human intelligence. The commercial rivalry of the poor and hardy Scots was a

danger which every one could foresee. To look forward imaginatively to the value of the union required either the mind of a Bacon, or one which, like that of James, was brought to consider the question from a special point of view. Bacon's great speech, delivered on 17 Feb. 1607, seems to indicate that in the high view which he took of the subject he stood alone, and he found himself obliged to refer to the natural belief that he spoke to please the king rather than to satisfy his conscience. 'If any man,' he said, 'shall think that I have sung *placebo* for mine own particular, I would have him know that I am not so unseen in the world but that I discern it were much alike for my private fortune to rest a *placebo* in this business. But I have spoke out of the fountain of my heart. *Credidi, propter quod locutus sum*—I believed, therefore I spake. So as my duty is performed.' There is every reason to suppose that Bacon spoke truly on the 17th. From a letter written on the 22nd we learn that he had received the promise of the solicitor-generalship, for which he had long been hoping. All through the session he struggled in the cause of the union. Long before parliament was prorogued on 4 July, however, it was evident that, as far as the commons were concerned, it was hopeless to expect to gain their consent to the king's proposals. On 25 June Bacon became solicitor-general. The post was not indeed as important as it is now, but it gave a definite place in the service of the crown with the hope of rising higher, as well as an income of about 1,000*l.* a year, equivalent to one of about 4,000*l.* at the present day.

For the time being Bacon acquired no political influence. Salisbury had possession of the king's ear, and Bacon was not likely to be allowed to reach it. It is, therefore, all the more interesting to know something of his political views at a time when they were not warped by the consciousness of the possession of power. This we are enabled to do through a paper, entitled 'A View of the Differences in question betwixt the King's Bench and the Council in the Marches,' which was written not later than June 1606, and therefore at least a year before Bacon secured his first important advancement.

The paper refers to a quarrel which had sprung up between the president and council of Wales and the court of King's Bench, which claimed a right to interfere with the jurisdiction of the former body over the four English border counties. In the course of this quarrel the question was mooted whether the king could give jurisdiction without the authority of an act of parliament. In arguing in the affirmative, Bacon fell back on the assertion 'that the king holdeth not his prerogatives of this kind mediately from the law, but immediately from God, as he holdeth his crown; and though other prerogatives by which he claimeth any matter of revenue, or other right pleadable in his ordinary courts of justice, may be there disputed, yet his sovereign power, which no judge can censure, is not of that nature; and therefore whatsoever partaketh or dependeth thereon, being matter of government and not of law, must be left to his managing by his council of state. . . . God forbid also, upon pretence of liberties or laws, government should have any head but the king. For then, as the popes of Rome, by making their seat the only oracle of God's religion, advanced themselves first above religion, and then above God; so we may fear what may in time become of our laws, when those reverend fathers, in whose breasts they are safe, shall leave them to others, perchance of more ambition and less faith.'

From these words, and still more from the part of the paper headed 'The Reasons of Convenience or Inconvenience,' it is evident from what quarter Bacon apprehended danger. The lawyers struggling for fees and importance, the members of the House of Commons as yet with no experience in the conduct of national politics, and with no definite leadership, would put an end to all intelligent guidance of the state. 'All who know those parts,' he writes, 'must acknowledge that the power of the gentry is the chief fear and danger of the good subject there; and even this is the sum of all their heinous complaints against the president and council, that for incontinency, striking, and every disorder, they are forthwith molested with process and fines.' Further, if the jurisdiction were taken away, those who sought for justice would be put to the expense of seeking it at Westminster. In order that justice might be done, the king's authority must be maintained. Bacon evidently thought that it was not to be had from the rule of an assembly in which the country gentlemen were predominant. So opposed was this view to the course which national progress took, that it is difficult for us now to put ourselves in Bacon's position or to realise the earnestness with which he threw himself into the cause of the supremacy of the monarchy as a means of carrying out what would now be considered as radical reforms in spite of a conservative and interested opposition.

Bacon's position was, in fact, not unlike that of Burke in the eighteenth century. Both these great men were anxious to effect important improvements, and both of them,

in accordance with that law of our nature by which desire for change in one direction is always accompanied by a strong dislike of change in another, were as conservative in their respect for the existing constitution as they were eager to cut themselves loose from the old moorings in political action. What the Rockingham whigs were to Burke, King James was to Bacon, the depositary of existing constitutional authority, with the help of which the ignorant masses—to Bacon the masses represented in the House of Commons, to Burke the masses unrepresented in it—might safely be controlled.

It was only in the nature of things that Bacon should think more of James, as Burke thought more of Rockingham, than he was really worth; and Bacon unfortunately had none of that moral dignity which Burke possessed. He calculated on winning ground by appealing to the lower side of men's natures as well as to the higher. He had had a bad training in the court of Elizabeth, and there was nothing in his nature to make that training innocuous.

To give us an insight into Bacon's mind, we have a collection of private memoranda known as the 'Commentarius Solutus,' set down in the end of July and the beginning of August 1608. It is full of hints as to the advancement of his great schemes in science and politics as well as to the advancement of his own fortunes. Great ideas jostle with small ones, and the thought of a restoration of philosophy or of laying the foundations of a showy and attractive foreign policy is found side by side with a plan for flattering the lord chamberlain who might be helpful, or exposing the demerits of an attorney-general who is a rival. Altogether Bacon's character is nowhere else depicted so completely as a whole as in these loose jottings.

To the same year are to be assigned the treatise 'In felicem memoriam Elizabethæ,' which, as composed in honour of a sovereign who had no longer anything to give, is valuable as another key to Bacon's real thoughts, and a 'Discourse on the Plantation of Ireland,' presented to the king as a new-year's gift at the opening of 1609. As, however, the question of the treatment of the native population, which is now known to have been the most important part of the business, is not even alluded to, it is enough to speak of the paper as containing excellent advice, on the hypothesis that such a settlement as that which was proposed was a good thing in itself.

Bacon's correspondence during 1609 is the best evidence that he was not making way with James as a political adviser. Salisbury, in fact, blocked his path, having become lord treasurer in 1608, and being now at the height of his credit as a financial reformer, with hopes of so far increasing the revenue and diminishing the expenditure of the crown as to restore the financial balance. Letters to Toby Matthew, on the other hand, show Bacon pushing forward the 'Instauratio Magna' which was to reform philosophy, and one of them of 10 Oct. was accompanied by a fragment of the work, supposed to have been the 'Redargutio philosophiarum.' About the same time he sent to Andrewes his 'Cogitata et Visa,' and on 17 Feb. 1610 forwarded to Toby Matthew his 'De Sapientia veterum.'

By this time parliament was already in session, having met on 9 Feb. With his longing for harmony between the public powers, Bacon must have felt this session to be unusually trying. Salisbury, having failed to bring about a balance between revenue and expenditure, attempted to strike a bargain with the commons which came to be known as the Great Contract. It was precisely the method which Bacon thoroughly distrusted. He thought that failure in making a bargain would only leave both sides more irritated with one another than before, and he knew that Salisbury had already caused considerable irritation by laying on the new impositions, the levy of which was justified as legal by the judgment of the court of Exchequer in Bate's case, but which alarmed the House of Commons as endangering the principle of the parliamentary basis of taxation. On the legal question involved, Bacon argued in defence of the king's claim; but his argument was no measure of his political judgment, and he was probably well satisfied at the compromise offered by James, by which the commons were to grant about two-thirds of the impositions levied, whilst James was to bind himself never to levy more without their consent. In the same way Bacon would, no doubt, have been pleased if the Great Contract could have been carried into effect, by which James was to abandon his income from feudal tenures and other obnoxious sources, while he was to receive in exchange 200,000*l.* a year, a sum which, though it would not make him altogether independent of future subsidies, would, with the exercise of due economy, raise him above that constant necessity of courting the commons for subsistence' sake which Bacon deprecated. Bacon, however, can hardly have felt much surprise when both bargains were wrecked in the following session, and when, on 29 Feb. 1611, James dissolved his first parliament in anger.

During the next fifteen months there is little of political importance from Bacon's pen. The only exception is his 'Advice touching Sutton's Estate.' He must have felt that as long as Salisbury lived there was no chance of gaining the king's ear for his greater projects, though he succeeded in obtaining from him a promise of the attorney-generalship whenever it fell vacant. In writing to Salisbury he continued to use the language of high-flown compliment; but the thorough hatred with which he regarded the lord treasurer, whose policy he despised, and to whose personal intervention he ascribed his own long exclusion from political influence, burst out after Salisbury's death on 24 May 1612 in the essay 'On Deformity,' which he now added to a new edition of his essays.

A week after Salisbury's death Bacon offered his political services to the king. 'The great matter and most instant for the present,' he wrote, 'is the consideration of a parliament for two effects: the one for the supply of your estate, the other for the better knitting of the hearts of your subjects unto your majesty, according to your infinite merit, for both which parliaments have been and are the ancient and honourable remedy. Now, because I take myself to have a little skill in that region, as one that ever affected that your majesty mought in all your causes not only prevail, but prevail with the satisfaction of the inner man; and though no man can say but I was a perfect and peremptory royalist, yet every man makes me believe that I was never one hour out of credit with the lower house, my desire is to know whether your majesty will give me leave to meditate and propound unto you some preparative remembrances touching the future parliament.' This letter was followed by another, in which Bacon directly offered to abandon the law for the council table. It was perhaps in pursuance of this idea that Bacon asked for the mastership of the wards vacant by Salisbury's death, and drew up a declaration to be made by the new master on his entry upon office. He was, however, disappointed, as the place was given to Sir George Carew, and on Carew's dying shortly afterwards it was given, not to Bacon, but to Sir Walter Cope. It is said that on this latter occasion he was so certain of success that he 'put most of his men into new cloaks.' Some jester observed 'that Sir Walter was master of the wards, and Sir Francis Bacon of the liveries.'

During the year and a half which followed Salisbury's death Bacon found employment as solicitor-general in a charge against the Countess of Shrewsbury for assisting the flight of Arabella Stuart, and in another charge against Whitelocke for what was considered to be an attack on the king's prerogative. Of far greater importance is the use which he made of James's permission to write to him on affairs of state, which might possibly pave the way to the higher political employment for which he had asked.

Of summoning parliament there was no immediate thought. It was still believed possible that a body of sub-commissioners, of whom Bacon was one, might succeed where Salisbury had failed, in procuring an adequate revenue for the crown without recurring to parliament. On 18 Sept. 1612 Bacon wrote to the king to have patience, begging him not again to have his wants and necessities in particular, as it were, hung up in two tablets before the eyes of his 'lords and commons to be talked of for four months together.' Some months later, when the scheme of supplying the king without a parliament had broken down, these words were expanded by their writer into a series of remarkable state papers, in which he indicated the relations which ought to subsist between king and parliament.

In these papers there is indeed much which it is impossible to regard with complete satisfaction. There is in them too much respect for mere management, and too strong an inclination to regard the opposition to the king as in the main personal. Yet, on the whole, the ground which they take is unassailable. There is to be no more bargaining between king and subjects. The king is to show his determination to lead in the right direction, and to be content to wait till his subjects are prepared to follow. He is not to press for supply, but to wait till the commons are sufficiently impressed with his devotion to the nation to offer him all that he needs. 'In bargains,' wrote Bacon in some notes which he drew up for the king's speech to the new parliament, 'the manner is for either part chiefly to take care of the other. "Charitas non quærit quæ sua sunt." The king to take care of his subjects, and the subjects to take care of their king.' The easiest way to understand Bacon's political position is to read these papers in connection with the paper on the jurisdiction of the council of Wales, in which he advocates the maintenance of prerogative government in the interests of the humbler classes, and with the papers on the church, in which he advocates a relaxation of the restrictions on nonconformity.

To carry out this programme would have been to avert the evils of the next half-century. No one to whose mind the history of that half-century is present can agree with those numerous writers who speak of Bacon's political work as inferior to his scientific. He

was the one man capable of preventing a catastrophe by anticipating the demands of the age. Humanity would have been at least as much benefited if the civil war, with its attendant evils, could have been made impossible, as it was by the completion of the 'Novum Organum.' Unhappily for Bacon he could publish as much of the 'Novum Organum' as he could find time to write; but he could not procure acceptance for his political ideas. Salisbury and Coke turned a deaf ear to all of them; the House of Commons would take part of them, and James would take another part, whereas it was only in their entirety that they could exercise a healing influence.

In the advice given to James in 1613 it becomes manifest that Bacon could not venture to lay his whole thoughts before the king. There is a reticence in it on the higher matters of statesmanship, which does not suit the trusted adviser. Even the argument cut short was too large for James. He opened the parliament of 1614 with a renewed attempt to bargain with the commons, and without any serious attempt to come to a friendly understanding with them on the subject of the impositions. The result was that after a short and stormy session parliament was dissolved, and James was once more thrown on his own resources.

Bacon's personal position in the second parliament of James was as high as it had been in the first. On 27 Oct. 1613 he had become attorney-general, and the commons on meeting declared that no attorney-general in future should sit in the house; but they made a special exception in Bacon's favour. He had, therefore, reason to think that if a reconciliation could be effected between the king and the house he was himself specially qualified by his relations with both parties for bringing it about.

Perhaps if any date can be fixed as that on which Bacon's chance of serving the nation politically was at an end, it is that of the dissolution which took place on 7 June 1614; James then deliberately took one way, and the nation took another. Yet it does not follow that Bacon was likely to see that this was the case. Of James's secret understanding with the Spanish ambassador, which preceded the dissolution, he was entirely ignorant, and he may have argued that as it was by disregarding his advice that James had failed, it was possible that he would be better listened to on a subsequent occasion. Add to this his inborn habit of placing himself on the side of authority, and the difficulty which any man would feel in throwing up a course of life on which he has embarked, and it becomes unnecessary to throw undue stress upon that which, after all, must not be left out of calculation—his disinclination, after tasting the allurements of competency and station, to choose, in advanced middle age, obscure poverty as his bride. Yet, however we may explain Bacon's choice, his future life was sad enough, and that none the less because he was not himself conscious of wrong. The support of power for the sake of doing good became a support of power from which no good was to be hoped. The lower part of Bacon's nature was perhaps not more active than it had been before; but the higher part had no prospect of being called into action. The subservience to authority and the flattery of the great were there as they had been before; but not only was there nothing to show in return, but the impartial spectator has to acknowledge that it ought to have been evident to Bacon himself that there never would be any prospect of his being able to accomplish any statesmanlike work.

That Bacon did not see this may have been to some extent owing to his view of the political circumstances of the time. Even before Salisbury's death James had taken a liking to a young Scotchman, Robert Carr, and had successively created him Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset. The young man had attached himself to Lady Essex, procured her divorce from her husband under circumstances which appear to us to be peculiarly disgraceful, though it is only fair to remember that the divorce was approved at the time by Andrewes, and had married her with every demonstration of James's satisfaction. As the new countess of Somerset was a Howard, James's favourite and James through him were brought into close connection with the family of the Howards, and more especially with its leading member, the Earl of Northampton. Northampton was a concealed catholic, and an advocate of a Spanish alliance. He had done all he could to frustrate the meeting of the parliament of 1614, and was suspected of having a hand in the disputes which brought about a dissolution. His death, however, which took place on 15 June 1614, removed from the scene a powerful influence hostile to Bacon's ideas; and Bacon, who had followed the fashion by presenting a gorgeous masque on the occasion of Somerset's marriage, but who had never shown any inclination to support the policy of Somerset and the Howards, may have thought once more after Northampton's death that his chance of gaining the king's ear was more favourable than it had been before.

Nor was this all. A quarrel was impending between James and Coke, on which all

Bacon's sympathies were on the side of James. As Bacon had pleaded for a larger statesmanship than Salisbury's, he now pleaded for statesmanship itself as against the technical legality of Coke. His fundamental strength lay in recognition of the truth that political wisdom is greater than legality. His fundamental weakness lay in his failure to discover that political wisdom was not to be expected from James, and that consequently it would be necessary to reconstruct the whole framework of the state.

The claim of the judges to be the supreme mediators in political disputes had ripened partly through the weakness of the king, and partly through the wide learning and masterful temper of Coke, who had reduced the other judges to be scarcely more than satellites of himself. In 1613 the struggle between Bacon and Coke was opened by the removal of the latter, at Bacon's advice, from the chief justiceship of the common pleas to that of the king's bench, where it was thought that he would be less able to do mischief.

On the question of the issue of a demand for a benevolence, Bacon and Coke did not come into collision. Bacon strongly advised that it should be as voluntary in reality as it was in name, but as he was not a privy councillor he had nothing to do with any pressure that was put on those who were backward. In the prosecution of St. John in 1615 for the abusive terms in which he had urged resistance to the benvolence, the language used by Bacon may have been justly aimed at so intemperate an opponent of the government as St. John was, but it shows an entire incapacity to understand the grounds on which honourable men were at this time tending to resist the court.

The actual collision between Bacon and Coke was brought about by the proceedings taken against Edmond Peacham, a clergyman of Somerset, amongst whose papers had been found a paper reprobating the king's proceedings, and apparently intended to be read from the pulpit in the form of a sermon. The council, knowing that grave dissatisfaction existed, suspected that Peacham was only the mouthpiece of others, and ordered him to be tortured, in the hope of obtaining disclosures from him. Of his torture Bacon was an official witness, but he had nothing to do with the order for it, though there is no reason to suppose that he would have objected. As, however, the torture produced no hint of a conspiracy, the government resolved to proceed against Peacham himself on a charge of treason. It had, in fact, resolved, even before the torture, to consult the judges of the king's bench as to whether Peacham's offence was treasonable or not.

To consult the judges was at that time the usual practice. In this case, however, there was a special difficulty. Coke's masterful temper, combined with his legal attainments, was apt to reduce the other judges to dependence on himself, and James therefore ordered that the four judges should be consulted individually. To this unusual proceeding Coke not unnaturally objected. 'Such particular and auricular taking of opinions,' he said, 'is not according to the custom of the realm.' The three puisne judges gave a compliant answer. Bacon, as attorney-general, was intrusted with the examination of Coke, and, as might have been expected, did not receive a reply which was satisfactory to himself. Whatever might be the true decision according to the legal doctrines then prevalent, it is evident that Coke and Bacon approached the constitutional question from opposite points of view. Coke wished the bench to be so organised as to be appealed to as an independent authority between the crown and the subject. Bacon, with a wider political instinct, wished to confine it to purely legal questions, leaving political matters to political men. He forgot to ask whether James, standing as he did apart from the nation, could justly claim the respect due to the supremacy of a political government. What was still worse is that he advised that a false rumour should be given out as to the opinion of the judges, lest others should be encouraged to publish attacks on the crown.

This reliance on management at the expense of truthfulness was Bacon's worst fault. It cannot, however, be said of him that if he defended James overmuch, he did not try his best to make James's policy other than it was. In a paper written at the end of September or the beginning of October 1615, at the time when the council recommended the calling of another parliament, Bacon gave his opinion strongly, not only in the same direction, but in favour of the course, which he had always advised, of abandoning all attempts at bargaining. 'Let there be an utter silence,' he wrote, 'as of the king's part, of money or supply, or of the king's debts or wants; they are things too well known. And let not the king doubt but some honest man will, after they have sat awhile, fall upon them, though it proceed not from the king. Nay, I will presume further to say (as putting a case speculative, which in act and event I hold an impossibility), if subsidies should never be given nor spoken of in the next parliament, yet the meeting and parting of the king and his parliament with due conservation of the majesty and authority of the king, which heretofore hath suffered, and will

suffer as long as money is made the mere object of the parliament, and without heats or contestations, or oppositions between him and his parliament, I hold to be a thing of invaluable consequence, both in reputation and towards the substance of future affairs.' If Bacon wished to see the king formally absolute, he wished him to be surrounded by the impalpable atmosphere of a sympathetic union with his people.

It was not entirely to James's discredit that he could not realise Bacon's ideal. One of the modes of winning favour recommended by Bacon in this paper is that of taking advantage of the good understanding between France and Spain, to 'give fire to our nation, and make them aspire to be again umpires in those wars; or, at least, to retrench and amuse the greatness of Spain for their own preservation.' Bacon could give this advice honestly because he had always advocated a stirring foreign policy, pushed even to warlike action, as a means of bringing king and people together. With all his powers he was an English politician; James, on the other hand, with all his faults, was an international politician. To make war to advance his own greatness or the greatness of England was hateful to him. Unfortunately he was already deep in a negotiation for a marriage between his son and a Spanish infanta. Bacon's allusion to this is characteristic of the tenderness with which he handles the king's actions, and of the way in which he manages to spoil even the best advice by overmuch cleverness. James, he says, might frighten the commons into a grant of supply upon the opinion of some great offer for a marriage of the prince with Spain. 'Not,' he proceeds, 'that I shall easily advise that that should be really effected; but I say the opinion of it may have singular use, both because it will easily be believed that the offer may be so great from that hand as may at once free the king's estate; and chiefly because it will be a noteable attractive to the parliament, that hates the Spaniard, so to do for the king as his state may not force him to fall upon that condition.' How much higher would Bacon have stood with posterity if he had boldly spoken out the opinion which he indicated, instead of advocating such a poor trick as this!

No parliament was summoned at this time. The court was for some months fully occupied in the questions arising out of the detection of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. When on 25 May 1616 Somerset was tried, Bacon appeared as chief prosecutor, doing his part with decorum, being anxious to secure a conviction, though he was aware that James intended to pardon both the earl and the countess.

Some time before Somerset's disgrace Bacon had welcomed the rise of Villiers. If there was to be a favourite at all, the change may well have seemed to be a good one, for Villiers was supported by the men of the anti-Spanish party. Villiers, too, was affable whilst Somerset had been morose, and Bacon once more hopefully believed that he had discovered that for which he had so long been seeking in vain, an influential personage who would support him in his great undertakings. Once more that yearning for political and scientific achievement which in Bacon was so inseparably mingled with desire for the good things of life, blinded his eyes to the instability of the foundations on which he was building, and he threw himself with unabated ardour into the service of Villiers, advised him as to his conduct, and assisted him in the management of his estate. His own hope of advancement was now greater than it had ever been before. When, in January 1616, lord chancellor Ellesmere was apparently dying, Bacon proposed himself as his successor. James gave him the promise for which he asked. Ellesmere, however, recovered, and Bacon had to wait about a year longer. His language to Villiers was, as it remained to the end, that of devotion too warm to be altogether real. 'I am yours,' he wrote, 'surer to you than my own life. For, as they speak of the turquois stone in a ring, I will break into twenty pieces before you have the least fall.'

In asking to succeed Ellesmere as chancellor, Bacon was not asking merely for his own personal advancement. It was the system of Ellesmere that he wished to continue. 'Let me tell your majesty,' he explained himself to James, 'that that part of the chancellor's place which is to judge in equity between party and party . . . concerneth your majesty least. . . . But it is the other parts, of a moderator amongst your council, of an overseer over your judges, of a planter of fit justices and governors in the country, that importeth your affairs and these times most.'

The part of an overseer over the judges was that which had the greatest immediate interest for Bacon. The struggle with Coke, of which the separate consultation with the judges on Peacham's case had been the preliminary skirmish, was by this time at its height. An action had been brought in the King's Bench in which the king's right of appointing to office was involved, and in 1615 Bacon, as attorney-general, produced a writ, 'De non procedendo Rege inconsulto,' prohibiting the

court from proceeding till the question had been referred to chancery, and its permission obtained for the parties to proceed at common law. Bacon's object was to secure for the king the support of the chancellor who, as a great political officer, was likely to decide in his favour. On 25 Jan. 1616 he pleaded on the king's behalf in what Coke himself acknowledged to be 'a famous argument.' The dispute ended in a compromise, and Bacon failed to obtain from the judges any recognition of the position which he had claimed for chancery.

Before long Coke's arrogant temper gave Bacon the advantage. Coke was indignant at the attempt to place his own court under the orders of chancery, and he replied to it by an attempt to place chancery under the orders of his own court. He instigated two rascals, who had obtained judgments in their favour in a common law court, and whose victims had subsequently obtained the protection of chancery, to prefer indictments of *præmunire* in the King's Bench, not only against the suitors, but against all who had taken part in the proceedings in chancery.

On the immediate point at issue Coke was baffled by the refusal of the grand jury to bring in a true bill. Bacon, however, recommended James to settle the question whether the King's Bench had a right to interfere with the equitable jurisdiction of chancery, and the law officers being consulted gave it as their opinion that it had not.

Before anything could be done to give effect to this opinion, a new dispute arose. In a case before the twelve judges in the exchequer chamber, relating to a commendam, one of the counsel argued against the king's real or supposed prerogative, after which, by James's orders, Bacon wrote to Coke on 25 April requiring him to inform the other judges that they were not to proceed till the king had spoken to them. The judges, however, went on with the case, and on the 27th they signed a letter drawn up by Coke, in which they gave reasons for refusing obedience. On 6 June they were all summoned before the king, when Coke was alone in protesting that to put off the argument would have been a delay of justice. After some further dispute the judges were asked 'whether, if, at any time, in a case depending before the judges, his majesty conceived it to concern him either in power or profit, and therefore required to consult with them, and that they should stay proceedings in the meantime, they ought not to stay accordingly.' Eleven of the judges answered in the affirmative; Coke alone held out. On 20 June the king came into the Star Chamber and laid down the principle that it was the office of the crown to settle all questions of jurisdiction between courts. On the 26th Coke was summoned before the council, on the 30th he was suspended from his office, and on 15 Nov. he was dismissed. Bacon's rise kept pace with Coke's decline. On 9 June he had become a privy councillor, on 7 March 1617 he succeeded Ellesmere with the title of lord keeper.

Bacon's mounting fortunes were thus raised by his successful struggle with Coke. As in all great political questions, the point at issue was by no means so simple as it looked. To Bacon the question was one of the relation between law and politics. The judges, as he expressed himself in one of his essays, should be 'lions, but yet lions under the throne, being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty.' Coke's attempt to erect the bench into the position of an arbiter of the constitution was rightly distasteful to him, and so far as Bacon succeeded in thwarting this his success was well deserved. It was the last real success that he was ever to have. The greater the political power acquired by the king, the sooner would the question be asked whether he deserved to exercise it. Bacon's constitutional view presupposed a king standing above all parties and all interests, and thoroughly sensitive to the deeper currents of public opinion. His character rendered him over-trustful of persons in authority, and he was now to pay the penalty. James took so much of his policy as made for the enhancement of the royal dignity, and rejected all that made for the subordination of his own ideas to those of the nation. Thus it came about that the appointment of Bacon as lord keeper was but the signal of his disastrous failure in all the higher purposes of his political life, a fact which has been too easily forgotten in the more dramatic spectacle of his fall from the appearance of political power.

The unity of Bacon's thought in science and politics may be gathered from his incomplete work entitled 'The New Atlantis,' which has hitherto been ascribed to a later period in his life, but which is twice mentioned by him in an unpublished paper (*Harleian Charters*, iii. D. 14), the date of which lies between the dissolution of the parliament in 1614 and Bacon's appointment as lord keeper in 1617. In the 'New Atlantis' there are two conspicuous points. On the one hand is the desire to benefit mankind by a science founded on observation and experiment; on the other hand is the tendency to under-estimate the difficulty of the task, which leads to the belief that it

can be entrusted to an official body organised for the purpose. If Bacon had been allowed to carry out his scheme, it would probably have been found that officialism would have smothered scientific inquiry. At all events, he reached a somewhat similar result in politics. He had improved the official organisation of the state only to find it useless for all good purposes in his hands.

Even before his elevation Bacon learned how little his advice was likely to be followed on the great question of the day. On 2 March 1617 James announced to a body of commissioners, of whom Bacon was one, that he had practically accepted the terms offered by Spain for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria. To this declaration the commissioners replied on the 7th, giving a somewhat hesitating assent, and on the 23rd Bacon proposed certain additional instructions for Sir John Digby, who was going as ambassador to Spain, suggesting that the alliance between Spain and England might be used to establish a court of arbitration between christian princes, and to head a general defensive war against the Turks. Among all Bacon's state papers there is none more characteristic of his habit of making the best of a disagreeable situation. Regarding, as he did, the Spanish alliance as not only bad in itself, but as fatal to the good understanding which he wished to see established between king and parliament, he was yet able to sit down coolly to ask whether any advantage could be reaped even from what appeared to him to be a policy fraught with disaster.

It is only the extraordinarily unemotional character of Bacon's mind which made it possible for him to act as he did during the next four years. He had not long been lord keeper before he learned how far Buckingham—for by that name Villiers was now known—fell short of the ideal of a favourite. While the court was absent in Scotland a marriage was agreed on between Buckingham's brother, Sir John Villiers, and Frances Coke, the daughter of the late chief justice. Bacon saw in the project, what it no doubt really was, an attempt once more to ingratiate Coke with the king. He accordingly took part with the young lady's mother, who opposed the match, and wrote to James to protest against it. He found that Buckingham was warmly interested in the project, and was not only angry himself, but made James angry with the lord keeper's interference. Buckingham talked of Bacon as showing the same ingratitude to himself which he had formerly shown to Essex and Somerset. It was only by the most profuse apologies that Bacon made good his imperilled position. The political danger which he feared was indeed averted, and Coke was no nearer to restoration to the bench than he was before, but Bacon learned a lesson regarding the manner in which Buckingham was to be approached. That Buckingham demanded obsequiousness and flattery was as much a fact as that James wished to ally himself with Spain, and Bacon was as ready to take account of one of these facts as he was of the other.

For the time he had his reward. On 7 Jan. 1618 he became lord chancellor, and on 12 July he was raised to the peerage as Baron Verulam. During the whole of Elizabeth's reign no one had borne the title of lord chancellor, and no lord keeper had been made a peer.

Bacon was obliged mainly to content himself with judicial work. On 8 June 1617, three months after he had taken his seat in chancery, he had cleared off all the arrears of business in that court. As far as we know, his justice was, on the whole, as exemplary as his energy. Not only were no complaints heard at the time, which may easily be accounted for, but in later years, when every man's mouth was opened against him, no successful attempt was made to reverse his decisions. Yet even in his court he was made to feel the weight of the favourite's patronage, and was exposed to a constant flow of letters from Buckingham asking him to show favour to this person or to that, of course under the reservation that he would do so only so far as was consonant with justice. One of the cases in which Buckingham's favour was invoked has recently been subjected to a searching criticism by Mr. D. D. Heath (Spedding, vii. app. i.). A certain Dr. Steward appealed to Buckingham against a decision pronounced by Bacon in favour of Steward's nephew, and Bacon, instead of openly maintaining the justice of his own decision or openly acknowledging his mistake, allowed the affair to be settled by arbitration. As there is no record of the decision of the arbitrators, it has been presumed that the young man abandoned his case, as knowing that the decision was likely to go against him on other grounds than those which would have availed him before a just and competent tribunal. If this is a correct representation of the matter—and it seems probable, though far from absolutely certain, that it was so—Bacon's conduct was distinctly blameworthy, though the appointment of arbitrators may have veiled for him the real nature of the offence, which consisted in transferring to others the responsibility which should have been borne by himself alone.

Of judicial matters outside the court of Chancery the most notable with which Bacon was concerned were the prosecution of Raleigh [see RALEIGH, SIR WALTER] in 1618, of Suffolk in 1619, and of Yelverton [see YELVERTON, SIR HENRY] in 1620. In the first two of these cases Bacon's feelings, as well as his official duty, were enlisted on the side of the court. Raleigh was to him an unscrupulous pirate, and Suffolk [see HOWARD, THOMAS] an unscrupulous peculator. Yelverton's case was somewhat different. He had, through inadvertence, given his assent to a charter for the city of London which contained larger powers than he was warranted to allow. Bacon urged strongly that carelessness was an offence of presumption, and contributed to the passing of a heavy sentence.

Looked at from the point of view of a guardian of official duty, the sentence on Yelverton might easily be justified. What did not appear in court was that Buckingham was hostile to Yelverton. That hostility arose out of a series of transactions in which Bacon also was involved. Though Elizabeth at the end of her reign, and James at the beginning of his, abolished the greater number of the existing monopolies, the future issue of similar grants was not regulated by statute law. By degrees many new patents were issued, conveying to certain persons the sole right of manufacturing various articles, sometimes in cases where the patentees were the actual inventors of some new process of manufacture, but frequently where public policy, as then understood, demanded that the manufacture should be placed in the hands of persons who might be accountable for the production of the various articles in accordance with the ideas of the government. In this way a patent was issued for the manufacture of glass, because the patentees offered to use coal instead of wood, so as to spare the timber of the realm; whilst another patent protected the manufacture of gold and silver lace, because the patentees offered to use bullion imported from abroad instead of bullion within the realm, which, according to the economical ideas of the day, constituted the wealth of the country. Besides these patents of monopoly there were also commissions issued for the regulating of inns and alehouses. There is every reason to suppose that Bacon was in favour of these patents, and there was nothing in them which might not have been expected to commend itself to the ideas of the age.

Various circumstances, however, concurred to render these patents unpopular. In the first place the government was itself unpopular at the time, and when it was known that some payments out of the proceeds were reserved for Buckingham's kinsmen and followers it was suspected that the whole affair had been arranged for the purpose of bringing money to Buckingham. In the second place, some of the grants had been supported against competitors in violation of the law, and there was a growing feeling that the prerogative of the sovereign had lately been made to override the law more than had been the case before. Bacon, therefore, when the summoning of a new parliament was announced, knowing as he did what was the state of public opinion on the subject, recommended the withdrawal of the most obnoxious patents. In his most characteristic style he announced to Buckingham what he had done. 'The king,' he wrote, 'did wisely put it upon a consult, whether the patents which we mentioned in our joint letter were at this time to be removed by act of council before parliament. I opined (but yet somewhat like Ovid's mistress, that strove, but yet as one that would be overcomen) that yes.' Bacon's habit of suiting at least the mode in which he expressed his thoughts to the pleasure of those in power, never found a stronger expression.

The summoning of parliament itself was all that Bacon wished. The king was at last appealing to the nation for assistance in the defence of the Palatinate; and whether that policy were right or wrong, there can be no doubt that Bacon believed it to be thoroughly right, not only in itself, but as bringing forward a question on which the king could sympathise with his people. Once more, however, Bacon was disappointed. James hesitated, asked for money to prepare for war, and announced his intention of making a fresh diplomatic effort, which would enable him to avoid war. The commons were puzzled, offered him two subsidies in token of their goodwill, and waited to see in what his diplomacy might end.

It looked very much as if the slight gleam of hope which had shone upon that foreign policy which, in Bacon's mind, was so closely connected with his home policy, would die away. Of his personal position he never felt more assured than when parliament was opened. On 12 Oct. 1620 he published the 'Novum Organum.' On 22 Jan. 1621 he had kept his sixtieth birthday at York House, and received the homage of Ben Jonson as one

> Whose even thread the fates spin round and full
> Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.

On 27 Jan. he was raised a step in the peerage, and became Viscount St. Albans. Nor had he reason to suspect that the new House of Commons, which met on 30 Jan., would be

otherwise than friendly to him. He had long advocated the policy of which the commons approved; and he had always given his voice in favour of a good understanding between them and the king. Yet, for all that, a storm was gathering against him.

Naturally Bacon had made enemies. Coke, who was a member of this parliament, and was soon to appear as a very influential one, both hated and despised him. Cranfield, the master of the wards, who was also a member, must have discovered that Bacon looked down on him as a mere accountant, and consequently was as bitterly disposed towards him as Coke had always been. Taken alone the opposition of the practical commonplace official might not have led to much, but it had at its back a sentiment which was all the more dangerous, because it did not imply any personal dislike of Bacon himself amongst the members of the house. That sentiment was one of dissatisfaction with the government of which Bacon had made himself the instrument, not sufficiently pronounced to make the house wish to place itself in direct opposition to the king, but sufficiently strong to make it ill-disposed to one who, like Bacon, had allowed his devotion to monarchical principles to be publicly known, whilst he had thrown a veil of secrecy over his disapproval of the policy of the actual monarch.

To this sentiment the strong feeling against the monopolies was certain to minister. The natural desire of finding some one to punish when things had gone wrong led men to search for victims. Mompesson and Michell were not of sufficient importance to satisfy this desire. Buckingham could not be touched without touching the king, and, besides, he expressed an ardent wish to join the commons in hunting down abuses. There remained the referees, who had certified that the monopolies were either good in law or beneficial in practice, and of these referees Bacon was the most conspicuous. For a time there was a call, strongly supported by Coke and Cranfield, for bringing the referees to account; but James stood firm, and the question of ministerial responsibility was shelved for the time.

If Bacon's conduct as a referee escaped inquiry, he was more exposed to attack than before. Those who wished to bring charges of any kind against him would know that they would have a favourable audience in the House of Commons, and probably also in the House of Lords. On 14 March Cranfield, who had led the attack upon the referees, complained of the court of chancery for the protection which it offered to insolvents, and Coke followed in the same strain. Before anything could be done to put the charge into shape, a certain Christopher Aubrey presented a petition to the commons in which the chancellor was directly charged with bribery. He was followed by Edward Egerton, who made much the same complaint. The peculiarity of these cases was that Bacon had decided against the persons who had given him money.

On 17 March the commons resolved to send the complaints before the lords for inquiry, without committing themselves on one side or the other. Bacon's own feeling during these days was one of assurance that the charges against him had been concocted by those who had failed to punish him as a referee. 'Your lordship,' he wrote to Buckingham, 'spoke of purgatory; I am now in it, but my mind is calm, for my fortune is not my felicity. I know I have clean hands and a clean heart, and I hope a clean house for friends or servants; but Job himself, or whoever was the justest judge, by such hunting for matters against him as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul, especially in a time when greatness is the mark and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a chancellor, I think if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath nobody would take it up.'

Under the trial his health broke down. On the 18th he was unable to leave his house, and on the following day begged for time to reply to the accusations against him. Fresh charges were soon brought, amongst them that of Lady Wharton, who had given money directly into Bacon's hands and had received a crushing sentence almost immediately afterwards. That Bacon had taken the money as a bribe is most improbable, but he had certainly sinned against the rule which he laid down for himself, that though, according to the custom of the day, presents might be taken from suitors, they should never be accepted while the suit was pending. The best explanation of his conduct is that, according to his usual habit of caring to do the right thing without regarding how it was done, he had satisfied himself with judging justly, and had been almost incredibly careless of the appearance of his conduct in the eyes of others. On 16 April Bacon, who was sufficiently recovered to leave his house, had an interview with the king. The memoranda of what he intended to say to James have been preserved. 'There be three causes of bribery,' he wrote, 'charged or supposed in a judge: the first, of bargain or contract for reward to pervert justice; the second, where the judge conceives the cause to be at an end by the information of the party or otherwise,

and useth not such diligence as he ought to inquire of it; and the third, when the cause is really ended, and it is *sine fraude*, without relation to any precedent promise.'

When he wrote these words he had not yet seen the charges against him in detail. He acknowledged that he might have done things falling under the second head. What he asked for was a fair trial. On the 20th he knew enough of the particulars of the charges to be aware that the case against him would be difficult to answer. Within a few hours a copy of the examinations taken in the House of Lords reached him, and he then knew that defence was impossible. Though he might be certain that he had never taken a bribe from corrupt motives, he knew that he had done the very things which corrupt men do. He had taken money whilst cases were pending. On the 27th he made his formal submission to the lords, hoping that they would be content with depriving him of office. The lords, however, pressed for an answer to the charges. Bacon was again ill, and the answer brought by the lords' messengers was that he would make no defence, but wished to explain some points. On the 30th the explanation was given. 'I do again confess,' Bacon wrote at the end of his statement, 'that in the points charged upon me, although they should be taken as myself have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect, for which I am heartily and penitently sorry.' On 1 May the great seal was taken from him. As he was still too ill to attend in person, the sentence was passed on 3 May in his absence. He was to be fined 40,000*l.*, imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and disabled from sitting in parliament and from coming within the verge of the court.

Bacon only remained for a few days in the Tower. On 20 Sept. the king signed a warrant assigning his fine to trustees for his own use, and directing a pardon to be drawn which would protect him from all demands other than those arising out of his parliamentary sentence.

Bacon had more difficulty in procuring a relaxation of that part of the sentence which prohibited him from coming within twelve miles of the court. Buckingham wished to become the owner of York House, and it was not till, in the spring of 1622, Bacon consented to sell it to him, that the required permission was obtained.

Bacon was not a man who could allow himself to remain idle. As early as October 1621 he completed his 'History of Henry VII,' which was published in the following year. Then he busied himself with the completion and translation into Latin of the 'Advancement of Learning,' which appeared in October 1623 as 'De Augmentis Scientiarum.' To his former feelings towards the king was now added gratitude for having tempered the blow which had fallen on him, and his language was as flattering after his fall as it had been before. In March 1622 he offered to do what had long been on his heart, to draw up a digest of the law. If he wrote of the 'Instauratio' as his 'great work,' it does not follow that he regarded political work as much inferior in importance. His correspondence shows how eagerly he desired to be employed in political matters again, and it is one of the most curious features of that correspondence that he never seems to have understood that the sentence passed on him was an insuperable bar to employment in the service of the state.

The return of Buckingham and the prince from Spain gave Bacon an opportunity of appearing on the side which was at the same time popular and courtly, and the support of which was also in harmony with his own lifelong convictions. In a speech which he drew up for the use of some member of the House of Commons in 1624, and in the 'Considerations touching a War with Spain,' which he addressed to the prince, he took the course which satisfied his conscience, if it seemed also calculated to gain satisfaction for what ambition was left to him. In spite of all, however, he remained a disappointed man. Even the provostship of Eton was refused him in 1623, and in 1625 he pressed the new king in vain for the grant of the full pardon which would enable him to take his seat in parliament. Charles and Buckingham no doubt regarded him as an importunate old man, whose advice they were even less likely to regard than James had been.

Nothing remained to Bacon but to devote himself to further work upon the 'Instauratio Magna.' Increasing weakness of health, however, made every task difficult. At the end of March 1626, being near Highgate on a snowy day, he left his coach to collect snow with which he meant to stuff a fowl in order to observe the effect of cold on the preservation of its flesh. In so doing he caught a chill, and took refuge in Lord Arundel's house, where, on 9 April, he died of the disease which is now known as bronchitis. He was buried at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans.

'For my name and memory,' wrote Bacon in the will which he drew up on 19 Dec. 1625, 'I leave it to men's charitable speeches and to foreign nations and the next ages.' He surely never contemplated that his devo-

tion to science would be held to be indirectly damaging to his character, and that writer after writer would regard his claim to be a prophet of scientific knowledge so supereminent as to consign to oblivion his equally great claim as a prophet of political knowledge. As his contribution to science rests on his perception of the greatness and variety of nature, so his contribution to politics rests upon his perception of the complexity of human society. In politics, as well as in science, he found himself too much in advance of the times to secure a following. Some men would have grown misanthropical, and would have abandoned the thankless task in despair. It was alike the strength and weakness of Bacon's character which prevented him from doing this. He must strive against such a disaster, must seek help wherever it could be found, must speak fair words to those who had it in their power to assist him, must be patient beyond all ordinary patience, content if he could get but a little done of the great things which he designed, sometimes content if he could have the vaguest hope of being some day able to accomplish a little. As far as science was concerned, all this brought nothing dishonourable. In politics it was otherwise. Power to do good in politics was, according to the possibility of his day, inseparably connected with high place and the good things of the world, to the advantages of which Bacon was by no means insensible. If Bacon never lost sight of the higher object in the pursuit of the lower, if James was to him the only possible reconciler of sectional ambitions, as well as the dispenser of coronets and offices, it was not to be expected that those who watched his progress should be charitable enough to acknowledge these points in his favour. Bacon was too great a man to play other than a second-rate part in the age in which he lived, and he struggled hard, to the detriment of his own character as well as of his fame, to avoid the inevitable consequence.

[In all things relating to Bacon Mr. Spedding's Letters and Life is so universally acknowledged as the one authority on matters of fact, that it has been unnecessary to encumber these pages with references to a book to which every reader who wishes for further information will turn. Those who wish to find the view of Bacon's character which is here treated as insufficient, set forth with that knowledge and thoughtfulness which is singularly wanting in Macaulay's well-known essay on Bacon, may be referred to Dean Church's 'Life of Bacon' in the Men of Letters Series.]

S. R. G.

Bacon's Works may be divided into three classes, the philosophical, which form far the largest portion, the literary, and the professional works. Many of these are mere fragments or short essays, afterwards thrown aside and replaced by other essays, also unfinished, or by the larger and more complete works as known to the general reader. All that remains of Bacon's writings, however brief or fragmentary, has been collected in the edition by J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath (7 vols., London, 1854–59). The principal and best known of the philosophical works are (1) the 'Advancement of Learning,' which was published in English in 1605, as 'The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning Divine and Humane:' (2) the 'Novum Organum,' published in Latin in 1620 under the general title, 'Francisci de Verulamio . . . Instauratio Magna,' with a second title (after the preface) 'Pars secunda operis, quæ dicitur Novum Organum sive indicia vera de interpretatione naturæ:' and (3) the 'De Augmentis,' published in Latin in 1623 with the title, 'Opera F. Baconis de Verulamio . . . Tomus primus, qui continet de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum libros ix.' The last of these works may be regarded as a much enlarged edition of the first, though the first has a certain advantage over its larger and more pretentious rival from being presented in a more compendious form and in the noble and flowing periods of the author's English instead of in a foreign tongue or a translation.

When Bacon wrote the 'Advancement of Learning,' he does not seem to have had any idea of constituting it a part of the 'Great Instauration,' but, as time went on, he appears to have thought that the attempt to build up a new philosophy might fittingly be preceded by a review of the present state of knowledge. Hence, in the 'Distributio Operis,' which is prefixed to the 'Novum Organum,' the first place in the 'Great Instauration' is assigned to what he calls 'partitiones scientiarum,' or 'a summary or general description of the knowledge which the human race at present possesses,' including, however, 'not only things already invented and known, but likewise things omitted which ought to be there.'

The remaining parts of the 'Great Instauration,' as enumerated in the 'Distributio Operis, or Plan of the Work,' are: (2) the 'Novum Organum, or Indications concerning the Interpretation of Nature;' (3) 'Phænomena Universi, or a Natural and Experimental History for the Construction of Philosophy;' (4) 'Scala Intellectus, the Ladder of the Intellect;' (5) 'Prodromi, the Forerunners, or Anticipations of the New Philo-

sophy;' (6) 'Philosophia Secunda, or Active Science.'

The second part, or the proper method of interpreting nature, was evidently the one (if we except the sixth, which was to be the crown of the whole design and the gradual work of posterity) to which Bacon attached the greatest importance. It is mainly represented in the 'Novum Organum,' though preliminary drafts of portions of this work, often curiously differing from it in detail, are to be found in parts of the 'Valerius Terminus,' and in the 'Partis Secundæ Delineatio,' the 'Cogitata et Visa,' the 'Temporis Partus Masculus,' and the 'Filum Labyrinthi sive Inquisitio Legitima de Motu,' to say nothing of smaller pieces. The composition of the 'Novum Organum' appears to have been begun about 1608. For the first edition appeared in 1620, and Dr. Rawley (in the life of Bacon prefixed to the 'Resuscitatio') tells us that he had himself seen at least twelve copies of the work 'revised year by year, one after another; and every year altered and amended in the frame thereof.'

The 'Novum Organum,' in the shape in which its author left it, is only a fragment of the larger work which Bacon contemplated under that title, as adequately representing the second part of the 'Great Instauration.' Nevertheless, though only a fragment, the 'Novum Organum,' and especially the first book, is the most carefully written of all Bacon's philosophical works. Moreover, as describing the new method of which the renovation of knowledge was to be the result, it is the keystone of the entire system.

The third part of the 'Great Instauration,' the 'Phænomena Universi,' was to contain a collection of arranged and sifted materials on which the method of induction was to work. Of this part, even according to Bacon's limited conception of the extent and variety of nature, we have only a very small portion, and, according to a juster estimate of the boundless extent of the 'Phænomena Universi,' that portion might almost be described as infinitesimal. Such as it is, however, it is contained mainly in the 'Historia Ventorum,' the 'Historia Vitæ et Mortis,' the 'Historia Densi et Rari,' and the 'Sylva Sylvarum.' The first of these works, an attempt to collect and digest various facts in connection with the winds, was published in November 1622, in a volume entitled 'Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis ad condendam Philosophiam; sive Phænomena Universi; quæ est Instaurationis Magnæ Pars tertia (Historia Ventorum).' The 'Historia Vitæ et Mortis' was published about the end of January 1622-3. The 'Historia Densi et Rari' did not appear during Bacon's lifetime, and was first published in Dr. Rawley's 'Opuscula Varia Posthuma,' in 1658.

The last work on which Bacon was engaged was the 'Sylva Sylvarum' (meaning probably a collection of collections), a miscellaneous collection of observations and experiments in natural history. It was published by Dr. Rawley in 1627, the year after Bacon's death, but the preface was written by Rawley during his lifetime. It was repeatedly reissued, reaching a tenth edition in 1676. This book has furnished Bacon's critics, especially Lasson and Liebig, with some of their most telling shafts. It treats seriously of such conceits as that 'the blood-stone is good for them that bleed at the nose;' as the 'report' of 'the writers of natural magic' that 'the heart of an ape worn near the heart, comforteth the heart and increaseth audacity;' as the notion that water is congealed into crystals, and so forth. But, defective and often ridiculous as this book is from our point of view, it is, if we refer it to its place in the history of science, far from being contemptible. It is probably the best and most complete single collection of the kind that, up to that time, had been published.

Appended to the 'Sylva Sylvarum' in Rawley's edition is the 'New Atlantis.' This, as observed in the above life (p. 344), was written before 1617. It is deservedly one of the most popular of Bacon's works; it bears the stamp of his genius as much, perhaps, as anything which he wrote; and, lastly, it is credited with having, to a large extent, suggested the foundation and programme of our own Royal Society, as well as of several scientific associations abroad.

To the fourth and fifth parts of the 'Instauratio' we possess the prefaces. Whether anything more relating to those parts is extant seems doubtful. Though Bacon hoped himself fittingly to inaugurate the work of setting forth his 'second philosophy,' we search in vain amongst his writings for any special treatise which can be referred to the sixth part.

Of Bacon's literary, as distinct from his philosophical and professional, works, far the most popular and important are the 'Essays.' These, in their earliest shape, formed part of a very small octavo volume, published in 1597, and were only ten in number. They were reprinted in 1598, 1604, and 1606. In 1612 a new edition was brought out, with many alterations and additions. The editions of 1597 and 1612 are reprinted in Spedding's edition of the works (vol. vi.). This edition contained thirty-eight essays. Finally, the book in its present form, and containing

fifty-eight essays, was published in 1625, the year before Bacon's death. This greatly enlarged edition, which is entitled 'The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, newly enlarged,' may be regarded as a storehouse of the practical wisdom gathered during its author's lifetime, a life singularly rich in opportunities for such accumulations. A Latin translation published by Rawley in 1638 as 'Sermones Fideles sive Interiora Rerum,' was executed or superintended by Bacon.

The title of 'Essays' is probably taken from the 'Essais' of Montaigne (who is quoted by name in the first essay), which first appeared at Bordeaux in 1580. Hallam says of these that they are the first writings in the French language 'which a gentleman is ashamed not to have read.' A similar remark, if we confine ourselves to prose works, might be made of Bacon's 'Essays.' To attempt to describe the characteristics of a book so familiar to the reader, would, in a work like this, be to occupy space unnecessarily. But it may not be superfluous to remark that the 'Essays' are the most original of all Bacon's works, those which, in detail, he seems to have thought out most completely for himself, apart from books and collections of commonplaces. The last edition teems indeed with quotations and illustrations, but they are suggested by his own matter and do not suggest it. Though the 'Essays' have the same title as the larger collection of Montaigne, the two works have little in common, except their rare power of exciting interest and the unmistakable mark of genius which is impressed on them both.

The literary production which, during Bacon's lifetime and for many years afterwards, ranked next in popularity and was regarded as next in importance to the 'Essays,' was undoubtedly the 'De Sapientia Veterum,' the treatise on the wisdom of the ancients. This work was first published, in a small duodecimo volume, in 1609. A second edition appeared in London in 1617; a third at Leyden in 1633; and a fourth at London in 1634. A translation by Sir A. Gorges, Knight, was published in 1619. Its plan is to recite certain classical fables, or, as we should now call them, myths, disclosing, as it proceeds, the moral and physical lessons which are supposed to lie latent in them. The hypothesis on which the interpretations rest, of a primeval wisdom expressing itself in allegorical symbols, fell in with the usual mode of thinking in the seventeenth century, and then, and even later, doubtless found many adherents amongst the most learned and judicious men of the time.

Appended to the first edition of the 'Essays' was a fragment entitled 'Of the Colours of Good and Evil.' Like the 'Essays' and the 'De Sapientia Veterum,' it is full of shrewd remarks suggested by Bacon's knowledge of life and observations of human nature. These 'Colours of Good and Evil,' with additions, were afterwards embodied in the sixth book of the 'De Augmentis.' Bacon there states that, when a young man, he had collected many other 'colours' or 'popular signs' of good and evil, but, as he had not yet found time to illustrate or examine them, he refrained from setting them out. These are contained in a manuscript in the British Museum, published in 1882 by Mrs. Henry Pott under the title of 'Promus of Formularies and Elegancies;' a few specimens of them are given by Mr. Spedding (*Bacon's Works*, vii. 67, 68).

The 'Apophthegms New and Old' were first published in December 1624, but the volume containing them is dated 1625. The subsequent history of the various collections which went under the name of 'Bacon's Apophthegms' will be found in Mr. Spedding's preface to the 'Apophthegms' (*Bacon's Works*, vii. 113–20).

Of the historical works, the only one of any size is the 'History of Henry the Seventh.' This book, though the subject had long been familiar to Bacon, and a fragment on this and the four following reigns dates back as far as the time of Elizabeth, seems to have been wholly composed during the long vacation succeeding his fall. On 8 Oct. 1621 he was ready to send a fair manuscript to the king. This was returned shortly after 7 Jan., and on 20 March 1621-2 the book was printed and ready for publication. Sir James Mackintosh, in his 'History of England,' appears to regard Bacon as having simply set to work, in order to gratify James I, to produce a flattering portraiture of his royal ancestor. Spedding, who has a better title to be heard on this subject than any other authority, delivers this weighty judgment: 'Though not one of his works which stand highest, either in reputation or popularity, with later times, the "History of Henry the Seventh" has done its work more effectually perhaps than any of them. None of the histories which had been written before conveyed any idea either of the distinctive character of the man or the real business of his reign. Every history which has been written since has derived all its light from this, and followed its guidance in every question of importance; and the additional materials which come to light from time to time, and enable us to make

many corrections in the history of the events, only serve to confirm and illustrate the truth of its interpretation of them.'

Amongst the smaller historical remains of Bacon are the opening paragraph of a projected 'History of Henry the Eighth,' a piece entitled 'In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ,' a memorial of Henry Prince of Wales, the eldest son of James, who died prematurely in 1612, and a small fragment in English, entitled 'The Beginning of the History of Great Britain,' giving an account of the accession of James I to the crown of England. Mr. Spedding says of the last: 'As an account of the temper of men's minds at James's entrance, it is complete; and in my judgment one of the best things in its kind that Bacon ever wrote.'

Bacon's religious works, though they contain some of his finest sentiments and are mostly written in his best style, might be contained in a very thin volume. The largest of them is the 'Meditationes Sacræ,' first published, in the same volume with the 'Essays' and the 'Colours of Good and Evil,' in 1597. The other genuine works of this class are 'A Confession of Faith,' first published in the 'Remains' in 1648, but written before (how long before we cannot determine) the summer of 1603; a 'Translation of certain Psalms into English Verse,' composed during his fit of sickness in 1624, which were dedicated to 'his very good friend Mr. George Herbert,' and published in 1625; and three prayers, 'The Student's Prayer,' 'The Writer's Prayer,' and a third composed, in the midst of his troubles, in the spring of 1621. Of this last prayer Addison (in the *Tatler*, No. 267) says that 'for the elevation of thought and greatness of expression, it seems rather the devotion of an angel than of a man.' A fourth prayer, described in the 'Remains' as 'made and used by the late lord chancellor,' but not mentioned by either Rawley or Tenison, is of doubtful authenticity. Lastly, a piece entitled 'The Characters of a Believing Christian in Paradoxes and Seeming Contradictions,' which was also published in the 'Remains,' and has frequently been quoted as Bacon's under the short title of 'Christian Paradoxes,' has been shown by Dr. Grosart to have been written by another hand.

A collection of all the professional works which still possess any importance has been brought together and annotated by Mr. D. D. Heath in the seventh volume of the last edition of Bacon's works. The largest and most important of these are the treatises entitled 'Maxims of the Law,' and the 'Reading on the Statute of Uses.' The 'Maxims of the Law' were Bacon's contribution, 'a sheaf and cluster of fruit,' towards that digest of the laws of England which became at an early period of his life a favourite idea with him, and of which he never wholly lost sight.

It may be convenient if I here notice the various collections of Bacon's posthumous works, which appeared from time to time during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1627, the year after his death, his chaplain, Dr. Rawley, brought out the 'Sylva Sylvarum,' with the 'New Atlantis' appended. All Bacon's more important works had thus been published in 1627. But amongst his papers were found a number of speeches, letters, beginnings or first drafts of treatises, heads of advice, memoranda, &c., which served several successive editors for collections of miscellanies. The first of these collections was that contained in the small volume, published by Dr. Rawley in 1629, under the title of 'Certain Miscellany Works.' In 1638 Dr. Rawley published the Latin volume entitled 'Opera Moralia et Civilia.' The next volume of collections was published anonymously in 1648, and was entitled 'The Remains of Francis, Lord Verulam, &c., being essays and several letters to several great personages, and other pieces of various and high concernment not heretofore published.' The authenticity of any document contained in this collection requires to be supported by independent testimony.

In 1653 appeared a far more important volume, that published in an elegant duodecimo at Amsterdam by Isaac Gruter, and entitled 'Francisci Baconi de Verulamio Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia.' Another important collection of pieces was issued in 1657. This was a miscellaneous collection, edited by Rawley, under the title of 'Resuscitatio, or Bringing into publick Light several Pieces of the Works, Civil, Historical, Philosophical, and Theological, hitherto sleeping, of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon,' &c. To it is prefixed a 'Life of the Honourable Author,' since frequently reprinted. New editions of the 'Resuscitatio' were brought out in 1661 and 1671 respectively, both containing new matter, but Dr. Rawley, who died in 1667, is only responsible for the second edition. The 'Resuscitatio' is a collection of English pieces or translations only, but in 1658 Rawley redeemed his promise of bringing out a small collection of Latin works, so as not 'to leave to a future hand anything of moment and communicable to the public.' This collection is entitled 'Opuscula Varia Posthuma, Philosophica, Civilia, et Theologica, Francisci Baconi,' &c.

Thomas Tenison, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who had access to Rawley's papers after his death, published in 1679 a small volume entitled 'Baconiana, or certain genuine Remains of Sir Francis Bacon,' &c. This volume contains, by way of introduction, an 'account of all the Lord Bacon's works' of considerable interest to the bibliographer.

A collection of Bacon's unpublished letters, written during the reign of James I, was published by Robert Stephens in 1702. A second volume, also collected by him, was published in 1734. In addition to letters, this latter volume contains several tracts and fragments, the most important, perhaps, of which is the 'Redargutio Philosophiarum,' only a small portion of which had been published by Gruter in 1653. Finally, another collection of unpublished letters, speeches, &c., was issued by Dr. Thomas Birch in 1763.

None of Bacon's legal works were published during his lifetime. In 1630 appeared the 'Maxims of the Law,' together with a second edition of the 'Use of the Law,' under the common title 'The Elements of the Common Law.' Mr. Heath thinks that the attribution of the second tract (the first edition of which appeared in 1629) to Bacon is erroneous. The 'Reading on the Statute of Uses' was first published, in a very incorrect form, in 1642. Three speeches concerning the Post-Nati of Scotland, the Naturalisation of the Scotch in England, and the Union of the Laws of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, were first published in 1641. The Four Arguments on Impeachment of Waste, Lowe's case of Tenures, the case of Revocation of Uses, and the Jurisdiction of the Council of the Marches, first appeared in Blackbourne's edition of Bacon's entire works, published in 1730. The argument in Chudleigh's case was recovered by Mr. Spedding.

The first edition, professing to be complete, of Bacon's works, issued in England, was that of Blackbourne, in 1730. An edition, with life, by Mallet, appeared in 1740, in 4 vols. folio; another by the same in 1753, in 3 vols. folio. What long served as the trade edition was a reprint of the edition put out by Birch in 1765. A handsome but ill-arranged edition, under the superintendence of Mr. Basil Montagu, was issued by Pickering (in 17 vols. 8vo.) between 1825 and 1836. The appearance of this edition was the occasion of Macaulay's Essay. The splendid and carefully annotated edition of Ellis, Spedding, and Heath, in seven volumes, was brought out by Longmans in 1857 and following years. Mr. Spedding has incorporated the letters and occasional works of Bacon in another work, occupying seven volumes, entitled 'Letters and Life of Bacon,' Longmans, 1861 and following years. The substance of this work, omitting most of the letters, but retaining the greater part of the biography, has recently appeared under the title of 'The Life and Times of Francis Bacon,' 2 vols., Trübner and Co., 1878.

Of Bacon's separate works, the most recent edition of the 'Advancement of Learning' is that by Aldis Wright (1869), and of the 'Novum Organum' that by T. Fowler (1878), both issued by the Clarendon Press at Oxford. Amongst recent editions of the 'Essays' are those of Archbishop Whately (1856, 6th edit. 1864), Mr. Aldis Wright (1862), and Dr. Abbott (1879). 'A Harmony of the Essays'—the texts of the first four editions printed in parallel columns—was issued by Professor Edward Arber in 1869.

In the history of literature Bacon is mainly known as the writer of the 'Essays.' But in the history of science, logic, and philosophy, the chief interest which attaches to his name is that of a reformer of scientific method.

The method which obtained almost exclusively in scientific inquiries during the middle ages is what is commonly called the deductive method. It is absurd to speak as if Bacon were the inventor of induction. What Bacon complained of, and rightly complained of, was not that the writers and teachers of his time had no recourse to the observation of facts at all, but that they only looked out for facts in support of preconceived theories, or constructed their theories on a hasty and unmethodical examination of a few facts collected at random. In either case they neglected to test or verify their generalisations, while they wasted their efforts in drawing out syllogistically long trains of elaborate conclusions, which, for aught they knew, might be vitiated by the unsoundness of the original premisses.

It was to remedy these defects that Bacon designed the second part of his 'Great Instauration,' the 'Novum Organum.' The first book consists of a number of brilliant and pregnant aphorisms. In the second book Bacon sets to work to construct his own method, and, though the book ends abruptly before he has completed one quarter of his scheme, he succeeds in laying the foundations of a science for the interpretation of nature, which, rough and cumbrous as are some of the materials of which they are composed, furnish the ground-plan on which almost all subsequent workers in this department of knowledge have built. Inductive logic, that is, the systematic analysis and arrangement of inductive evidence, as

distinct from the natural induction which all men practise, is almost as much the creation of Bacon as deductive logic is that of Aristotle. It must, however, be acknowledged that the one left far more to be added and remodelled by his successors than did the other.

'Man,' says Bacon, 'is the servant and interpreter of nature.' But as the bare hand is of little use in mechanical work, so the unassisted intellect can effect little in the work of reasoning. The one requires instruments, the other rules. The rules supplied by the logic in vogue lend no aid in the examination of principles. He who takes the wrong road wanders the further from his goal, the further he goes. The syllogism is, from the very nature of the case, incompetent to prove the ultimate premisses from which it proceeds. The only hope, therefore, of those who wish to establish knowledge on a firm basis is in a logic which shall be competent to examine these higher generalisations or first principles from which the various sciences start, that is to say, in a true induction. Before, however, attempting to supply this want, Bacon lingers for a while over the existing condition of knowledge, points out the phantoms which obscure the vision of truth, enumerates the causes of past errors, and suggests grounds of hope for the future.

Perhaps the best known part of the 'Novum Organum,' certainly one of the most valuable parts, is the account of the 'Idola Mentis Humanæ,' or 'phantoms of the human mind,' which occupies Aphorisms 38–70 of Book i. These 'idols' (εἴδωλα, phantoms or spectres, and not, as they have sometimes been erroneously interpreted, false gods) are four in number, and are enumerated as 'idols of the tribe' (idola tribus), 'idols of the den' (idola specus), 'idols of the market-place' (idola fori), and 'idols of the theatre' (idola theatri). In number they happen to correspond with the 'offendicula' of Roger Bacon; namely, unworthy authority, custom, vulgar opinion, and concealment of ignorance combined with the ostentation of apparent wisdom. There is, however, little other resemblance between the 'idola' and the 'offendicula,' and Francis Bacon is probably in no way indebted to his elder namesake for this part of his doctrine.

'The idols of the tribe have their foundation in human nature itself, and in the very tribe or race of men.' . . . 'The idols of the den have their origin in the peculiar constitution, mental or bodily, of each individual; and also in education, habit, and accident.' The idols of the market-place ('idola fori'), which have insinuated themselves into the mind through the association of words and names with things, are, Bacon says, the most troublesome of all. They are of two kinds, being either names of supposed entities which have no real existence, or words inadequately or erroneously representing things or qualities actually existing. The idols of the theatre, so called because they succeed one another like the plays on a stage, arise either from false systems of philosophy or from perverse laws of demonstration.

The enumeration of the grounds of hope naturally includes many criticisms on the methods then in vogue, favourable auguries being drawn from the likelihood of their amelioration. Thus, in Aph. 104, where he protests against the prevalent habit of flying off at once from particular facts to first principles or the most general axioms of all, he insists on the importance of establishing by a careful induction a sufficient number of intermediate axioms ('axiomata media'), which are 'the true and solid and living axioms, on which depend the affairs and fortunes of men.' Again, in Aph. 105, he emphatically condemns the method of induction by simple enumeration, or mere addition of instances. Then, after contrasting with this unscientific and faulty form the induction which he himself contemplates, he adds with a true appreciation of the difficulties of his task: 'But in order to furnish this induction or demonstration well and duly for its work, very many things are to be provided which have never yet entered the thoughts of any mortal man; insomuch that greater labour will have to be spent on it than has hitherto been spent on the syllogism.' It is in this new kind of induction that his chief hope lies.

In the concluding aphorisms of the first book, Bacon answers, by anticipation, the important question whether he intends his new method to be confined to the problems of natural philosophy, or contemplates its application to the other sciences as well, 'logic, ethics, and politics.' To this question he replies (Aph. 127): 'Now I certainly mean what I have said to be understood of them all; and as the common logic, which governs by the syllogism, extends not only to natural but to all sciences; so does mine also, which proceeds by induction, embrace everything. For I form a history and tables of discovery for anger, fear, shame, and the like; for matters political, and again for the mental operations of memory, affirmation and negation, judgment and the rest: not less than for heat and cold, or light, or vegetation, or the like.' This statement should

carefully be noted; for, on a hasty reading of the 'Novum Organum,' it might easily be supposed that Bacon's object was confined to an instauration of what we now call the natural sciences. He here, however, explicitly tells us that his method is applicable, and intended to be applied, to the whole realm of knowledge.

From the prefatory remarks of Book i., Bacon passes in Book ii. to a more formal and systematic exposition of his method. In the 11th Aphorism the real business of the book begins, and this and the next two aphorisms contain the celebrated inductive tables which, together with the 'exclusion or rejection of natures' of which an example is given in Aph. 18, constitute Bacon's principal apparatus for arriving at a knowledge of the 'form,' a word which in modern scientific terminology may usually be best replaced by the word 'cause.'

His own method is simply contrasted with the inductio per enumerationem simplicem, or method of induction then in vogue. This method consisted in merely accumulating instances presenting the phenomenon in question, without following any rule of selection. Instead of this hasty and haphazard kind of induction, it is the peculiar merit of Bacon to have conceived, and to a certain extent to have elaborated, a regular and scientific method, proceeding by way of elimination, and thus carrying up an effect to its cause or following a cause into its effects by a chain of demonstrative reasoning. This method he calls the method of exclusions or rejections, and it is in this device that he conceives the peculiar value and originality of his logical system to consist.

The path to be followed by the method of exclusions is, Bacon confesses, a long and intricate one (Aph. 16), and hence he proposes, for the present at least, to employ, as auxiliary and preparatory to it, other aids for the understanding (Aphs. 19, 21).

Before, however, describing these other aids, he hazards an hypothesis (Aph. 20) on the form of heat, based on the materials collected in the tables. This 'giving reins to the understanding, or first vintage' (permissio intellectus or vindemiatio prima), must be regarded as a sort of parenthesis, inserted, by way of encouragement and relief, during the conduct of the more stringent method of exclusions with its various aids. It seems to afford an example of that very process of 'flying off from sense and particulars to the widest generalisations,' which Bacon himself condemns in the First Book (see *Nov. Org.* book i. aph. 19). The result, however, is remarkable in the history of science. Anticipating the theory of heat now generally accepted, he defines it as 'a motion, expansive, restrained, and striving amongst the smaller particles of bodies.' Even the modern theory as to the undulatory character of this motion seems to be anticipated in the following passage, which is quoted with approbation by Professor Tyndall: 'The third specific difference is this, that heat is a motion of expansion, not uniformly of the whole body together, but in its ultimate particles; and at the same time checked, repelled, and beaten back, so that the particles acquire a motion alternative, perpetually quivering, striving and struggling, and irritated by repercussion, whence springs the fury of fire and heat.'

In the 21st Aphorism he proceeds to enumerate 'the remaining helps of the understanding, as they promote the interpretation of nature and a true and perfect induction.' The only 'help' which Bacon describes is the 'Prerogatives of Instances' (Prærogativæ Instantiarum). These are so called from the 'tribus prærogativa,' which, being selected by lot, voted first in the 'comitia tributa' of the Romans, and thus not only afforded an indication of the mode in which the other tribes were likely to vote, but also frequently exercised a considerable influence on their decision. They are, as Sir John Herschel says, 'characteristic phenomena, selected from the great miscellaneous mass of facts which occur in nature, and which, by their number, indistinctness, and complication, tend rather to confuse than to direct the mind in its search for causes and general heads of induction. Phenomena so selected on account of some peculiarly forcible way in which they strike the reason, and impress us with a kind of sense of causation or a particular aptitude for generalisation, Bacon considers, and justly, as holding a kind of prerogative dignity, and claiming our first and especial attention in physical inquiries.' Far the most famous of all these instances are the crucial instances (instantiæ crucis), a term which is, perhaps, more widely used than any other technical term of inductive logic. According to the metaphor there are two or more ways before us, and the observation or experiment in question acts as a 'guide-post' (crux) in determining us which to take. A celebrated historical example is that by which Pascal demonstrated the weight of the atmosphere. After the description of the Prerogative Instances the 'Novum Organum' comes to an abrupt termination.

What, we may now ask, are the principal merits of this magnificent fragment? Perhaps the main interest now attaching to the

'Novum Organum' is the historical one of its subsequent influence on logic, philosophy, and science. As Macaulay finely says, Bacon 'moved the intellects which have moved the world.' But the intrinsic value of this work is still considerable. There is probably no work of the same kind so stimulating to a young reader, or so likely to foster habits of cautious and independent investigation, as the first book of the 'Novum Organum.' What Bacon says of Plato is pre-eminently true of himself. He was 'a man of a sublime genius, who took a view of everything as from a high rock.' Maxims such as these, 'Man is the servant and interpreter of nature,' 'Human knowledge and human power meet in one,' 'It is not fruit-bringing but light-bringing experiments that should be sought,' 'Truth is rightly called the daughter of time, not of authority,' 'The worst thing of all is the apotheosis of error,' which sparkle on almost every page of the 'Novum Organum,' live long in the memory, and insensibly influence the whole habit of thought. There is something about Bacon's diction, his quaintness of expression, and his power of illustration, which lays hold of the mind, and lodges itself in the memory, in a way which we hardly find paralleled in any other author, except it be Shakespeare.

As regards the amount of definite logical teaching in the 'Novum Organum' which retains a permanent value, we may notice the constant emphasis with which it dwells on the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with the facts of nature, as the only sure preservative against the delusions of fancy or prejudice and the misleading influence of authority; and upon the importance of not contenting ourselves with mere observation, but of also instituting, where possible, artificial experiments for the purpose of obtaining more precise answers to our questions.

On a wide and varied collection of facts Bacon proposed to raise scientific inductions, as opposed to inductions based on mere enumeration. This conception of a scientific process of induction, proceeding by way of selection and elimination, and possessing, if all the conditions are satisfied, the force of demonstration, was a perfectly sound and very fertile idea, though it has been slow to make its way, and is not even yet universally accepted by professed logicians. Nor does Bacon neglect to point out the proper relation between the inductive and deductive processes of reasoning. From the often reiterated emphasis with which he insists on the necessity of employing and reforming induction, it has frequently been supposed that he slighted deduction as an instrument of thought. But this was by no means the case. The syllogism, he conceived, was indeed incompetent to establish the first principles from which it reasons, but, when these were once firmly established by induction on the basis of experience, it was perfectly competent to reason correctly from them. Even the mathematical form which the deductive branch assumes in the more advanced sciences is fully recognised by Bacon, and its proper position assigned to it. 'Mathematics ought to terminate natural philosophy, not to generate it.' 'Natural inquiries have the best issue when physics are terminated in mathematics.'

Bacon distinctly sees that the real object of science is the ascertainment of causes or facts of causation. 'It is rightly laid down that to know truly, is to know by means of causes.' He reads a valuable lesson also, when he insists on the unity of nature and the unity of science. Nature, he conceives, is a continuous and orderly whole, admitting of no breaks and no exceptions. Objects and qualities apparently the most heterogeneous are often united under the same form, or, as we might say, are manifestations of the same law (Book ii. aph. 17); and he who best knows the ways of nature, also best knows her deviations (Book ii. aph. 29). Similarly, to know any one science really well, a man must know at least the general aspects and fundamental principles of all sciences. For the individual sciences are like the branches of a tree which meet in one trunk, and each science must suffer if rudely dissevered from the rest.

The principal objections which have been directed against Bacon's method of scientific investigation are: (1) that Bacon's theory of induction is too mechanical; (2) that he unduly neglects the proper use of hypothesis; (3) that his conception of a gradual ascent from axioms of the lowest to axioms of the highest degree of generality does not correspond with the actual conduct of scientific investigation. There is a considerable amount of force in these objections. The office of the imagination (a faculty in which he was himself so marvellously rich) is undoubtedly too much ignored throughout the 'Novum Organum.' And hence it is that he says so little of hypothesis. Except in Book i. aph. 106 and Book ii. aph. 20, this indispensable aid of the greater part of our inductive reasoning is hardly ever referred to. The wild license of imagination exemplified in so many of the scientific writers of his time naturally caused an extreme recoil against hasty generalisation and theories which seemed to be in advance of the facts. It

was this same feeling, doubtless, which suggested to Bacon the oft-repeated maxim that induction should proceed from particulars to axioms of a very low degree of generalisation (axiomata infima), and thence slowly and gradually, through successive stages of intermediate axioms (axiomata media), up to the highest axioms of all (axiomata maxime generalia), and that we should never arrive at these last, or indeed at any axioms of any high degree of generality, by sudden leaps. But this method of gradual and continuous ascent is not the method which, for the most part, has been actually pursued by the most successful interrogators of nature. Though a more ambitious process is a common and a perfectly legitimate method of *discovery*, the *proof* of the higher axioms, when established, will generally be found to rest on intermediate axioms, and of these on still lower axioms, and so on, after the manner which Bacon describes. Moreover, when a science has attained anything like completeness, this will always be found to be the most convenient method of exhibiting the relation of its various laws. Though stated too exclusively, therefore, this part of Bacon's doctrine is by no means so untrue to facts or to the reason of the thing as it has sometimes been represented to be.

One of the main peculiarities of Bacon's system was his rejection of the inquiry into final causes, a characteristic of his philosophy for which he has often been severely censured. But it should be noted in the first place that he did not propose to banish this inquiry altogether, but to relegate it from physic, which he supposed to be concerned solely with material and efficient causes, to what he called metaphysic, which was to inquire into formal and final causes, and which would include what we now call natural theology.

It must be admitted that Bacon was not fully abreast of the scientific knowledge of his own day. Much is doubtless to be said in extenuation, but an impartial judge can only advise a plea of 'guilty' on many of the counts in the indictment. He makes no mention, for instance, of Harvey's great discovery of the circulation of the blood, though Harvey had already begun to teach it in 1619, the year before the appearance of the 'Novum Organum.' Bacon appears never to have heard of the astronomical discoveries recently made by means of Kepler's calculations, and he was singularly ignorant of many facts both in the theory and the history of mathematics and mechanics. But far the most important and perhaps, at first sight, the least excusable of his scientific errors was his persistent rejection of the Copernican theory. It seems indeed strange that one who laid claim to be the great reformer of science should have steadily refused to admit the greatest reform in scientific conceptions which had been proposed for many generations, and which had already been before the world for eighty years. And, undoubtedly, the discovery by Galileo of the satellites of Jupiter in 1609, as well as the calculations of Kepler announced about the same time (with which last, however, Bacon does not seem to have been acquainted), had considerably added to the evidence in favour of the heliocentric system, even while the 'Novum Organum' was being written. Still, it cannot be said that, till the laws of formal astronomy were connected by Newton with the physical laws of matter and motion, the motions of the earth or its relation to the rest of the solar system could in any way be regarded as placed beyond the range of dispute. And Bacon certainly did not stand alone in his opposition among the eminent men of that age. Among those of his contemporaries who rejected the Copernican theory were Tycho Brahé (who, however, died in 1601), Vieta, the greatest mathematician of the sixteenth century (who also died as early as 1603), Clavius, who was employed by Gregory XIII to reform the Calendar and was called the Euclid of his age, and possibly, from his silence, the famous mechanician Stevinus.

It would be an injustice to Bacon not to notice that, even in the particular sciences, he threw out many suggestions of rare sagacity, and, in a certain sense, anticipated more recent discoveries. Such were his speculations on colour, his anticipation of the recent theory of heat, his experiment on the compressibility of water, and his wonderful appreciation of the combined unity and variety in nature. To these instances may be added his sagacious and possibly fertile suggestion of a closer union between formal and physical astronomy, as well as of the necessity of combining the explanations of celestial and terrestrial phenomena; the remarkable passage on Attraction, and the ingenious experiment proposed in connection with it, in 'Novum Organum' (ii. 36, 3); the brilliant conjecture, in 'Novum Organum' (ii. 46), that the actual state of the starry sky precedes by an interval of time that which is apparent to us, or, in other words, that light requires time for its transmission; the implied criticism of the ordinary doctrine of species contained in a passage on Realism in 'Novum Organum' (i. 66); and lastly (though this list is by no means exhaustive) the attempt made in the

'Historia Ventorum' to consider the direction of the winds in connection with temperature and aqueous phenomena, on which Humboldt highly compliments him as having thereby laid the foundations of a theory of the currents of the atmosphere.

The philosophical opinions of Bacon, as distinguished from his teaching on logic and the method of science, are mainly to be found in the 'De Augmentis Scientiarum.' It is the object of this book, which was an expansion of two earlier works, the 'Advancement of Learning,' already mentioned, and the 'Descriptio Globi Intellectualis' (a fragment written about 1612, but first published by Gruter in 1653), to note the divisions, the existing condition, and the deficiencies of the various sciences. The 'De Augmentis' abounds in fine thoughts and felicitous suggestions, and the classification of the sciences, which, with comparatively slight alterations, was adopted by D'Alembert in his preliminary discourse to the French 'Encyclopédie,' was the first considerable attempt of the kind, and still remains, notwithstanding all its faults, a remarkable production. 'The object of philosophy,' he there says, 'is threefold—God, Nature, and Man; as there are likewise three kinds of rays—direct, refracted, and reflected. For nature strikes the understanding with a ray direct; God, by reason of the unequal medium (namely, his creatures), with a ray refracted; man, as shown and exhibited to himself, with a ray reflected.' These three branches of philosophy, however, all meet in one trunk, the Philosophia Prima, which is, as it were, the common parent of the particular sciences, embodying those axioms and discussing those problems which are not peculiar to any one science, but find their place in all knowledge alike.

On what, for want of a better name, may be called ontological or metaphysical questions, his ordinary attitude is that of a disinterested if not a contemptuous silence. Bacon lived too early or too late to take any serious part in these metaphysical discussions. In their scholastic form they had become discredited, and their new form, under which they were to exercise so much of the best thought of the two succeeding centuries, had not yet been impressed on them by the genius of Descartes. Bacon assumes the ordinary distinction of mind and matter, a universe of objects to be known and a thinking subject capable, with due care and discipline, of attaining to a knowledge of them, without apparently troubling himself as to the ulterior questions, what is knowledge, how can I become conscious of that which is not myself, and what are the ultimate meaning and relation of the two terms in this comparison.

On questions of psychology, as distinct from metaphysics, we find a fair number of passages in Bacon's writings. The most important perhaps are those in which, following Telesius, the celebrated philosopher of Cosenza (1509–1588), whose works seem greatly to have interested him, he asserts the duality of the human soul. Man, according to this doctrine (which is stated most fully in *De Augmentis*, iv. 3), has two souls, one peculiar to himself, the rational soul which he derives from the breath of God, the other, shared by him in common with the brutes, the irrational soul, which comes from 'the wombs of the elements.' It is, in this connection, worth noting that Bacon makes the profound remark that the origins of the mental faculties should be handled, and that psychologically or physiologically ('idque physice'), a work towards which, as he says, nothing of importance has yet been done.

Bacon's moral philosophy, which is mainly contained in the seventh book of the 'De Augmentis,' has, perhaps, hardly received the attention which it deserves. As logic treats of the intellect, ethics treat of the will. 'The will is governed by right reason, seduced by apparent good; having for its spurs the passions, for its ministers the organs and voluntary motions. Ethics may be divided into two principal doctrines, one theoretical, treating of the exemplar or image of good, the other (to which he gives the fanciful title of the Georgics of the mind) practical, laying down rules for the regulation and culture of the various parts of our nature, so as to bring them into conformity with the image of good, when found. Of this practical side of ethics he complains that, for the most part, it has been passed over, as not enabling men to display the point of their wit or the power of their eloquence. On the theoretical side, he finds fault with previous philosophers for not having carried their inquiries deeper, by searching for the roots of good and evil. He then endeavours to 'open and cleanse the fountains of morality' by examining its fundamental conception of good. Good, he finds, is either public or private, and the appetite to both these kinds of good is native to the human mind, and, indeed, to everything which exists. 'There is formed and imprinted in everything an appetite towards two natures of good: to one nature, inasmuch as everything is a whole in itself; to the other, inasmuch as it is a part of a greater whole. And this latter nature is more worthy and powerful than the former, as it tends to the con-

servation of a more general form. Let the former be named 'individual or self good,' the latter 'good of communion.' Those who are acquainted with the subsequent development of moral philosophy in England will not fail to find in this sentence the germ of one of the leading ideas in the systems of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and many other English moralists.

To the fundamental questions of morals, What makes an action right, How do I know that it is right, and Why should I do a right action rather than a wrong one, Bacon supplies no direct answers. Nor did he probably put these questions to himself in this direct manner. But if I may venture, from the fragments of a system which he has left us, to construct answers such as I think he would have given, had the questions been put to him, I would suggest that he might have expressed his views much as follows. An action is right which is good—good, that is to say, either for ourselves or for others, and, wherever the good of self or of a smaller aggregate conflicts with that of a larger one, that action will, generally speaking, be right which promotes the good of the community or of the larger community of the two. I know an action to be right, partly by my reason exercised on its effects and on the effects of actions similar to it, partly also by that 'inward instinct, according to the law of conscience, which is a relic of man's ancient purity,' and partly too by the words of God's Revelation. What impels me to do an action when I know it to be right, is partly obedience to the will of God, hope of His rewards, and fear of His punishments; partly a natural appetite, impressed on me as on all other objects, to seek good, and to seek the greater good rather than the lesser. That two or more inconsistent modes of thought are implied in these answers I am aware. But Bacon and his generation had not yet reached that stage in the history of ethical speculation when thought on these subjects was clear and consistent. Bacon still regarded ethics as the 'handmaid' of theology. Hobbes was the first English writer who treated ethics as an independent science. But he had been anticipated in this respect by Grotius, whose 'De Jure Belli et Pacis' was published as early as 1625.

The title of founder or father of experimental philosophy, so often ascribed to him by his admirers and so often criticised by his detractors, expresses the nature of Bacon's influence in a rough and perhaps a somewhat exaggerated as well as a somewhat inadequate form, but one which is in the main true.

Bacon called men as with the voice of a herald to lay themselves alongside of nature, to study her ways, and imitate her processes. To use his own homely simile, he rang the bell which called the other wits together He insisted, both by example and precept, on the importance of experiment as well as observation. Nature, like a witness, when put to the torture, would reveal her secrets. In both these ways Bacon recalled men to the study of facts, and though, in the first instance, he had mainly in view the facts of external nature, the influence of his teaching soon extended itself, as he undoubtedly purposed that it should do, to the facts of mind, conduct, and society.

In order to set men free to study facts, it was necessary to deliver them from the pernicious subjection to authority to which they had so long been enslaved. Here and there throughout the middle ages a solitary thinker like Roger Bacon may have asserted his independence, and, during the century preceding Bacon's time, the murmurs of discontent had been becoming loud and frequent, but it required a voice, like that of the author of the 'Great Instauration,' effectually to awaken men from their slumber. Hardly less important than deliverance from the bondage of authority was the emancipation of reason from the bewitching enchantments of imagination. 'Hypotheses non fingo' was a maxim which Newton inherited directly from the teaching of Bacon. And, though the reaction against hypothesis was carried much too far, the warning was one which, in his own time, was sorely needed.

Bacon insisted on the necessity of a logic of induction, effecting for the premisses what the old logic, the logic of deduction, effected for the conclusion. And to this logic of induction he himself made no contemptible contributions. That our instances require to be selected and not merely accumulated, was a very true and a very needful lesson which he was never weary of repeating. And, surely, in this maxim consists the whole gist of the inductive logic. On what principles we shall select our instances, and by what means we shall satisfy ourselves of their sufficiency, are other and further questions, confessedly most difficult to answer, on which we could hardly expect much detailed or permanently useful information from a pioneer in this method of inquiry. And yet Bacon is very full on at least the first of these questions, and much of what he says has even still a value for the student.

Nor must we forget the hopefulness of Bacon as an important element in his influence. He stood, like a prophet, on the

verge of the promised land, bidding men leave, without regret, the desert which lay behind them, and enter with joyfulness and hopefulness on the rich inheritance that was spread out before them. The sixth part of the 'Great Instauration,' to which all the rest was subservient, the philosophy itself which was to be the result of the right employment of the method, he hoped only to begin. 'The fortune of the human race,' he says, 'will give the issue; such an issue, it may be, as in the present condition of things and of the minds of men cannot easily be conceived or imagined. For the object in view is not only the contemplative happiness, but the whole fortunes, and affairs, and powers, and works of men.'

To all these sources of influence we must add the marvellous language in which Bacon often clothes his thoughts. His utterances are not infrequently marked with a grandeur and solemnity of tone, a majesty of diction, which renders it impossible to forget and difficult even to criticise them. He speaks as one having authority, and it is impossible to resist the magic of his voice. Whenever he wishes to be emphatic, there is the true ring of genius about all that he says. Hence, perhaps, it is that there is no author, unless it be Shakspeare, who is so easily remembered or so frequently quoted. Hence, too, perhaps, it is that there is no author so stimulating. Bacon might well be called the British Socrates. Even had his individual precepts been utterly worthless, many men must have owed their first impulse to the study of nature, or to independent investigation in general, to the terse and burning words, issuing, as it were, from the lips of an irresistible commander, with which he urges them to the work.

[In this article free use has been made of the author's 'Francis Bacon,' in the series of English Philosophers, published by Messrs. Sampson Low & Co., as well as of the introduction to his edition of the 'Novum Organum,' published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford. The article Bacon in the British Museum Catalogue is printed separately, and will be found useful for the bibliography.] T. F.

BACON, Sir FRANCIS (1587–1657), judge, was son of 'John Bacon, of King's Lynn, Norfolk, gentleman' (Francis, *Admission to Gray's Inn*), and grandson of Thomas Bacon, of Hesset, in Suffolk. As Hesset belonged to the immediate ancestors of the lord-keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, it seems probable that Francis was sprung from the same stock as his illustrious namesakes, being therefore the fifth of that family who attained judicial rank. Born about 1587, he commenced his legal studies at Barnard's Inn, and was admitted a member of Gray's Inn in Feb. 1607. He was not called to the bar until eight years later in 1615. His name as counsel not being found in any contemporary reports, it has been inferred that his practice must have been either in chancery or in the provinces. In 1624 and 1626 he is mentioned as having contributed considerable sums towards the repair of the font and east window of St. Gregory's Church, Norwich (Blomefield, *Norwich*, ii. 274). In 1634 he was autumn reader at Gray's Inn (*Gray's Inn Books*); two years later the king granted him the office of drawing licenses and pardons of alienations to the great seal during his life in reversion (Rymer, xx. 123); and in 1640 he was admitted to the degree of serjeant-at-law. In October 1642, the king, being then at Bridgnorth on his way to London, appointed Bacon to a seat in the King's Bench (Dugdale, *Chron. Ser.* 110), and at the same time knighted him. This appointment seems to have given satisfaction to the parliament, as we find among the propositions tendered by parliament to the king in Feb. 1643, demands for the dismissal of several of the judges, but 'that Mr. Justice Bacon may be continued' (Clarendon, vi. 231). While Charles was at Oxford, Bacon was one of 'the sworn judges still at Westminster, of which there were three in number,' and presided alone in the King's Bench, as his 'brothers' Reeve and Trevor did in the Common Pleas and Exchequer (*ibid.* vii. 317).

At the important trial of Lord Macguire, in Hilary term 1645, on the charge of high treason for his share in the Irish rebellion and massacre of 1641, Bacon was the only judge, and he appears to have conducted the trial with great patience and fairness. Lord Macguire had demanded to be tried by a jury of Irish peers. 'On this plea at the beginning of Hilary term Judge Bacon delivered his judgment that a baron of Ireland was triable by a jury in this kingdom' (*State Trials*, iv. 665); and this judgment was formally approved of by both houses. One of the counsel for the prosecution desiring 'speedy progress, this being a public case,' was reminded from the bench that 'a public case must have public justice on both sides. . . . We must do that which the law doth allow' (*ibid.* 668). Bacon's determination to discharge his duties impartially is further shown by his committing to prison James Symbal and others 'for speaking of words against the king in time of war' (Whitelocke, 269). He continued to sit on the bench until the execution of Charles, but after that event new commis-

sions were issued to the judges, and they were required to take the oath in the name of the people instead of in the king's name. Bacon and five of his brethren 'were not satisfied to hold' on these terms, and had the courage to resign their seats. The other six judges, after some hesitation, agreed to hold office, 'provided that by act of the commons the fundamental laws be not abolished' (*ibid.* 378). After his resignation Bacon lived in retirement until his death on 22 Aug. 1657. Over his grave in St. Gregory's Church, Norwich, a handsome monument was raised by his eldest son Francis, who became reader in Gray's Inn in 1662. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of William Robinson, he had several children, but the family has long been extinct (Wotton, *Baronetage*, i. 2).

[Foss's Judges of England, and works cited above.] G. V. B.

BACON, JOHN. [See Baconthorpe.]

BACON, JOHN (*d.* 1321), judge, is first mentioned as acting in the capacity of attorney to Queen Eleanor in 1278–9, and is described in certain indentures of the exchequer, dated 1288, as 'clericus Regis' and 'custos rotulorum et brevium de Banco' and 'Regis thesauriarius et camerarius,' his business being to keep a list of the cases argued in the common pleas, and to transmit records thereof, and also 'pedes chirographorum,' i.e. memoranda of fines levied throughout the country, to the treasurers and chamberlains of the exchequer, of the receipt of which the indentures already mentioned were acknowledgments. The 'chirographa,' or fines in question, were fictitious suits, by means of which it was the custom to bar entails and convey the landed property of married women. Bacon seems to have held this post as late as 1309. In 1291 he was entrusted with the charge of Ledes Castle in Kent (a royal residence). In 1313 he was appointed to a justiceship of the common pleas, and in the same year we read of his being retained in London to advise the king upon some important matters. In 1314 he was made one of the commissioners of oyer and terminer for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, to try certain assessors and collectors of the revenue charged with breach of trust. In 1315 William de Beresford, the chief justice of the common pleas, being suddenly summoned to the king, the business of the court devolved upon Thrikingham and Bacon exclusively. We may conjecture that it was not very promptly or efficiently despatched, for it was but a short time since he had been enjoined to pay a more diligent attention to duty. In 1317 he was summoned with the rest of the judges to parliament at Lincoln, but the invasion of the Scots in that year caused the postponement of the parliament *sine die*. In 1320 he was placed on a commission to try certain persons charged with debasing and counterfeiting the coinage in the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and in 1321 upon another directed to inquire into offences committed by sheriffs and other legal functionaries under colour of their official duties in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. He appears to have died in this year, Stonore being appointed justice of the common pleas in his place. He had landed property in Reston, Hemingston, Cleydon, and Akenham, places all of them in the county of Suffolk, and also in Essex, and at Shouldham in Norfolk.

[Devon's Issues of the Exchequer, i. 98; Kals. and Invs. of the Exch. iii. 97–112; Abbrev. Rot. Orig. i. 65; Parl. Writs, ii. div. ii. pt. i. 40, 100, 155, 174, 176, 179, 181, 220, pt. ii. 3, 60, 79, 98, 136, 137, 147, 152, 154, 302; Cal. Rot. Pat. 56, 69, 75, 88.] J. M. R.

BACON, JOHN, R.A. (1740–1799), sculptor, was born in Southwark, 24 Nov. 1740. He was the son of a clothworker of that place, and the descendant of an old Somersetshire family. At the age of fourteen Bacon was apprenticed to a Mr. Crispe, of whom there is but little known except the fact that the young artist modelled groups of figures for him, and was employed in painting upon his plates and dishes. After two years of this service Bacon was able to make all the models required for Crispe's factory. His term of apprenticeship expired in 1762. The accounts of his later connection with Coades's artificial stone works are vague. 'By his art,' says Redgrave, 'he was the means of restoring Coades's manufacture, then falling into disuse.' Anyhow, in 1762 and afterwards, we find him at work in this 'lithodipra' factory, and may believe the repeated assurances that he did much to improve the invention, and stood high in favour with his employers. 'Groups and statues as large as life, coats of arms, sculptured key-stones, wreaths of flowers, and all that species of work known by the general name of ornamental, were here modelled and burnt.' Whilst still an apprentice Bacon gained (1758) a premium from the Society of Arts for a small figure of Peace. Nine times altogether he secured the award of this society, obtaining on one occasion fifty guineas for an emblematic figure of 'Ocean.' On the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 Bacon entered

as a student, and removed at the same time from the city to a lodging in Wardour Street. A colossal head of Ossian was the first of his works to attract attention. In 1769 he received from the hand of Reynolds the first gold medal for sculpture awarded by the Royal Academy. His subject was a bas-relief representing 'Æneas escaping from Troy.' He further increased his reputation by a statue of Mars. This work obtained for its artist the gold medal of the Society of Arts, and his election (in 1770) as an associate of the Royal Academy. It attracted the attention also of the Archbishop of York, and so led to a commission for a bust of the king for the hall of Christ Church, Oxford. From that time Bacon's career was one of unbroken prosperity. He was successful in fifteen out of the sixteen public competitions in which he took a part. Amongst his works may be mentioned the monuments to Pitt in the Guildhall and in Westminster Abbey; to Dr. Johnson, and to Howard, the philanthropist, in St. Paul's; to Blackstone at All Souls College, Oxford; the bronze statue of George III, and the two groups and colossal figure of the 'Thames' in Somerset House; and the monument to Mrs. Draper (Sterne's Eliza) in Bristol Cathedral. Bacon wrote the article 'Sculpture' for Rees's 'Cyclopædia.'

Bacon was, to a great extent, a self-taught man. It was said that he had no knowledge of the antique, or power of producing work of a classic character. But this charge he was able to refute by a sculpture which his brother artists mistook for a genuine fragment of antique skill. It was true, however, that his natural bent was not towards classic art. He had no imagination, and little fire of genius; but he had good sense and a quickened commercial instinct, which led to a just apprehension of what was wanted to be done. These qualities, with a delicacy of handling which he owed perhaps to his early employment in the potteries, gave to his works, according to the ideas of his time, a certain quality of simplicity and good taste.

Bacon died in the prime of life from inflammation of the bowels, at his house in Newman Street, on 4 Aug. 1799. He was buried in Whitfield's Tabernacle. His grave bore the following epitaph, written by himself:—'What I was as an artist seemed of some importance while I lived; but what I really was as a believer in Jesus Christ is the only thing of importance to me now.' He was twice married: (1) to a Miss Wade in 1773, who died in 1776; and (2) with undue haste, as his enemies represented it, to Martha Holland, immediately on the death of his first wife. He left 60,000*l.* to be divided among his five children.

Bacon was agreeable in person, suave in manner, and a methodist of high doctrine and blameless life. His biographer, Cecil, a humble admirer, considers him to have exhibited in all essentials a pattern of excellence. Allan Cunningham's more disparaging view was considered by Bacon's relations to have been coloured by personal prejudice.

[Cunningham's Lives of the Painters; Memoir by Robert Cecil, M.A.; Jewitt's History of the Ceramic Art in Great Britain; Chaffers's Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain; Redgrave's Dictionary of English Artists; Nollekens's Life and Times.] E. R.

BACON, JOHN, F.S.A. (1738–1816), spent nearly the whole of his working life in the first-fruits department of the office of Queen Anne's Bounty, and is now remembered by church antiquaries for his improved edition of Ecton's 'Thesaurus,' a detailed account of the valuations of all ecclesiastical benefices which were charged with first fruits and tenths. His first appointment in that branch of the office was as junior clerk to the deputy remembrancer, and he rose to become the senior clerk in 1778 and the receiver in 1782. With these offices he combined the duties of treasurer to the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy. He obtained the leasehold interest, under the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, of the manor of Whetstone, or Friern Barnet, and when the Land Tax Redemption Act authorised them to effect a sale of their landed property, he purchased the reversion of the manor-house and the whole of their estate in the parish of Friern Barnet. A description of the house and the curiosities which it contained may be found in Lysons's 'Environs of London,' ii. 22. He died in the manor-house 26 Feb. 1816, and was buried in a small vault on the outside of the church. His tombstone in the churchyard records his second son and his son's wife; his only daughter, Maria, was married to Sir William Johnston, of that ilk, Aberdeenshire. His edition of the 'Liber regis, vel thesaurus rerum ecclesiasticarum' was published in 1786, and some severe, but not unjustifiable, comments were made at that time in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' on the omission of any mention in the title-page or the preface of the previous compilation of John Ecton.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxvi. pt. i. 276 (1816); Cansick's Epitaphs of Middlesex, iii. 123; Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes, ix. 5–7.] W. P. C.

BACON, JOHN (1777 1859), sculptor, was the second son of John Bacon, R.A.

At twelve years old he entered the Academy schools, at fifteen he exhibited his first work, at sixteen he gained a silver medal, and at seventeen the gold medal of the Royal Academy. His prize work was a statue of Cassandra. The elder Bacon died in 1799, and John Bacon, junior, succeeded to his business. He finished such works as he found in progress, including the well-known statue of Lord Cornwallis, and was able, besides, to secure ample patronage for himself. He ceased to exhibit at the Academy in 1824. There are six of his monuments in St. Paul's Cathedral, and some in Westminster Abbey. He died in 1859. A brother, Thomas Bacon, also obtained some reputation as a sculptor. He exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1793, 1794, and 1795. The statue of William III in St. James's Square, erected in 1808, was his work.

[Allan Cunningham's Lives of the Painters, ii.; Redgrave's Dict. of Painters of the English School.] E. R.

BACON, MONTAGU (1688–1749), scholar and critic, was the second of the three sons of Nicholas Bacon, Esq., son and heir of Sir Nicholas Bacon, of Shrubland Hall, Coddenham, Suffolk, who was one of the sixty-eight knights of the Bath created, 19 April 1661, by Charles II, 'to attend his majesty's coronation' four days later (Salmon, *Chronological Historian*, 1747). Paternally he was descended from the lord keeper Bacon; and maternally from 'the Earl of Sandwich, who, next to Monk, had, I believe, the chief hand in the Restoration; for King Charles, on his first landing, gave him an earldom, a garter, and 4,000*l.* a year in land, besides places to the value of 10,000*l.* a year more' (Bacon, *Letter to the Rev. Philip Williams*, 1734). Bacon's mother was the Lady Catherine Montagu, youngest daughter of Edward, first earl of Sandwich, who survived two husbands, and died 19 Jan. 1757 (*Gent. Mag.*), at the advanced age of 96, being at that time the widow of the Rev. Balthazar Gardeman, vicar of Coddenham. Her son Montagu was born in December 1688 at Coddenham, and baptised on the 13th of that month (Nichols, *Illustrations*, iv. 243). He was admitted a fellow-commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1704-5, but seems to have taken no degree until the year 1734, when he proceeded M.A. *per literas regias*, in which he is styled 'Edvardi primi comitis de Sandwich ex filiâ nepos.' It seems that, on the day before his admission to this degree, he wrote to Mr. Williams, as public orator of the university, the letter already cited, in which, on the ground that the restoration of the royal family was also the restoring of the church, he begs Mr. Williams officially to 'insist chiefly on the services of his family to the church as their greatest honour,' and, if one more word must be said of himself personally, entreats that it might be 'barely this—that he had always been a lover of learning and learned men.' Previous to his graduation, Bacon had resided in Leicestershire, where, as Mr. Nichols surmises, he may have been curate of Newbold Verdun (*Illustrations*, iv. 243), 'the ancient inheritance and seat of the Crewes and Montagues' (*Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, viii. 886); to his residence there Bacon refers in the first of three letters to George Jeffreys, Esq., dated from 'Cambridge, 6 Oct. 1732, at Quarles's coffee-house,' in which the writer complains of the university as 'a very dull place,' and professes himself 'mortally sick of all college news.' In the last of these letters, 10 Dec. 1732, Bacon vindicates the genius and character of Malebranche against his detractors, and chiefly those who would charge that philosopher with atheism (Duncombe, *Letters*, &c., ii. 17–33). In 1743 Bacon was presented by the university of Cambridge, in whose gift it then was, in consequence of the disability of the proper patron, the Duke of Norfolk, to the rectory of Newbold Verdun. 'But he did not long enjoy the rectory, being soon after afflicted with contemporary derangement of intellect, which occasioned his removal to lodgings in Chelsea for the convenience of proper medical assistance; and he relinquished his clerical garb, though he was permitted to retain the rectory till his death, which happened at Chelsea, 7 April 1749' (Nichols, *Illustrations*, iv. 243). He was buried at Coddenham on the 19th of the same month. A 'note' by the Rev. Thomas Martyn, botany professor at Cambridge, records the circumstance that Montagu Bacon's last lodgings were in Manor Street, Chelsea, 'before which he had been in Duffield's madhouse at Little Chelsea, where he was attended by his [Martyn's] father. . . . Mr. Bacon always appeared as a layman. . . . I never apprehended that he was in orders' (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 417). The wide range of Mr. Bacon's studies in poetical literature may be estimated from his statement to Dr. Zachary Grey, that 'not many English or foreign poets had escaped him' (Letter dated 3 April 1746, in Nichols's *Illustrations*, iv. 244). His literary work was small in quantity, and may be found in a volume published after his death, entitled 'Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Notes upon

Hudibras, by way of Supplement to the two Editions published in the years 1744 and 1745, by Zachary Grey, LL.D. To which is prefixed a Dissertation upon Burlesque Poetry by the late learned and ingenious Montagu Bacon, Esq. And an Appendix, in which is a Translation of Part of the first Canto into Latin Doggrel,' 8vo, London, 1752.

[Davy's MS. additions to Graduati Cantabrigienses; Bacon's Letter to the Public Orator, 1734, in Gent. Mag. Jan. 1781, and in Nichols's Illustrations, iv. 242; Duncombe's Letters of several Eminent Persons deceased, 1773; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, viii. 417; Collins's Peerage of England, 1812, iii. 467–8.]

A. H. G.

BACON, Sir NATHANIEL (*fl.* 1640), painter, was the seventh son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first baronet created by James I; who, again, was eldest son of Sir Nicholas, the lord keeper. Walpole confounds the painter with his uncle, Sir Nathaniel of Stiffkey [see Bacon, Sir Nicholas, *ad fin.*], half-brother of Sir Francis, afterwards lord chancellor, who was sheriff of Norfolk in 1599, and knighted in 1604. The nephew entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1621, and graduated M.A. in 1628. He lived at Culford, in Suffolk, on an estate given to him by his father. There is a monument to him in the church there, and one to his wife, Jane Meautys, the widow of Sir William Cornwallis. He is there described as 'well skilled in the history of plants, and in delineating them with his pencil.' Walpole speaks of him as having 'really attained the perfection of a master.' He studied painting in Italy, but his style was rather Flemish than Italian. In Walpole's time there were works of his to be seen at Culford, where he lived, and at Gorhambury. At the latter place is a 'Cookmaid with dead fowls,' painted 'with great nature,' and a much-admired portrait of himself. The latter is engraved in the 'Anecdotes' of Walpole. He painted a 'Ceres' and a 'Hercules,' and left some paintings at Redgrave Hall, Suffolk, his father's seat. In a note to Walpole is a recipe for the preparation of a particular 'browne-pinke' colour used by the said Nathaniel, which was 'so very good' that a certain painter, 'P. Oliver, did highly commend it, and used none other to his dyinge day, wherewith, and with Indian lake, he made sure expressions of those deep and glowing shadows in those histories he copied after Titian, that no painting should appear more warm and fleshy than those of his hand'! He was created a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I, and was living in 1648 (*Wills at Bury St. Edmunds*, ed. S. Tymms, Camden Soc. p. 216). He had three children, of whom Nicholas and Jane died unmarried, and Anne, his heiress, married, firstly, her cousin, Sir Thomas Meautys, and secondly, Sir Harbottle Grimston. From this second marriage are descended the earls of Verulam, the owners of the famous Gorhambury estate.

[Walpole's Anecdotes, i. 190; Peacham on Limning, p. 126; Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; Kippis's Biog. Brit.; Redgrave's Dict. of English Painters; Nagler's Künstler-Lexicon, ed. 1878; R. Masters's Corpus Christi Coll. ed. Lamb, p. 456; Norfolk Archæology, viii. 152; Camden's Britannia, ed. Gough, ii. 82; Notes and Queries, 5th ser. x. 232.]

E. R.

BACON, NATHANIEL (1593–1660), puritan, was the third son of Edward Bacon of Shrubland Hall, Suffolk, son of lord keeper Bacon by his first wife, and half-brother of the great Francis Bacon [see Bacon, Sir Nicholas, *ad fin.*]. Nathaniel Bacon was bred to the bar and admitted of Gray's Inn 16 Aug. 1611, of which he became ultimately a bencher. He was called to the bar 2 Aug. 1617, and for some time after resided in Essex, and was one of the commission of the peace for that county. Removing to Ipswich he was elected in 1643 recorder of that town, and is said to have been at one time recorder of Bury St. Edmunds also. From the commencement of the struggle between Charles I and the Long parliament he was a zealous adherent of the parliament. He is said to have acted as chairman of the central committee, sitting at Cambridge, of the seven associated counties known as the Eastern Association, formed for common defence against the royalist forces. Certainly he was one of the most active members of the committee for Suffolk. Cromwell began his military career by co-operating with this Eastern Association, and Bacon may have thus early attracted his notice and gained his regard. In November 1645 Bacon was sent to the Long parliament as one of the members for Cambridge University on the occurrence of a vacancy in its representation. In 1647 appeared the work to which he owes his reputation, 'An Historical Discovery of the Uniformity of the Government of England; the first part from the first times till the reign of Edward III.' A 'Continuation . . . until the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with a preface, being a vindication of the ancient way of parliaments in England,' was not published until 1651. With his brother Francis he represented Ipswich in the two protectorate parliaments of Oliver Cromwell, in Richard

Cromwell's solitary parliament, and he sat in the revived Long parliament of 1660. After the establishment of the commonwealth he had been appointed one of the admiralty judges, an office which he exchanged for that of master of requests to the Protector. One of his chief functions appears to have been to act as a medium of communication between Cromwell and his council of state; and this body often commissioned him to inquire into and report on claims, grievances, and other matters brought before them and requiring careful investigation. He remained master of requests during the brief protectorate of Richard Cromwell, and died in 1660. He was buried at Coddenham. It has been said that he received 3,000*l.* for his anti-royalist services, and a salary of 500*l.* a year as master of requests ('The Mystery of the Good Old Cause' in *Parliamentary History*, iii. 1591).

Bacon's 'Historical Discourse' is a sort of constitutional history of England, showing much knowledge of the development of its institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, and pervaded by a strong spirit of hostility to the claims of the royal prerogative and to hierarchical pretensions. For this reason the edition of it, published after the Restoration in 1665, was suppressed by the government, and for the publication of one in 1676 its printer was prosecuted, and had to take refuge abroad. After the revolution of 1688 the edition of 1665 was reissued (in 1689), with the addition of a new title-page, on which the work was represented as having been 'collected' by Bacon 'from some manuscript notes of John Selden, Esq.' The statement seems to have no better foundation than a vague assertion of Chief Justice Vaughan, one of Selden's executors, that the 'groundwork' of the book was Selden's. A fifth edition was issued so late as 1760. The spirit of liberty which it breathed commended it to Lord Chatham, who, in his letters to his nephew, speaks of it as 'the best and most instructive book we have on matters of the kind,' adding that though its 'style' be 'uncouth,' 'the expression is striking and forcible.' Carlyle has surmised (*Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, popular edition, iv. 240, note) that 'one of the two Suffolk Bacons, most probably Nathaniel Bacon,' was the writer of the 'Diary' published in 1828 as that of 'Thomas Burton, member in the parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell from 1656 to 1659.' But as the diarist speaks of himself in the first person and of the two Bacons in the third, besides making disparaging mention of at least one speech of Francis Bacon, Carlyle was in all likelihood mistaken in his surmise. Nathaniel Bacon has also been credited with the authorship of the curious piece (probably a translation), 'A Relation of the fearful Estate of Francis Spira in the year 1548,' an account of an Italian lawyer who, after quitting Romanism for protestantism, reverted to his first creed, suffering in consequence agonies of remorse and coming to an unhappy end. The first edition of it was published anonymously in 1638, and it was not, apparently, until the publication of that of 1665, some years after his death, that it was said on the title-page to have been 'compiled' by Nathaniel Bacon. Many editions of it have been issued, one in 1845 as 'An Everlasting Proof of the Falsehood of Popery.' A translation of it into Welsh appeared in 1820. In the catalogue of the library of the British Museum there are various entries under this Nathaniel Bacon, which properly belong to another Nathaniel Bacon, the Virginian rebel.

[Gent. Mag. lxxiv. pt. ii. p. 807, and xcv. 22; Parliaments of England, 1213–1700, printed as a return to the House of Commons in 1878; Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1655, &c., 1881–2; Foster's Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, p. 31; Carlyle's Cromwell; Catalogue of the Library of the British Museum.] F. E.

BACON, NATHANIEL (1642?–1676), Virginian patriot, is vaguely stated in American books to have been a native of London, and to have kept terms at one of the inns of court. From a contemporary pamphlet (*Strange News from Virginia, being a full and true Account of the Life and Death of Nathaniel Bacon, Esq.*, London, printed for Wm. Harris, 1677), we learn that he was the son of Thomas Bacon, of Friston Hall, Suffolk, and thus descended from a younger branch of the great house of Bacon. He entered Gray's Inn 22 Nov. 1664 (Foster, *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, 1882, p. 31). About 1673 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Duke, a Suffolk baronet. There appears to be no ground for a statement in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (lxxxvi. 297) that he did so against his father's wish, 'who violently marked his disapprobation.' On the contrary, the writer of the pamphlet above quoted mentions that he was allowed a 'gentle competency' from his father, which, however, his 'expensive habits' rendered insufficient. Possibly with a view of breaking these off, and also from a spirit of adventure, he emigrated to Virginia, his father supplying him with stock to the value of 1,800*l.* He settled on the plantation of Curles, in the upper part of the James river, on the Indian frontier. Both friends and foes are agreed as to his remarkable abilities, and the grace and charm of his manner. His acquirements as a lawyer

also rendered his advice of great value to the colonists in their disputes with the governor; and the prestige of his descent secured him a large amount of deference. Shortly after his arrival he became a member of the governor's council. His estates being specially exposed to Indian raids, he was one of the foremost in concerting measures of resistance; and he was chosen general by the volunteer colonists. An application was made to the governor for a commission, but as he deferred granting the request, Bacon set out against the Indians without obtaining his sanction. Thereupon he was declared a rebel, but an insurrection in the middle counties compelled the governor to yield to the popular demands. Writs were issued for the election of a new council on a system of wider suffrage. Bacon was elected for his county, and though arrested on his return, he was soon set at liberty, and sat in the assembly which passed the code known as 'Bacon's Laws.' In another expedition against the Indians, he defeated them with great slaughter. The governor, having meanwhile received reinforcements, again declared him a rebel, but, after a stubborn contest, was compelled to take refuge in the English vessels. Jamestown thereupon fell into the hands of Bacon, who, being unable to garrison it, burned it to the ground. While organising further and more comprehensive measures on behalf of the colonists, he died somewhat suddenly in October 1676. He left an only daughter, Mary, who was married to Hugh Chamberlain, M.D., of Alderton Hall, Suffolk, physician to Queen Anne. Oldys in a manuscript note to the article on Mrs. Behn, authoress of 'Widow Ranter, or the History of Bacon in Virginia,' 1690, in Langbaine's 'Dramatic Authors' (letter of Samuel Egerton Brydges, in *Gent. Mag.* lxxiv. 808), attributes to the Virginian the 'Historical Discourse of the Government of England,' 1647, but the date of the publication of the work is sufficient to disprove that he was the author of it.

[Sparkes's American Biography (1848), iii. 243–306; Strange News from Virginia, London, 1677; History of Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion in Virginia in 1675 and 1676, a contemporary account first published in 1867; Gent. Mag. lxxiv. 807–8, lxxxvi. part ii. 297–8, xcv. part i. 20–24; Notes and Queries, 2nd series, xi. 202, 3rd series, xii. 480–81; MS. Eger. 2395, pp. 156–198, where, besides other documents, will be found a copy of Nathaniel Bacon's description of the fight with the Indians in May 1676, of his letter to the governor, 26 May 1676, and of a letter of his wife to her sister, describing their mode of life and the raids of the Indians.]

T. F. H.

BACON, *alias* SOUTHWELL, NATHANIEL (1598–1676), Jesuit. [See SOUTHWELL.]

BACON, SIR NICHOLAS (1509–1579), lord keeper, born in 1509, probably in a house belonging to the parents of Sir Francis Walsingham at Chislehurst, Kent, was the second son of Robert Bacon, of Drinkstone, Suffolk, sheepreeve to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. His mother was Isabella, daughter of John Cage, of Pakenham. A younger brother, James, engaged in trade in London; was elected an alderman 24 April 1567; was sheriff in 1568; died 5 June 1573; and was buried in the church of St. Dunstan's in the East (STOW's *London*, 1633, p. 139; OVERALL's *Remembrancia*, p. 21 *n.*). There is reason to believe that Nicholas was at first educated at the abbey school of Bury. In 1523 he proceeded to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he obtained a bible-clerkship, and graduated B.A. in 1527. At the university he made friends with two fellow-students, William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, and Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, with both of whom he remained on intimate terms in after life (STRYPE, *Life of Parker*, 8vo, i. 9). Shortly after taking his degree he made a journey to France, and stayed at Paris. On his return he studied common law at Gray's Inn, being called to the bar in 1533, and becoming an 'ancient' of the society in 1536. A little later Archbishop Cranmer recommended Bacon to the minister Cromwell for the appointment of town-clerk of Calais. Cranmer describes the young man as being of such towardness in the law, and of so good judgment touching Christ's religion, that in that stead he should be able to do God and the king right acceptable service (CRANMER, *Works*, Parker Soc., ii. 384). But the recommendation does not seem to have had any effect. In 1537 he was nominated solicitor of the Court of Augmentations, at an annual salary of about 70*l.* In 1540 he was one of the commissioners appointed to arrange for the dissolution of the chapter of the collegiate church of Southwell. At the time he was described as the solicitor of Cambridge university.

Bacon was desirous that the confiscated revenues of the dissolved monasteries should be applied to useful purposes, and with two friends, Thomas Denton and Robert Cary, drafted a scheme for their employment in the establishment of a college for the education of statesmen. It was proposed to erect a house in London where young men of good family and attainments should be

taught civil law, Latin, and French. Some of the students were to be attached to foreign embassies, and others were to compile histories of official transactions. But the proposal met with little favour, and the monastic estates were distributed among the king's friends. Bacon himself secured a share of the spoils. Lands in Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Wilts, and Hampshire, belonging to the monasteries of St. Albans, Walsingham, and Thetford, and to the unfortunate Countess of Salisbury, who had been executed in 1541, were bestowed upon him in 1543 and 1544. Redgrave Park, Suffolk, one of these estates, he exchanged in the latter year with the king for the manors and woods of Great Holland, Essex, and of Redgrave, Botesdale, and Gillingham, Suffolk, all of which had been the property of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Other lands in Suffolk, Bedfordshire, and London and Westminster fell to him towards the end of the same year (1544) and in May 1545. In December 1544 he obtained a thirty years' lease of the rectory of Burwell St. Mary, Cambridgeshire. In 1546 he was made attorney of the court of wards and liveries, an office in which he was continued by Edward VI in the following year. In February 1547–8 he was one of the commissioners to survey the suppressed colleges in Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1550 he became a bencher of Gray's Inn; and in the same year he was granted by the king a pension of 5*l.* as a 'studeant at the lawe' (*Trevelyan Papers*, Camden Soc., *passim*). He purchased the famous estate of Gorhambury, near St. Albans, in 1550. On 24 Oct. 1552 he was chosen treasurer of his inn, and a few months later he obtained from Edward VI a charter of incorporation for the town of St. Albans, of which he was afterwards nominated high steward (Newcome's *St. Albans*, p. 481).

Under Mary, Bacon retained his office in the court of wards, and, in spite of his protestantism, escaped persecution. The only restriction placed upon Bacon by the queen's advisers was a prohibition against his leaving England; it was feared that he might enter into dangerous relations with protestant exiles. He was at the time in continual intercourse with his old friend Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, who had married a sister of Bacon's second wife, and in 1557 the friends interchanged visits at their country houses at Redgrave and Burghley respectively.

The accession of Elizabeth brought Bacon into active political life. Cecil was at once created secretary of state, and Bacon, possibly through Cecil's influence, received at Somerset House on 22 Dec. 1558 the post of lord keeper of the great seal (in the place of lord chancellor Heath). He was afterwards admitted to the privy council and knighted. One of the first duties of his new office was to communicate to his friend Parker the news of his appointment—chiefly at his own recommendation—to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the queen was content for many years following to leave 'the ordering of church matters for the most part' in the hands of Bacon and Cecil. The reformed religion largely benefited by this arrangement. On 25 Jan. 1558–9, Elizabeth opened her first parliament. Bacon, who by virtue of his office presided in the House of Lords, explained in her presence to the two houses the causes of their assembling, and procured an act for the recognition of the queen's title (D'Ewes's *Journals*, ii.). On 31 March, Bacon, with Heath, archbishop of York, presided over a public disputation at Westminster between champions of protestantism and catholicism. The meeting continued till 3 April, when Sir Nicholas was compelled to dissolve the assembly by the refusal of the catholics to begin the discussion. At first the lord keeper sought to conciliate the disputants by 'words of amity and office,' but he was ultimately roused to anger by the obstinacy of the catholics, and 'at his departure said, "Seeing you are not willing that we should heare you, it is likely that shortly you shall heare of us"' (Hayward's *Annals* (Camden Soc.), pp. 22–3). Two of the disputants, White, bishop of Winchester, and Watson, bishop of Lincoln, were sent to prison, and the rest had to enter into their recognisances to remain in London, and to appear again when summoned. On 14 April 1559 letters patent were issued authorising Bacon, as keeper of the great seal, to hear causes in chancery, and to exercise the full jurisdiction of lord chancellor (*Egerton Papers* (Camd. Soc.), p. 29).

Before 1559 closed, Bacon had shown himself a statesman of no ordinary ability. Cecil was anxious that the queen should aid the Scotch protestants, who were in rebellion against their catholic sovereign, Mary Stuart, and her French friends. The failure of this warlike proposal was mainly due to Bacon's opposition. On 15 Dec. 1559, while addressing the House of Lords on the subject, he forcibly described the impoverished condition of the country, the doubtful wisdom of a policy which should aid subjects to oppose their sovereign, and the criminality of breaking the public peace, especially with so powerful an enemy as France, without adequate provoca-

tion. He acknowledged the danger to England of the establishment of a strong French catholic power in Scotland, but urged delay, at any rate until it was clearly seen how likely it was that this danger would be realised (*Harl. MS.* 398, p. 8). But Bacon was not desirous that England should appear to temporise with catholicism, or should remain a passive spectator of catholic hostilities in Europe whenever action had good chances of success. In 1561 he strongly urged an English alliance with the King of Navarre and the French Calvinists, and in 1562 he opposed in a forcible speech delivered before the privy council in the queen's presence the suggestion that she and Mary Stuart should meet in England to discuss the questions at issue in Scotland, although he was well aware of Elizabeth's desire for the interview (*Harl. MS.* 398, p. 17). At the opening of the parliament of 1563, the lord keeper made another lucid speech describing the internal disorders of the country, the laxity of religious observances, and the dangers to be apprehended from the fanatical Guises in Scotland and France. In 1566 Bacon had to read to the queen at Westminster an address framed by a joint committee of the two houses of parliament entreating her to marry, or, in case of her refusal to accede to that request, to make arrangements for the succession. When the parliament of 1567 sent a deputation to address her again on the subject, and the speakers added menacing words as to the queen's practice of taking 'money or other things . . . at her own pleasure,' Bacon was ordered by the queen to express her displeasure, and to summarily declare parliament dissolved. He obeyed the command, but Elizabeth supplemented his speech with one of her own.

Bacon was never anxious to pose as the mere spokesman of Elizabeth. In 1564 he fell under her displeasure on suspicion of having prompted the publication of a work entitled 'A Declaration of the Succession of the Crowne Imperiall of Ingland.' The pamphlet was attributed to John Hales, clerk of the hanaper, and in it the claims of the Stuart line were passed over in favour of those of Lady Catherine Grey, granddaughter of Mary, Henry VIII's younger sister, and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Lady Catherine was out of favour with Elizabeth, and the queen, listening to the suggestions of Dudley, who had no liking for the lord keeper, hurriedly assumed that Bacon was compromised in the matter. She therefore ordered him 'from the court, and from intermeddling with any other thing but Chancery,' and threatened to dismiss him from her service (Strype, *Annals*, 8vo, i. ii. 121; cf. Wood's *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, i. 405). Elizabeth was right in ascribing to Bacon an increasing distrust of Mary Stuart, but she was wrong in identifying his views on the succession with those of the author of the 'Declaration,' and he was ultimately restored to favour. Bacon afterwards drew up an answer to another vindication of the rights of the house of Suffolk from the pen of Sir Anthony Browne [q.v.], and there he distinctly seconded the claims of the house of Stuart, 'exclusive of Mary Queen of Scots, who had forfeited her rights.' Browne's argument and Bacon's refutation were published together in 1723 under the title of 'The Right of Succession to the Crown of England in the Family of the Stuarts exclusive of Mary Queen of Scots, learnedly asserted by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, against Sir Anthony Brown, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Faithfully published from the original MS. by Nathaniel Booth, Esq., of Gray's Inn.'

In all the discussions in the English council and parliament as to Mary Stuart, both before and after her imprisonment in England in 1568, he took up a very independent attitude. He became honestly convinced that whatever influence she could command would be used to the injury of protestantism in England, and advocated stringent measures against her. But he was credited with sufficient impartiality as a judge to admit of his appointment to the presidency of two conferences held in London in 1568 and 1570 respectively to consider the fortunes of Mary Stuart and the English relations with Scotland, and in that capacity he is reported to have acted with dignity and propriety. In 1569 he showed himself averse to the proposal to marry her to the Duke of Norfolk, and when in 1570 Elizabeth seemed to incline to her restoration, he spoke so directly against the plan—implying in the course of his speech that her execution might possibly be necessary in the interests of protestantism—as to call forth the rebuke from the queen's lips that 'his counsels were like himself, rash and dangerous.' On 13 Aug. 1570, Bacon in a letter to Cecil pointed out the risks to which Elizabeth exposed herself by allowing a momentary cessation of hostilities between foreign protestants and catholics to lead her to adopt a conciliatory policy towards Mary Stuart and her friends. Early in the next year he declared that, 'if,' as was still contemplated, 'the Queen of Scots was restored, in three months she would kindle a fire which would wrap the island in flames, and which the power of man would fail to

extinguish.' In Bacon's speech at the opening of the parliament of 1571, he confined himself to a vigorously worded appeal for liberal grants of money to put the country in an efficient state of defence against its numerous enemies.

A difficulty has been raised as to Bacon's views on the queen's marriage during the last years of his life. An elaborately argumentative paper printed among the 'Egerton Papers' (pp. 50–7), under date 1570, and doubtfully attributed to the lord keeper, discusses fully 'the discommodities' and 'the commodities that might ensue from' Elizabeth's proposed marriage with the Duke of Anjou; and although the religious consequences of the match are not dwelt on, as Sir Walter Mildmay, to whom it was addressed, rightly remarked, its general conclusion is in favour of the French alliance. Mr. Froude (x. 488–9), quoting a Spanish despatch, asserts that after Bacon's death a letter was found in his desk written in 1577, in which a French marriage was denounced as having for its object the death of the queen and the liberation of Mary Stuart. This opinion is certainly more in accordance with the tenor of Bacon's general policy than the former. But Sir Nicholas was well able to look at a question judicially; and the first paper, if we admit him to have been the author of it, may be regarded as a tentative examination of the subject in all its bearings, and no final expression of opinion. It was clearly not intended for publication. In 1572 Bacon, confirmed in his habitual distrust of the French catholics by the St. Bartholomew massacre, supported a bill for the expulsion of all French denizens from this country. Such conduct as this made Bacon the butt of all catholic libellers concealed in England or living openly abroad. In 1573 a royal proclamation against the publication of catholic libels was issued, in which the services of Bacon to the state and to religion were highly commended.

Meanwhile Bacon was endeavouring to strengthen the position of the church in England. In the parliament of 1570 he had suggested sensible means for the better observance of doctrine and discipline in the church. On the latter question he always offered judicious counsel, and the only recorded quarrel which he had with his friend Parker concerned the archbishop's occasional laxity in this matter. Parker at the time charged Bacon with being 'a passionate man,' but the friends were reconciled before Parker's death in 1575, when he affectionately remembered Bacon in his will.

Sir Nicholas died in London at his residence, York House by Charing Cross, on 20 Feb. 1578-9, 'about eight in the morning' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv. 336). According to an old story, reported by Dr. Rawley, Francis Bacon's biographer, he owed his fatal illness to the carelessness of his barber, who allowed him to fall asleep with a draught blowing full upon him (F. Bacon's *Works*, ed. Spedding, vii. 183). Bacon had arranged in 1574 for his burial in St. Paul's Cathedral, and there is a letter, dated 4 Aug. 1574, among the manuscripts belonging to the chapter (from Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's) directing that the lord keeper's workmen should have access 'at all tymes convenient into the south syde of the queare at Powles . . . to make roome for his lordships toombe there to be sett upp' (*ib.* ix. 71). In this tomb Sir Nicholas was buried on 9 March, and upon it was engraved a very laudatory epitaph (see Weever's *Funerall Monuments*, 812). 'The whole charges of the funeralles' reached the large sum of 919*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* (Black's *Ashmol. MSS. Cat.* No. 836, ff. 21, 23–36, 73–4).

Sir Nicholas began his famous house at Gorhambury in 1563. It was completed in 1568, and in these five years he spent upon it, exclusive of the timber and stone which came from his estates, 1,894*l.* 11*s.* 9½*d.* (*Bacon MSS.* in Lambeth Library, 647, ff. 5 and 9). Over the entrance were inscribed the verses:

Hæc cum perfecit Nicholaus tecta Baconus,
Elizabeth regni lustra fuere duo;
Factus eques, magni custos fuit ipse sigilli.
Gloria sit soli tota tributa Deo.

Beneath the lines was Bacon's motto, 'Mediocria firma.' On the walls of the chief banqueting room were Latin verses by Bacon on grammar, arithmetic, logic, music, rhetoric, geometry, and astrology (Weever's *Fun. Mon.* 584). He added a gallery to the house before 1576 in honour of an approaching visit of the queen. Elizabeth frequently stayed at Gorhambury, and before its erection she had visited Bacon at Redgrave. She was at Gorhambury in 1572 and in 1573, and presented to the lord keeper a portrait of herself, painted by Hilliard, on her first visit. In May 1577 she stayed there for six days and received a very sumptuous entertainment, on which Bacon spent 600*l.* On that occasion Sir Nicholas caused the door by which the queen had entered to be nailed up, so that no one might ever pass over the same threshold. In London Bacon lived before he held office in Noble Street, Foster Lane, in a house built by himself. After 1558, York House, near Charing Cross, became his official residence.

Sir Nicholas enjoyed a wide popularity in his lifetime, and his death was celebrated in

many poetical effusions. George Whetstone was the author of a long poem entitled 'A Remembrance of the woorthie and well imployed life of the Right Honourable Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight . . . who deceased the 20th daye of Februarie 1578 [-9].' This interesting encomium was reprinted in 1816 in the 'Frondes Caducæ.' Another panegyric in verse, by L. Ramsey, was called 'A short discourse of Man's fatall end, with an unfaigned commendation of the worthiness of Sir Nicholas Bacon.' It was printed as a broadside in 1578, and was republished in Farr's 'Select Poetry' (Parker Society) in 1845.

Bacon's political opinions bore the stamp of honest conviction, and he could express them with a fluency and directness which nearly made him a great orator. Puttenham in his 'Arte of Poesie,' 1589 (ed. Arber, p. 152), praises 'his grave and naturall eloquence,' and asserts that 'in deede he was a most eloquent man' (*ibid.*). Nash in 'Pierce Pennilesse,' 1592 (ed. J. P. Collier, p. 46), writes: 'What age will not prayse immortal Sir Philip Sidney . . . together with Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, and merry Sir Thomas More, for the chiefe pillers of our English speech?' His 'rare learning and wisedome' were also generally commended. 'I have come to the lord keeper, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*,' says Puttenham, 'and found him sitting in his gallery alone with the works of *Quintillian* before him.' Naunton calls him 'an archpiece of wit and wisdom' (*Fragmenta Regalia*, ed. Arber, p. 38), and Parker attests his readiness to aid him in his antiquarian pursuits (Strype's *Parker*, i. 522–3). His interest in education was far in advance of his age. We have seen that the subject interested him at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. Later in life—in 1561—he sent to Sir William Cecil an admirable memorandum on the desirability of reforming the court of wards, and of reorganising the education of the minors under its control. There he sketched out a very wise system for the training of young men and women, not only in literature and the arts, but in morals and athletic exercises (J. P. Collier in *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 339). In the same year he founded a free grammar school at Redgrave. Just before his death he gave 200*l.* towards the erection of a chapel for his old college of Corpus Christi, and by his will created six scholarships to enable poor scholars from his school at Redgrave to study at Cambridge. He made frequent contributions of books to the university library.

His knowledge of law was remarkably full and sound. The rights of the court of Chancery he justly upheld in his little pamphlet called 'Arguments exhibited in Parliament whereby it is proved that the Persons of Noblemen were attachable by Law for Contempts in the High Court of Chancery,' which was printed from his manuscript in 1641. He was anxious to simplify the arrangement of the statutes, and to print them so as to make them generally accessible (*Harl. MS.* 249, p. 117 *b*). The cursitor's office in Chancery Lane was erected by him. The advantage he derived from his legal training in his general administrative work is well indicated in an extant paper on the royal revenue addressed to Sir Walter Mildmay, the chancellor of the exchequer, about 1564. His patience, courtesy, and straightforwardness on the bench made him popular with suitors (cf. Campbell, *Chancellors*, ii. 213). As to his general character, Hayward, a contemporary, describes him as 'a man of greate diligence and ability in his place, whose goodnesse preserved his greatnesse from suspicion, envye, and hate' (*Annals* (Camden Soc.), p. 13; cf. Camden's *Annales*, sub 1579). Lloyd in his 'State Worthies' (p. 471), attributes to him the maxim, 'Let us stay a little that we may have done the sooner,' and thus sums up his administrative capacity: 'His account of England and all affaires was punctual; his use of learned artists continual; his correspondence with his fellow-statesmen exact; his apprehension of our laws and government clear; his model of both methodical; his faithfulness to the church eminent; his industrious invention for the state indefatigable.' But his cheery humour was doubtless his most attractive characteristic. His good-natured repartees were far famed, although most of their wit has now evaporated. Many of them are preserved in Francis Bacon's collections of 'Apophthegms.' On one occasion when the queen visited him at Gorhambury, she remarked, 'My lord, what a little house you have gotten!' and Bacon replied, 'Madam, my house is well, but it is you who have made me too great for my house' (Bacon's *Apophthegms*, in Spedding's edition of the *Works*, vii. 144). He conscientiously avoided the danger of jesting at his friends' expense. 'He had a very quaint saying, and he used it often to good purpose—that he loved the jest well, but not the losse of his friend' (Naunton, p. 38).

In person Bacon was (in Camden's phrase) 'exceeding gross-bodied.' As Elizabeth said of him, 'his soul lodged well' (Naunton, p. 38). The unwieldiness of his body is frequently the subject of amusing comment in his own letters. A portrait of Sir Nicholas by Zucchero has been often engraved, and a

coloured terra cotta bust besides two portraits are at the modern Gorhambury house.

Bacon was twice married, first to Jane, daughter of William Fernley of West Creting, Suffolk, by whom he had three sons, Nicholas, Nathaniel, and Edward, and three daughters, Anne, Jane, and Elizabeth. His second wife was Ann [q.v.], daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, by whom he had two sons, Anthony [q.v.] and the illustrious Francis [q.v.].

Of the lord keeper's first family, Nicholas, usually described as of Redgrave, Suffolk, became an 'ancient' of Gray's Inn on 21 Nov. 1576, having been admitted a student on 15 Dec. 1562; was knighted by Elizabeth at Norwich on 22 Aug. 1578; was high sheriff of Suffolk in 1581; was M.P. for the same county from 1572 to 1583; was created the premier baronet of England by James I on 22 May 1611, died 22 Nov. 1624, and was buried at Redgrave. Seven sons survived him, and he was succeeded in the baronetcy by Edmund, the eldest of them, a friend and correspondent of Sir Henry Wotton, whose niece, Philippa, he married. His will is printed in 'Bury Wills' (*Camden Soc.* p. 211). On Sir Edmund's death without issue, in 1649, his brother Robert became third baronet. A third brother, Butts, of Mildenhall, Suffolk, was himself created a baronet in 1627. Nicholas of Gillingham, son of the lord keeper's fourth son Nicholas, was also created a baronet in 1616, but this baronetcy became extinct in 1685. In 1755 Richard, eighth baronet of Mildenhall, became seventh baronet of Redgrave, and thus united the honours of both branches of the family (*Bury Wills*, p. 266). The title is still held by lineal descendants of the lord keeper.

Nathaniel, the lord keeper's second son, usually described as of Stiffkey, Norfolk, was admitted to Gray's Inn on 15 Dec. 1562; became an 'ancient' of the society on 21 Nov. 1576; was M.P. for Tavistock in 1571 and 1572, for Norfolk in 1584 and 1593, and for Lynn in 1597; was sheriff of Norfolk in 1599; was knighted at Whitehall on 21 July 1604; and died 7 Nov. 1622, at the age of seventy-five. There is a monument to the memory of his two wives, erected by himself in 1615, in Stiffkey Church, where he is also buried. A will drawn up by him in 1614, when he believed himself to be dying, is printed in the 'State Papers Calendars.' He left no male issue, and his eldest daughter, Anne, married Sir John Townshend, the ancestor of the marquises of Townshend. A number of manuscripts in his handwriting, chiefly dealing with his estates, are among the Townshend papers.

Edward, the lord keeper's third son, usually described as of Shrubland Hall, Suffolk, became 'ancient' of Gray's Inn on 21 Nov. 1576; was M.P. for Yarmouth (1576–83), for Tavistock (1584), for Weymouth (1586), for Suffolk (1592–3); was sheriff of Suffolk in 1601; was knighted on 11 May 1603; died 8 Sept. 1618, and was buried at Banham.

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 389–96; Biog. Brit.; Cal. State Papers, 1547–80; Froude's History; Cantiana Archæologia, xiii. 391; Masters's Hist. Corpus Christi Coll. ed. Lamb; Strype's Annals and Life of Parker; Foss's Judges of England, v. 447; Foster's Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage. Mr. J. P. Collier, in Archæologia, xxxvi. 339 et seq., described a number of manuscript speeches and memoranda by Sir Nicholas in his possession. Other manuscripts of speeches and letters are to be found among the Harleian, Lansdowne, and Cottonian MSS. at the British Museum, in the Cambridge University Library, and among the papers at Hatfield. Sir Nicholas's name appears frequently in the archives of Ipswich, where the burgesses often entertained him (cf. Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. ix. 250-1). A ludicrous attempt to identify Bacon with the original of two of Shakespeare's characters—Hamlet's uncle Claudius and Sir John Falstaff—was made in Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. iii. 83, 105. Other references are given in the text.] S. L. L.

BACON, PHANUEL (1700–1783), divine and dramatist, the son of Phanuel Bacon, fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, vicar of St. Lawrence's, Reading, and author of 'A Pastor's Admonition to his Parishioners' (Reading, 1727–8), was born on 13 Oct. 1700, at Reading, was a demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, and proceeded B.A. 12 June 1719, M.A. 17 April 1722, B.D. 29 April 1731, and D.D. 9 Dec. 1735. He became vicar of Bramber, in Sussex, and rector of Balden, in Oxfordshire, at which place he died 10 Jan. 1783. His literary efforts won for him a reputation which, small as it is, is now difficult to understand. The 'Kite,' a poem, first published in 1719, appears in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1756, not in 1758, as Watt, in the 'Bibliotheca Britannica,' states, and all subsequent writers repeat. It is an ingenious mock-heroical poem, in the style of the 'Rape of the Lock.' A humorous ballad, called the 'Snipe,' is printed in the 'Oxford Sausage.' In this, which is said to be founded on fact, the author depicts himself in the character of the friar, and his fellow-collegian, Peter Zinzan, M.D., in that of Peter. A 'Song of Similes,' also by him, is found in the same compilation. His most considerable effort consists of five plays: 1. 'The Taxes,' a dramatic entertainment; 2. 'The Insignificants,' a comedy; 3. 'The Tryal of the Time-Killers,' a comedy; 4. 'The Moral Quack,' a dramatic

satire; 5. 'The Oculist, a dramatic entertainment. These all bear the date of 1757. They were collected in a volume, entitled 'Humourous Ethics.' Some praise has been accorded these works. They are, however, sufficiently feeble productions, without a pretence to dramatic value or significance. In the 'Insignificants' characters named Sir Tunbelly Epicure, Hazard, Butterfly, Rattle, Lady Racket, &c., bearing names indicative of worldly pursuits, are convicted, on account of the triviality of their occupations, of being dead, and are buried in the Repository of Insignificants. In the 'Tryal of the Time-Killers,' Methusalem Rust, Esq., Sir Barnaby Bumper, Seignior Violoncello, &c., are tried for injuring Timothy Time, watch and clock maker. The other plays are similar in character.

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Baker's Biographia Dramatica; Gent. Mag.; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Rawlinson MSS. (Bodleian Libr.)] J. K.

BACON, PHILEMON (*d.* 1666), captain in the royal navy, was made a lieutenant in 1661, and in 1664 was advanced to be captain of the Nonsuch. In 1665 he commanded the Oxford, a ship of the fifth rate, in the action of 3 June with the Dutch off Lowestoft; the following year he was in the Bristol, and led the van when the English and Dutch fleets engaged off the North Foreland on 1 June. Of the many brave men who were slain in that bloody and protracted battle, Captain Bacon was one of the first.

[Charnock's Biog. Nav. i. 93.] J. K. L.

BACON, RICHARD MACKENZIE (1775–1844), journalist, musician, and miscellaneous writer, was born at Norwich in or about 1775, and laid the foundation of a classical education at the free school of his native city. Turning his attention to literature, he became connected with the 'Norwich Mercury,' one of the leading provincial organs of liberal opinion, in his eighteenth year, and from 1816 until his death was unremittingly engaged in editing that journal, of which he was principal proprietor. In 1813 he and Bryan Donkin obtained a patent for certain improvements in the implements or apparatus employed in printing, whether from types, from blocks, or from plates. In the 'Norwich Mercury' of 30 Nov. 1814 is a prospectus of Bacon's printing machine, with an account of the progress it had then made. The invention is highly praised by the author of the article 'Printing' in Rees's 'Cyclopædia' (1819), who says: 'A patent has recently been obtained by Messrs. Bacon and Donkin for a machine which they publicly exhibited before the university of Cambridge, and they are now making one for printing bibles and prayer-books at the university. We have examined their machine at work, and found it to display so much mechanical ingenuity, and to produce such beautiful specimens of printing, with a rapidity unequalled by any other means, that we have made a drawing of it.'

He was also the proprietor and projector of the 'Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review,' which he began to publish in London in 1818, and continued to edit for ten years. It was principally owing to his exertions that the Norwich Musical Festival was established. Mr. Chappell remarks (*Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 142 *n.*) that Bacon's 'memory was so stored with traditional songs, learnt in boyhood, that, having accepted a challenge at the tea-table to sing a song upon any subject a lady would mention, I have heard him sing verse after verse upon teaspoons and other such themes, proposed as the most unlikely for songs to have been written upon. He had learnt a number of sea songs, principally from one old sailor, and some were so descriptive that it was almost thrilling to hear them sung by him. Seventeen years ago these appeared to me too irregular and declamatory to be reduced to rhythm; but I have since greatly regretted the loss of an opportunity that can never recur.'

Bacon died at Cossey, near Norwich, 27 Nov. 1844.

His principal works are: 1. 'Life of Pitt,' Norwich, 1806. 2. 'Pamphlet relative to the Regular, the Militia, and the Volunteer Forces, in reply to the Right Hon. William Windham,' Ipswich, 1806. 3. 'Independent Remarks on the Queen's Case,' Norwich, 1820. 4. 'Reply to Mr. Cobbett,' Norwich, 1822. 5. 'Address to the People on Stackburning,' 1822. 6. 'Elements of Vocal Science, being a philosophical inquiry into some of the principles of singing,' London, 1824, 8vo. 7. 'Letter to Edward, Lord Suffield, upon the Distress of the Labourers and its Remedy,' London and Norwich, 1831. 8. 'Letters to the Viscount Stormont and Sir James Scarlett, Knt.,' on the bribery and corruption practised at the Norwich election, London and Norwich, 1831. 9. 'A Memoir of the Life of Edward, third Baron Suffield,' Norwich, 1838, 4to (privately printed). 10. 'A Musical Dictionary,' completed but never published.

[Norwich Mercury, 7 Dec. 1844; Norfolk Chronicle, 30 Nov. 1844; Timperley's Dict. of Printers, 852, 857; Chappell's Popular Music of the Olden Time, 141; Rees's Cyclopædia, art.

'Printing;' Martin's Privately Printed Books, 476; Chambers's Norfolk, 1284; Gent. Mag. N.S. xxiii. 109.] T. C.

BACON, ROBERT (*d.* 1248), first Dominican writer in England, was, according to some accounts the brother, according to others the uncle, of his more famous namesake Roger, with whom he has by our earlier biographers been very commonly confounded. To quote Fuller's words, we may in 'this Robert Bacon behold the senior of all the Bacons which, like tributary streams, have disembogued themselves with all the credit of their actions into Roger Bacon, who in process of time hath monopolised the honour of all his sirname-sakes,' and the chief task of his biographer is to assign to him those actions which seem to be his due. Of the date of Robert's birth we have no certain indication, but as he is described as already an old man in 1233, we shall probably not be far wrong if we assign it to the middle of Henry II's reign (1160–70). He was educated at Oxford, where he was first the pupil and afterwards the friend and fellow-lecturer of Edmund Rich, of whose life he afterwards wrote at least one account. Like Rich and so many other of his contemporaries he passed with his bosom friend, Richard Fishaker, to study at Paris, and is said always—even when in later life once more resident at Oxford—to have kept up a constant communication with the confraternity of learning there. According to the 'Biographia Britannica,' in 1233 he succeeded Edmund Rich as treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral. But, be this as it may, he had certainly by this time joined the order of the Dominicans (which had already been some twelve years settled near Oxford), and was lecturing in the new schools they had founded in St. Edward's parish. It was in this year that the most important of his recorded acts took place.

Henry III had sent a second and a third summons to his baronage to meet him at Oxford, but they, justly incensed at his notorious fondness for foreigners and subservience to his two stranger favourites, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivaux, refused to appear. It was in this time of waiting and suspense that Robert Bacon, one of the new order of friar preachers or Dominicans who had been chosen to preach before the king and his assembled bishops, had the boldness to tell Henry to his face that he would never enjoy lasting peace until he had banished Peter des Roches (Petrum de Rupibus) and his fellows from his councils. To this advice many of those present assented, and, after a while, the king himself acknowledged the wisdom of the course recommended; whereupon, seeing the king in so gracious a mood, a certain clerk attached to the royal court, called by the old authorities Roger Bacon, asked a sarcastic riddle: 'Lord king, what is the greatest danger to those who are crossing the straits?' Henry made answer in the words of Scripture that they could tell whose business was on the great deep. 'Nay, my lord,' answered the clerk, 'I will tell thee—Petræ et Rupes'—a bitter allusion to Peter des Roches. It seems almost certain that the Roger here must be a mistake. Roger Bacon cannot at this time have been old enough to play such a part, and was then a young student at Oxford or elsewhere. Moreover, as there is clear evidence that the first half of this story (which on the best manuscript authority belongs to Robert) has been attributed to Roger Bacon by later mediæval writers, we can hardly be wrong if we bear Fuller's words in mind, and with him read Robert in the second instance as well as in the first.

Robert Bacon, then, was a Dominican friar in 1233, and to this fact we may add that although an old man upon entering that order he did not desist from his public lectures. His friend Richard Fishaker was associated with him in this work—a pair of friends so devoted to one another that Leland says writers of that age never disassociated their names, and that even death could not divide them. Both died in the same year, 1248, and were buried in the church of their order at Oxford. Matthew Paris considers their decease worthy of a place in his history, adding that it was the common opinion of that age that no contemporary writers surpassed or even equalled these two, whether in theology or other branches of learning, and paying a final tribute to their great zeal in the work of public preaching.

In addition to the above facts a few others may be gleaned from stray letters of the period. It is probable that it is to Robert Bacon and not to Roger that Thomas de Eccleston alludes (Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* 56) as having entered the order of friar preachers on the first day without a year's novitiate. The manuscript has R. Bacon, but the context seems to show that the date of the occurrence was under Gregory IX, at which time Roger would be too young; the person alluded to is spoken of as 'bonæ memoriæ,' a phrase which could hardly be applied to one still living, as Roger would be at that time; and, lastly, the whole preceding passage has reference to the 'Fratres Prædica-

tores,' of which body Robert was a member, whereas Roger Bacon was a Franciscan. Again, Grosseteste, in a letter to William de Raleger, refusing to appoint the latter's nephew—a boy not yet out of his Ovid—to a cure of souls, calls Robert Bacon to witness that he is willing to allow the lad ten marks a year out of his private purse. Here, again, we have Roger in the manuscript, but the date (1235?) clearly puts him out of court, and in Luard's edition of the bishop's letters the story is indexed to Robert. In any case Robert Bacon, the first Dominican writer in England (Wood, *Annals*, i. 192), can hardly fail to have been a friend of Robert Grosseteste, the great patron of the new orders; nor this last to have been acquainted with one who was, as Trivet tells us, the ruling theological power at Oxford.

The list of Robert Bacon's works, as given by Bale, includes a 'Liber in sententias Petri Lombardi,' 'Lectiones Ordinariæ,' 'Liber super Psalterium.' To this list Anthony à Wood adds a work called 'Syncategorement,' on the manuscript of which the words 'Roberti Baconis' are said to appear. Robert Bacon was the author of at least one life of his friend and master, Edmund Rich. Portions of this are probably worked up—with, however, an entire alteration of style—into Surius's 'Life of St. Edmund' (iv. 368, 16 Nov.); but as a separate work it has perished, together with the life of the same archbishop, which Matthew Paris tells us he drew up on the same authority.

[Leland, Bale, and Pits, under Robert and Roger Bacon and Richard Fitzacrius; Matthew Paris, iii. 244, v. 16, 369; Trivet's Annales 229; Brewer's Mon. Franc. 56; Luard's Epistolæ Grosseteste; Hardy's Cat. 87, 93, 108; Biographia Britannica; Moreri, i., under Robert Bacon. For a list of the various Bacons flourishing about the same time see Wake's Rex Platonicus, 208–10; Wood's Annales, i. 192, &c.; and authorities cited above.] T. A. A.

BACON, ROGER (1214?–1294), philosopher, was born at or near Ilchester, Somersetshire, about 1214. The materials for his life consist, in the first place, of the traditional records, partly drawn from early writers on the history of his time, but to a large extent without any satisfactory foundation; and, in the second place, of the somewhat numerous references, autobiographical in character, contained in his published or unpublished writings. The more important of these writings have only in recent times become the object of study, and the task of the biographer is largely the correction of the earlier tradition by means of the indications so afforded. An interesting but incomplete summary of the older material is furnished by Anthony à Wood; a more enlightened survey by Jebb in the preface to his edition of the 'Opus Majus' (1733); the latest researches have borne good fruit in the works of Brewer and Charles (cited under). Doubtless some obscure points may yet be cleared up by more thorough study of the manuscripts than has yet been undertaken, but it is not probable that there can ever be given more than a scanty outline of the life and labours of a very eminent English thinker.

Bacon's family seems to have been in good circumstances, but to have suffered severe reverses during the stormy reign of Henry III (*Op. Ined.* p. 16). He speaks of one brother as wealthy, and of another as a scholar (*Op. Ined.* 13), but there is no means of establishing any relation between these and certain others of the same name commemorated in the history of the time. Robert Bacon, the Dominican, who lectured at Oxford, may have been an uncle of Roger, but could hardly have been his brother. There is no reason to doubt the tradition that he began his university studies at Oxford, and if the report by Matthew Paris (*Hist. Maj.* 1644, p. 265) of the ironical riddle proposed by him to Henry III be accepted, he must have been at Oxford and in orders in 1233. How long he remained at Oxford there is no record to determine; sufficiently long, however, to have known and appreciated some of the able teachers who then gave the university its renown—Robert Grosseteste, Adam de Marisco, Richard Fitzacre, and Edmond Rich—and to have been influenced by them in the direction of positive science, natural and linguistic. As the length of his stay at Oxford is uncertain, so the date of the next event in his life, transference to the university of Paris, cannot be definitely fixed. From his own references to his study at Paris, his first residence there must have terminated about 1250 (Charles, p. 10). Tradition has assigned to him the usual brilliant career of an eminent teacher in a mediæval university. He is said to have graduated with distinction as doctor, to have attracted students by his lecturing, and to have been known by the significant cognomen of 'doctor admirabilis' (Wood, as in Brewer, *Op. Ined.* pref. p. lxxxvi). But the historians of the university of Paris know or say little of him, and from the way in which he himself refers to his Paris studies it may be inferred that, though he certainly gained high reputation, his withdrawal from the ordinary current of thought was so complete as to render him in no special sense a brilliant light in the scholastic firmament.

His contempt for the kind of work by which honour was there gained is unmeasured, and for his own part, with such aid as was afforded by the increasing knowledge of the Arab writers, he devoted himself to acquiring a knowledge of languages, and to experimental researches, partly in alchemy, partly in optics.

About the year 1250 Bacon seems to have returned to England, and though no details are known of the next definable period of his life extending up to 1257, the tradition may be accepted that he spent the time mainly at Oxford. The legendary connection between his name and the university of Oxford doubtless dates from this residence. That he had left Oxford in 1257 is attested by Bacon himself (*Op. Ined.* p. 7), but of the surrounding circumstances extremely little is known. The immediate occasion was the suspicion of his superiors in the Franciscan order, who, perhaps even before the date given, had put him under surveillance, and in 1257 sent him to Paris. At what time or for what reasons he had joined the Franciscan order, there are no means of determining. As he refers pointedly to the fact that he had not written anything 'in alio statu,' we may conjecture that he did not enter at a very early age. It was under the generalship of John of Fidanza, better known as Bonaventura, that Bacon was placed under restraint, and for ten years he was kept in close confinement in Paris. During that time he was denied all opportunity of writing; books and instruments were taken from him, and the most jealous care was taken that he should have no communication with the outer world.

Partial relief came from an unexpected quarter. In 1265 Guy de Foulques, who had in the previous year acted as papal legate in England, was raised to the papal chair as Clement IV. During his residence in England he had made various attempts to communicate with Bacon, and had solicited from him a general treatise on the sciences which rumour spoke of as completed. Bacon, who had no such general treatise ready, had been unable to reply to the friendly request, but, after the elevation of Guy de Foulques, was successful in privately laying before him a statement of the circumstances which had prevented his earlier reply. In answer the pope sent a letter enjoining Bacon to forward to him secretly and privately any writing he could prepare, notwithstanding all injunctions to the contrary of his superiors (the letter is given in Brewer's *Op. Ined.* p. 1).

The opening chapters of the writing called 'Opus Tertium' give a very vivid picture of Bacon's circumstances when he received this mandate, of the joy with which he hailed the opportunity afforded to him, of the manifold difficulties in the way of completing the work on which he forthwith entered, and of the plan he adopted for laying the substance of his reflections before his friendly auditor. Deeply impressed with a sense of the unity of the sciences, he thought it well first to treat in a general way of the various parts of human knowledge, giving a conspectus or compendious view of the whole before approaching the detailed treatment of the parts. This general view forms the 'Opus Majus,' and apparently the composition and copying must have been accomplished within a wonderfully brief space of time. For within almost two years from the time of receiving Clement's mandate, Bacon, in the 'Opus Tertium,' refers to the 'Opus Majus' as already sent off, and also to a subsequent writing, the 'Opus Secundum,' or 'Opus Minus,' in which an abridgment of the larger work had been given, with a special treatment of some essential subjects omitted either by design or by pressure of circumstances. Still desirous of conveying his thought in such a way as to win the ear of his powerful patron, Bacon forthwith began a new treatment of the whole, and in the seventy-five chapters printed under the title of the 'Opus Tertium' we have at least a portion of his new treatment. The 'Opus Tertium' in its printed form contains an expanded summary of the main portions of the 'Opus Majus;' but as it makes frequent reference to other writings which were intended to be laid before Clement, it is probable that we have in it only a fragment of a larger work. Evidently during the composition of the 'Opus Tertium' Bacon was relieved from much of the restraint under which he had been suffering, and in 1268 he was again in England. Whether the other writings referred to in the extant chapters of the 'Opus Tertium' were composed in time to be sent to Clement (who died in November 1268) we cannot determine. In all probability they were not, and this circumstance may to some extent account for certain difficulties presented by the manuscripts to be afterwards referred to.

That Clement exerted himself on behalf of Bacon is a mere conjecture; it is certain that after 1267 he was in comparative freedom, and we may suppose devoted himself to working out, in special writings, the particular sciences forming in his conception the body of knowledge. There remain fragments of a work, part of which undoubtedly was written in 1271 or 1272 (Brewer, *Op. Ined.* pref. p. 55), a compendium of philosophy, the projected

outlines of which can be drawn with some accuracy. It is in the preliminary portion of this work, printed in the 'Opera Inedita' (pp. 393–511), that Bacon makes his most vehement onslaught on the clergy and the orders as withstanding the progress of true knowledge. In 1278 the general of the Franciscan order, Jerome of Ascoli, afterwards Nicholas IV, held a chapter at Paris for the consideration of the heretical propositions that were troubling the peace of the church. Amongst others who appeared was Roger Bacon, who, condemned 'propter quasdam novitates suspectas,' and prevented from writing to the pope (Gregory X) for defence and aid, passed into a prolonged confinement. Tradition at this point of his career becomes most confused; there exists, however, the manuscript of part of a work in which a date is explicitly recorded. The work is entitled 'Compendium Studii Theologiæ;' the date is 1292. In 1292, then, Bacon was alive, and moreover in freedom. Perhaps he owed his release to the liberality of Raymond Gaufredi, general of the order from 1289 to 1294, with whom tradition has certainly associated his name, and to the fortunate death of Nicholas IV in 1292 (see CHARLES, pp. 40–1). How long he survived is unknown; the old biographers mention 1294 among other dates, as 1284, 1290, 1292; and as the latter must all be rejected, 1294 remains in possession of the field. He is said to have died and to have been buried at Oxford.

Bacon's writings fall into the two groups of printed and manuscript. Of the printed works an extremely accurate list is given by M. Le Clerc in the 'Histoire Litt. de la France;' with some supplement and correction it is here followed: 1. 'Opera Chemica Rogeri Bacconis,' 1485, fo.; the same under the titles 'Sanioris medicinæ magistri D. Rogeri Baconis Angli de Arte Chymiæ scripta,' Frankfort, 1603, 12mo; and 'R. B. Thesaurus Chemicus,' ib. 1620. 2. 'Speculum Alchymiæ,' Nürnberg, 1541, 4to, repeated in many collections of writings on alchemy published from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. A French translation appeared in 1557, and has been twice reprinted, in 1612 and in 1627, under the false title 'Le Miroir de Maistre Jean Mehun.' English translation, 'The Mirror of Alchymy, composed by the thrice famous and learned fryer Bacon,' in 1597, 4to, London; in the same volume is translated part of the 'De mirabili potestate Artis et Naturæ.' 3. 'De mirabili potestate Artis et Naturæ et de nullitate Magiæ,' Paris, 1542, 4to; and frequently either apart or in collections of alchemist writings. French translation, 1557, in the 'Miroir' above noted, and later in 1612 and 1629; English translations, 1597 and 1659, entitled 'Discovery of the Miracles of Art, Nature, and Magick.' The tract is reprinted in Brewer's 'Opera Inedita,' pp. 523–51. 4. 'Libellus Rogerii Baconi Angli, doctissimi mathematici et medici, de retardandis senectutis accidentibus et de sensibus conservandis,' Oxford, 1590. English translation, 'The Cure of Old Age and Preservation of Youth, by the great mathematician and physician, Roger Bacon, a Franciscan Friar. By Richard Browne,' London, 1683, 12mo. 5. 'Rogerii Baconis Angli viri eminentissimi Perspectiva, opera et studio Johannis Combachii, phil. prof. in acad. Marpurgensi,' Frankfurt, 1614, 4to (= Pt. V. of 'Opus Majus'). 6. 'Specula Mathematica in quibus de specierum multiplicatione earundemque in inferioribus virtute agitur, Combachii st. et op.,' ibid. 1614 (= Pt. IV. of 'Opus Majus'). 7. 'Opus Majus ad Clementem Papam,' ed. S. Jebb, London, fo., 1733; reprint, Venice, 1750. 8. 'Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera quædam hactenus inedita, Vol. I. containing: 1. Opus Tertium; 2. Opus Minus; 3. Compendium Philosophiæ,' ed. J. S. Brewer, London, Rolls Series, 1859. 9. 'R. B. de Morali Philosophia,' Dublin, 1860 (= Pt. VII. of the 'Opus Majus,' not contained in Jebb's edition).

A glance at the number and dates of these published works suffices to explain how it has come about that the historical reputation of Roger Bacon inadequately represents, and in many ways misrepresents, his real work and merit. Not till the eighteenth century was it known, nor from the scanty references in the older authorities could it have been gathered, that Bacon was more than an ingenious alchemist, a skilled mechanician, and perhaps a dabbler in the black arts. In this light tradition viewed him, and it is his legendary history only that has established itself in English literature. The famous necromancer, Friar Bacon, with his brazen head, is no unfamiliar figure in popular English writing (see Professor WARD's book below cited). The publication of the 'Opus Majus,' however, rendered possible a more accurate conception of his aims and labours, and made it evident that the main interest of his life had been a struggle towards reform in the existing methods of philosophical or scientific thinking—a reform which in spirit and aim strikingly resembled that more successfully attempted by his more famous namesake in the seventeenth century. The 'Opus Majus,' in vigorous style and with great freedom of expression, discussed the obstacles in the way of true science, rejected authority and verbal subtleties, and sketched in broad outlines the

essentials of the great branches of true knowledge. The work has well been designated 'at once the Encyclopædia and the Organon of the thirteenth century.' It is animated by the fresh breath of original study of nature; and though, as was inevitable, the fundamental ideas are in many respects those of the time, the mode of handling and applying them is wonderfully free from the baffling restraints that meet one in scholastic speculations. The 'Opus Majus' itself professed to be no more than an encyclopædic outline, and only touched the main features of the great sciences, grammar and logic, mathematics, physics (of which perspective, i.e. optics, was for Bacon the type), experimental research, moral philosophy; it was left to other works to give a more detailed treatment of the various branches.

Later investigations have succeeded in disclosing various interesting and important fragments of the detailed work to which Bacon seems to have applied himself on the completion of the 'Opus Majus.' It is not possible to give an exhaustive enumeration of the extant manuscripts. Those known to exist, and partially examined, are very numerous and in every variety of condition; there are doubtless others not yet brought to light. It is hardly possible, moreover, so to connect the known manuscripts with the indications which can be gathered of Bacon's projected or accomplished writings as to effect some partial classification of them. Either Bacon himself or the transcribers of the manuscripts must have been in the habit of incorporating an accomplished writing in a new work, with such changes of beginning and ending as to bring about the junction; and as the titles of the existing manuscripts generally follow some of the introductory sentences, it is not uncommon to find that writings cited under various titles and assigned to various works are in substance identical. It will be best here to state what has been determined regarding Bacon's activity as a writer after the composition of the 'Opus Majus,' and to point out what manuscripts exist of the products of his activity.

The older authorities agreed in asserting that the 'Opus Majus' was not the only writing prepared by Bacon at the request of Clement, but their accounts of the other treatises were confused and imperfect. Wood quotes from the writing now called 'Opus Tertium,' but regards it as part of a writing called 'Opus Minus' (Brewer, pref. p. 98, says of the passage quoted: 'This passage does not occur in the Digby MS., therefore Wood must have seen some other copy of the "Opus Minus" not now discoverable.' But this is an error. The passage is given in Brewer's own reprint of the 'Opus Tertium,' pp. 272–3, and the title of the manuscript is not 'In Opere Minore,' but merely 'In Opere suo'). Jebb, who had carefully consulted the manuscripts in the British Museum, came upon traces of two writings, called 'Opus Minus' and 'Opus Tertium,' but did not succeed in obtaining clear insight into their nature and scope. In 1848, however, Cousin discovered in the public library at Douai an important manuscript, of which he gave a full abstract in the 'Journal des Savants' of the same year. Other manuscripts of this work exist, and it has since been printed by Brewer under the undoubtedly correct title of 'Opus Tertium.' The biographical details given in the seventy-five chapters of printed text are of the utmost value, and the references to other writings enable a clear idea to be formed of the 'Opus Minus,' and a partial idea to be formed of certain projected treatises. From what Bacon himself says it becomes clear (1) that Jebb's edition of the 'Opus Majus' is imperfect as regards pt. ii., on grammar; is wanting in pt. vii., on moral philosophy; and is redundant by inclusion of a long treatise 'de multiplicatione specierum,' which is either part of a later work or an independent tract; (2) that the work called 'Opus Minus,' sent to Clement soon after the 'Opus Majus,' contained (*a*) a brief view of the contents of the larger treatise, (*b*) a criticism of the errors of theological study, and (*c*) a detailed treatment of speculative and practical alchemy. Only one manuscript (that in the Bodleian, Digby, 218) has been discovered which corresponds to the description of the 'Opus Minus.' It is in very imperfect condition, but the fragments, printed in Brewer's valuable edition, seem to represent all that we are likely to find of the work. Jebb, misinterpreting some references in the manuscripts before him, had conjectured that the 'Opus Minus' was intended to contain a body of separate treatments of the various sciences. This is incorrect, but it is certain that Bacon projected such separate treatments, and intended to send them to Clement. The chapters printed as the 'Opus Tertium' contain many forward references, and by comparing these with link-words found in the recently disclosed manuscripts M. Charles has endeavoured to reconstruct the plan of Bacon's work and to determine the manuscript fragments of it. From the circumstance above mentioned, however, it is very difficult to effect this satisfactorily, and it seems highly improbable that Bacon was able to prepare detailed treatises, following up the introduction called

now 'Opus Tertium,' and to forward them to Clement. Rather we may conjecture that he began and carried out his plan of detailed treatment, so as to form a complete body of scientific exposition, and that the several portions were indifferently connected with the 'Opus Tertium' and with the later work, the 'Compendium Philosophiæ,' of which the introduction dates from 1271. For the indications point to a substantial identity of content in the two supposed systematic works. Under the one, the so-called 'Opus Tertium,' there appear to fall (1) grammar and logic, (2) mathematics, (3) physics, (4) metaphysics and moral philosophy; under the other, the 'Compendium Philosophiæ,' (1) grammar, (2) logic, (3) mathematics, (4) physics, (5) alchemy, (6) experimental science. The identity of contents explains the difficulty of assigning the extant fragments to the one or to the other, and probably the definite designations we adopt for the two works do not fairly represent anything in Bacon's plan. Of the treatment of grammar, some part remains in the manuscript on Greek grammar in University College, Oxford. Of mathematics, the discussion of the general ideas, 'Communia Mathematica,' is contained in the manuscripts, Brit. Mus. Sloane Coll. 2156, and Bodl. 1677. Of physics, a very important fragment, treating of the fundamental ideas, 'Communia Naturalium,' exists in no fewer than four forms, in the Mazarine Library, Paris, 1271, in the Brit. Mus. Royal Lib. 7 F. vii., in the Bodleian, 1671, and in the library of Univ. Coll. Oxford; the publication of this manuscript, which contains Bacon's treatment of the most important notions of scholastic thinking, is a desideratum. Of the metaphysics, a small portion is found in the Bodleian, 1791, and more in the Biblioth. Imp. at Paris, No. 7440. A more detailed treatment of physics, by its link-expressions designed to form part of the 'Compendium Philosophiæ,' is contained in the Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. 8786. Of the latest work of Bacon, the 'Compendium Studii Theologiæ,' date 1292, some few fragments, from which the plan of the whole may be gathered, are contained in the British Mus. 7 F. vii. fo. 153, and 7 F. viii. fo. 2, and in the library of Univ. Coll. Oxford (see CHARLES, pp. 409–16). The British Museum (Royal Lib. 7 F. viii. fo. 99–191) has also a complete manuscript of an early writing, the 'Computus,' on astronomy and the reformation of the calendar, the date of which, as given in the manuscript itself, is 1263.

It is much to be desired that a more thorough and detailed study of the known manuscripts and a more extensive search for others which doubtless exist should be undertaken. Some portions are in a condition suitable for publication, and it is wellnigh an obligation resting on English scholars to continue the good work begun by the late Professor Brewer. Bacon's works possess much historical value, for his vigorous thinking and pronounced scientific inclinations are not to be regarded as abnormal and isolated phenomena. He represents one current of thought and work in the middle ages which must have run strongly though obscurely, and without a thorough comprehension of his position our conceptions of an important century are incomplete and erroneous.

[Of the earlier works in which Bacon was dealt with at large or incidentally, of Wadding, Cave, Oudin, Leland, Bale, Pits, Tanner, and others, a copious list will be found in the Histoire Littéraire de la France (xx. 227–52); the most valuable recent studies are those of Brewer (preface to R. B. Opera Inedita, London, 1859) and E. Charles (Roger Bacon, sa Vie, ses Ouvrages, ses Doctrines, d'après des textes inédits, Paris, 1861), whose work is a model of industry, skill, and intelligence; summaries, mainly of these two authorities, are to be found in Siebert, Roger Bacon, Marburg, 1861; Saisset, Revue des deux Mondes, 1861; Westminster Review, January and April 1864; Held, R. B.'s praktische Philosophie, Jena, 1881. Laying greater stress on the scholastic elements in Bacon's work, and somewhat depreciatory in tone, are L. Schneider, Roger Bacon, Augsburg, 1873, and K. Werner, Die Psychologie, Erkenntniss- und Wissenschaftstheorie des R. B., and Die Kosmologie und allgemeine Naturlehre des R. B., Wien, 1879. The popular legend, represented by the Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon, London, 1615 (reprinted in Thoms's Early Prose Romances, iii.), has been turned to good account in English literature; see Terilo's A Piece of Friar Bacon's Brazen Heade's Prophesie, 1604, reprinted in Percy Society Publications, vol. xv., 1844, and Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, 1587 or 1588. On Greene and on the references in other literary pieces to Roger Bacon, see the Introduction and Notes to Ward's Old English Drama, 1878.]

R. A.

BACON, THOMAS (*fl.* 1336), judge, was most probably a member of the same family that produced Sir Nicholas and the great Francis Bacon; for he was possessed of property at Baconsthorpe and other places in Norfolk, which later belonged to the lord chancellor. He was a justice of the Common Pleas in the early years of Edward III's reign, and in this capacity was knighted by that king (DUGDALE, *Origines*, 102). According to Foss, he was raised to the King's Bench in 1332, and certainly appears in this year as one of those appointed to try and

terminate petitions from Gascony, Ireland, Wales, and the foreign isles in the parliament held at York. The same year, in conjunction with two others, he was deputed to assess the tallages for Norfolk and Suffolk. He seems to have continued a judge till 1336, and was possibly still living in the year 1339.

[Foss's Judges of England, iii. 393; Rot. Parl. ii. 68, 447.] T. A. A.

BACON, *alias* SOUTHWELL, THOMAS (1592–1637), Jesuit. [See SOUTHWELL.]

BACONTHORPE, BACON, or BACHO, JOHN (*d.* 1346), the 'Resolute Doctor,' took his name from Baconsthorpe, a small Norfolk village in the hundred of South Erpingham. According to the elaborate genealogy of the Bacon family among the British Museum manuscripts (*Add. MS.* 19116) he was the third son of Sir Thomas Bacon of Baconsthorpe, and grandnephew of the famous Roger Bacon. In the early years of his life he was brought up at the newly founded Carmelite monastery of Blakeney or Snitterley, not far from Walsingham, an establishment which reckoned a Sir Robert Bacon amongst its earliest patrons. In process of time John Baconthorpe removed to Oxford, where the Carmelite order had possessed its own schools since 1253. According to Pits, he remained here only long enough to complete his philosophical training, and to pass through the initiatory stages of the theological course; while, to perfect himself in this crowning branch of mediæval study, he repaired to Paris. At this university he took his degree in both civil and ecclesiastical law, and applied himself to master every field of learning. The wide range of his inquiries is proved by the titles of his works, which, besides the ordinary theological and logical topics of the age, embrace treatises on astronomy or astrology, on the pontifical canons, on generation, the movement of animals, and innumerable other subjects. At Paris he seems to have first displayed that marked adherence to the doctrines of Averroes which gained him the title of 'Princeps Averroistarum.' But M. Renan is explicit in his statement that Baconthorpe does not so much maintain all the tenets of Averroes as strive to palliate their heterodoxy. His position was that the arguments of Thomas Aquinas and others had little that was contradictory to the real sentiments of the Arab philosopher. Averroes, according to his fourteenth-century champion, only started questions from a purely intellectual point of view, as a field in which to exercise men's reasoning faculties, without committing himself to a full acceptance of the theories he discussed. At the same time M. Renan adds that Baconthorpe was careful to soften down the more dangerous of his master's doctrines.

On his return from Paris, Baconthorpe was most probably once more a resident at Oxford, and it may be to this period of his life that Wood refers when he speaks of him as a strong opponent of the mendicant orders in that university. It would be about the same time that Baconthorpe was the Oxford instructor and friend of Richard Fitzralph, afterwards archbishop of Armagh (*ob.* 1360). According to Bale the two friends began about the year 1321 to preach the doctrines which Wycliffe inculcated so strongly half a century later, that the priestly power should be subordinate to the kingly—a statement which well agrees with the words of Walden when writing against the Lollards on the same subject: 'The great defender of this opinion is Richard of Armagh, and he follows John "Bacon-town" (Joannem Baconis oppidi) the Carmilite.' But Baconthorpe does not seem to have remained entirely in England, as his name is said to occur in the accounts of the general meeting of the Carmelites held at Alby in 1327; and again, in the general chapter of the order at Valence (1330), he once more appears as 'John de Baconstop, provincial of England' (*Biblioth. Carmel.* i. 743). The appellation of 'provincial' is due to the fact that in the preceding year he had, at a meeting of the Carmelite brotherhood in London, been unanimously elected head of the order in England (1329), an office which he retained till 1333, when he was hurriedly summoned to Rome. He seems to have given some offence to the heads of his own body by assigning too much authority to the pope in the matter of annulling marriages. We are told that at Rome he was even hissed during one of his discourses; but not, Leland assures us, for any lack of argumentative power or eloquence. Fuller, however, though apparently without authority, says that it was the badness of his Latin and of his pronunciation that formed the pretext for this treatment. Baconthorpe seems soon to have seen the error of his ways, and made a recantation, proving most conclusively that the pope had no power of dispensation within the prohibited degrees. Two centuries later, we are told by Bale, James Calcus Papiensis made use of Baconthorpe's authority in his work on Henry VIII's divorce. From this time Baconthorpe's fame seems to have been established. Even after the lapse of 150 years the general of his order, Spagnuoli, could sing of him as the great

glory of the Carmelites, adding that no one has ever known the mind of Averroes better than he; and that by following his footsteps a man would become a second Aristotle. The same verses represent him as demolishing the 'footprints of the cloudy Scot,' Duns Scotus, the almost contemporary pride of the Franciscans. When summoned to Rome, Baconthorpe ceased to be the English provincial, in order that he might have more leisure for preaching and the study of the Scriptures (Bale, *Heliad.* i. 28). It was probably on his return from Rome that Baconthorpe took part in the general chapter held at Nimes or Narbonne in 1333. The 'Bibliotheca Carmelitana,' basing the statement apparently upon John Baptist de Lezana's 'Annales Sacri' (iv. 555), asserts that he was the leader of the Parisian Carmelites in their opposition to the heretical views of John XXII concerning the state of the dead; and, indeed, Baconthorpe does seem to have written two of his works, the 'De Beatorum Visione' and the 'Quod sit laus vocalis,' directly against the peculiar tenets held by this pope (*Bibl. Carm.* i. 748; Fabric. *Bibl. Lat.* 162). If Lezana is to be depended on, this incident would fit in very well with the last days of John XXII (*ob.* 1334), when the question was most exercising men's minds, and with Baconthorpe's return journey from Rome and Nimes. He is said to have returned to England, where he died in 1346, and was buried in the Carmelite church at London. Leland, however, assures us that he had searched for his tomb there vainly. Other accounts give Blakeney and Norwich as his place of sepulture.

Baconthorpe was a man of extremely small stature, a very Zacchæus, as Pits phrases it, whose body could never have supported the weight of the huge volumes his intellect produced without being crushed to death. Fuller adds that his pen, penknife, inkhorn, one sheet of paper, and one of his works, would together have made up his height. He was also a most voluminous writer. Zedler reckons the number of his books at over 120, and Alegre de Casanate has preserved a legend that on one occasion Baconthorpe's pupils buried their master twice over while standing upright in his own works, and even then had had a large number to spare (Alegre de Cas. *Paradisus Carm. dec.* 294).

Besides dealing with the subjects mentioned earlier in this article, Baconthorpe wrote commentaries on the Old and New Testament, on the Apocrypha, on Aristotle's 'Ethics,' 'Metaphysics,' and 'Politics,' treatises upon Anselm's 'Cur Verbum sit homo,' and Augustine's 'City of God;' diatribes against the Jews, idolaters (by this meaning in all probability Mahometans), and magicians; and a work dealing with a topic thoroughly typical of the scholastic mind, 'Quod in cœlo sit laus vocalis.' Bale, who was himself originally an East-Anglian and a Carmelite, speaks of him in the highest terms: 'I have found in his writings weightier thoughts than in those of any other author of his time.' In fact, Bale made a collection of these gems, which, however, he tells us, perished when he was in Ireland.

Nearly three centuries after his death Baconthorpe was still read in the university of Padua, where the Averroist doctrines lingered on long after they had died out in the rest of Europe. He was, according to M. Renan, the classic author of this school of thought; and also as pre-eminently the *doctor* of the Carmelite order, as Aquinas was of the Dominicans, or Duns Scotus of the Franciscans. Zabarelli, who was a professor at Padua only a few years before Galileo was appointed to the chair of mathematics at the same university, was an eager student of Baconthorpe, and his name reappears at the beginning of the seventeenth century in connection with the memorable name of Lucilius Julius Cæsar Vaninus. Though Baconthorpe had been dead nearly two hundred and fifty years before Vaninus's birth, yet this unfortunate philosopher claimed to have had the great Averroist for his teacher, and professed to be following the example of his master in putting no other works than those of Averroes into his pupils' hands (Renan, *Averroes*, 421; but compare Vaninus' own works in the references at the end of the article). With regard to the great battle-field of scholastic champions M. Hauréau sums up Baconthorpe's position in the words: 'He is a capitulating realist, who entangles himself in nominalism as little as possible.'

There are many theories advanced to account for Baconthorpe's epithet of the 'resolute doctor.' Pits seems very plausibly to imply that he owes it to the tenacity with which he maintained his Averroist principles. Others have explained it by his readiness in deciding all cases brought before him; but for this his conduct at Rome does not seem to prove him to have been remarkable. He then appears to have retracted his opinions before leaving the city.

No complete edition of Baconthorpe's writings has been published, though his works began to issue from the press several years before the close of the fifteenth century, with his 'Commentaries on the Master of the Sentences,' printed at Paris in the year 1484. Continental students have, however, been

laborious interpreters of his teachings, and amongst the numerous treatises devoted to his philosophy special mention may be made of the seven bulky folios of Joseph Zagalia (Ferrara and Parma, 1696–1706), and the three smaller volumes of H. Aymers (Turin, 1667–9).

[Leland, Bale, and Pits's Catalogue; Tanner; Harleian MSS. 3838, i. 27, 28, ii. 51–53; Alegre de Casanate's Paradisus Carmelitici decoris, 294–5; Zabarella's De Rebus Naturalibus, edit. Frankfort, 1617, p. 466; St. Etienne's Biblioth Carmel. 745–53; Zagalia's Liber Præmialis; Vaninus's Amphitheatrum, 17, and De Naturis Admirandis, 350; Vossius De Quat. Scient. 363; Wharton's Cave, App. 27; Renan's Averroës et l'Averroïsme, 318, 420, 421; Hauréau's Philosophie Scolastique, 441–3; Fuller (Church History, iii.) seems to have gone beyond his authorities; Lezana's Annales Sacri, vol. iv., apparently contains much information concerning Baconthorpe's life which is not to be found elsewhere.] T. A. A.

BADBY, JOHN (*d.* 1410), Lollard, was a blacksmith, or, according to other accounts, a tailor in Worcestershire, whose Lollard opinions involved him in the persecution of heresy which marked the clerical reaction on the accession of Henry IV, and the passing of the statute 'de hæretico comburendo.' Badby seems to have been a man of parts, of unflinching courage and resolution, and possessed of both ingenuity and dialectical power. He carried out to extreme rationalistic consequences that denial of transubstantiation which had become characteristic of the more hardy Wycliffites. The host, he maintained, was in no sense the body of Christ, but something inanimate, and less worthy therefore of honour than a toad or a spider, which at least had the gift of life. Such outspoken heresy insured his condemnation before the diocesan court at Worcester; but the case came for final decision, probably by way of appeal, before Archbishop Arundel, in the spring of 1410. Arundel strengthened his court by the addition of numerous ecclesiastical and lay assessors; but Badby's heresy admitted of no doubt. He was condemned and delivered to the secular arm for execution, and met his fate on 1 March at Smithfield. Henry, Prince of Wales, already conspicuous for the fervour of his orthodoxy, was among the spectators, and offered Badby a free pardon if he recanted. The Lollard refused, but his piteous groans after the fire was lighted again excited Henry's hopes of his conversion. He ordered the extinction of the fire, and offered the half-burnt wretch life, liberty, and a pension as the price of conformity. But with unflinching constancy Badby refused. The fire was rekindled, and death soon ended his sufferings. His was the second martyrdom to Lollardy.

[Walsingham's Historia Anglicana, p. 282 (Rolls edition); Foxe's Book of Martyrs, i. 593–5, is very circumstantial if not very trustworthy; Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, iv. 507–10, gives a good modern account.] T. F. T.

BADBY, WILLIAM (*d.* 1380), Carmelite and theological writer, was a native of East Anglia, and educated at one of the Carmelite monasteries (probably Norwich) of that district. Later in life he proceeded to the Carmelite schools at Oxford. These were situated in the northern suburbs of that town, and as they were open not only to the brotherhood but to all comers, his career as a doctor of theology here was so pleasing to the people that they are said to have flocked, as to a show, to hear his discourses (Bale, *Heliades*, Harley MSS. 3838, 2, 67). His popularity in this position seems to have recommended him to John of Gaunt, always a great supporter of the Carmelite order, and we are told that Badby was accustomed to hold forth in the presence of this prince and the nobility of England. According to Bale (*Harl. MSS.* i. 31) he was, next to Ralph Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, one of the glories of his age. Bale hints yet further that it was in some degree due to his influence, as one out of a long list of Carmelite monks whose names are given as confessors to John of Gaunt, that this prince interested himself in attempting to counteract the slanders that were about that time beginning to be levelled against this order, then in the height of its reputation, and possessing over a thousand brothers in England alone. With Badby the appointment of confessor to John of Gaunt was but the stepping-stone to the bishopric of Worcester, which, however, he held for so short a time that his name does not appear, according to Tanner, in any list of the occupants of that see. He died on 14 April 1380. Badby's writings consisted of a 'Liber Sacrarum Contionum,' 'Liber Determinationum Scripturæ;' Tanner adds certain 'Conciones Celebres,' which, however, are probably the same as the 'Liber Sacrarum Contionum.' Bale adds another work, entitled 'De Penitentia.'

[Tanner; Bale; Pits; Heliades Balæi, MSS. Harley, 3838, i. 31, ii. 67; Stubbs's Reg. Sac.] T. A. A.

BADCOCK, JOHN (*fl.* 1816–1830), a sporting-writer, whose birth and death are alike unknown, published between 1816 and

1830, under the pseudonyms of 'Jon Bee' and 'John Hinds,' a variety of works on pugilism and the turf. When he issued in 1823 his 'Slang, a Dictionary of the Turf, the Ring, the Chase,' and other similar amusements, the preface to which contains much information on previous compilations in the same field, he described himself as editor of the 'Fancy,' 'Fancy Gazette,' and the 'Living Picture of London.' 'The Fancy, or True Sportsman's Guide; authentic Memoirs of Pugilists,' came out in monthly parts, beginning April 1821, and was sold in two volumes in 1826. The 'Fancy Gazette' was a part of 'The Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette,' thirteen volumes of which were published between 1822 and 1828. The 'Living Picture of London' was compiled by Badcock as a guide to its condition in the year 1818, and a similar volume was produced by him in 1828. From a note in the 'Fancy,' i. 330, it appears that the volume entitled 'Letters from London: Observations of a Russian during a residence in England of ten months,' which purported to be a translation from the original manuscript of 'Oloff Napea, ex-officer of cavalry' (1816), was the production of Badcock. His last work under the signature of 'Jon Bee' was an edition of the 'Works of Samuel Foote, with remarks on each play, and an essay on the life, genius, and writings of the author' (1830), 3 vols.; and from some passages in the essay it would seem that Mr. Badcock was connected with Devon or Cornwall, in both of which counties the name is still common. This supposition is corroborated by the fact that in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1819, pt. i. 618-20, pt. ii. 326, there appeared two letters from him announcing his intention of printing the lives of the celebrated natives of Devon since the time of Prince. The volumes which bear the name of 'John Hinds' relate to the stable. The earliest, 'The Veterinary Surgeon, or Farriery taught on a new and easy plan,' was issued in 1827 and 1829, and reissued at Philadelphia in 1848. It was followed by 'Conversations on Conditioning: the Groom's Oracle,' 1829 and 1830. 'Mr. Hinds' was also credited with editing new editions of W. Osmer's 'Treatise on the Horse,' and C. Thompson's 'Rules for Bad Horsemen,' both of which appeared in 1830. This was the last year in which any work that can be attributed to Badcock was published, and he probably died during its course.

[Thompson Cooper's Biog. Dict.; Works of Badcock.] W. P. C.

BADCOCK, SAMUEL (1747–1788), theological and literary critic, was born at South Molton, Devon, 23 Feb. 1747. His parents were dissenters, and he was educated in a school at Ottery St. Mary, which was reserved for the sons of those opposed to the English church. He was trained for the dissenting ministry, and in 1766 became the pastor of a congregation at Wimborne in Dorset. After three years of residence in that county he was appointed to a similar post at the more important town of Barnstaple in Devon, and remained there until 1778. During this period he became known, through his contributions to the 'Theological Repository,' to Dr. Priestley, and sought his acquaintance in correspondence, and personally by a journey to Bowood, where Priestley was living with Lord Shelburne. This intercourse, and the adoption of some of the doctor's theological views, led to an estrangement with the congregation at Barnstaple, and Badcock returned to his native town, where he ministered from 1778 to 1786, when he became dissatisfied with the doctrines of dissent and with the position assigned to its ministers. He sought for ordination in the established church, and, having obtained a title for the curacy of Broad Clyst, was ordained by Bishop Ross, of Exeter, deacon and priest within a week in June 1787. Harassed by failing health and pecuniary anxiety, he assisted for the last six months of his life at the Octagon Chapel, Bath; and whilst on a visit to Sir John Chichester, one of his Devonshire patrons, at his town house, Queen Street, Mayfair, London, died 19 May, 1788.

Most of Badcock's contributions to literature appeared in the magazines of the day. From 1774, when he sent to the 'Westminster Magazine' a series of articles, the names of which are printed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' lviii. pt. ii. 595 (1788), until his death, his services were in constant demand by the conductors of the critical papers. He wrote in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' the 'London Magazine,' 'General Evening Post,' and 'St. James's Chronicle,' but the most famous of his contributions appeared in the 'Monthly Review.' Although he had been friendly with Priestley, and had published in 1780 'A slight Sketch of the Controversy between Dr. Priestley and his Opponents,' a severe notice from his pen of the doctor's 'History of the Corruptions of Christianity' appeared in the pages of that review for June 1783. This, and an article by him in the next year on 'Priestley's Letters to Dr. Horsley,' produced two answers from Dr. Priestley and pamphlets from J. E. Hamilton and Edward Harwood, D.D. Whilst resident at Barnstaple, Badcock became

acquainted with the daughter of Samuel Wesley, the master of the Tiverton school and elder brother of John Wesley. The letters and anecdotes which he obtained from her were transmitted by him to the 'Westminster Magazine' in 1774. A subsequent account, based on her statements, of the Wesley family, provoked a correspondence with John Wesley; this biography was printed in the 'Bibl. Topog. Britt.' iii. pp. xli–xlviii, and reprinted, with the letters which it occasioned, in Nichols's 'Lit. Anecdotes,' v. 217–42. Several letters from Wesley which Badcock gave to Priestley were published by the latter in 1791 under the title of 'Original Letters by Rev. John Wesley and his Friends.' A sermon which Badcock preached at the Octagon Chapel, Bath, for the benefit of the General Infirmary, 23 Dec. 1787, was printed for private distribution. Rose, in his 'Biographical Dictionary,' says that he wrote in 1781 a poem called the 'Hermitage,' and Watt states that an assize sermon preached by him at St. Peter's, Exeter, in 1788, was published in 1795; but neither of these works can be found at the British Museum. After Badcock's death, his friend, Rev. R. B. Gabriel, D.D., alleged that he was the virtual author of Dr. Joseph White's Bampton lectures on the effects of Christianity and Mahometanism. A fierce war of words raged in the papers. Dr. Gabriel published 'Facts relating to the Rev. Dr. White's Bampton Lectures,' and the lecturer rejoined with 'A Statement of Dr. White's Literary Obligations to the late Rev. Mr. Samuel Badcock and the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL.D.' (1790). From this acrimonious controversy it appeared beyond doubt that Dr. White had received considerable assistance, though not to the extent which his assailants asserted, from Badcock. The papers which William Chapple had collected for an improved edition of Risdon's 'Survey of Devon,' were entrusted to Badcock's care for arrangement and revision, and from this he was induced to contemplate the preparation of a complete history of that county. Several letters on this matter are printed in Rev. R. Polwhele's 'Reminiscences,' i. 44–77, but the prosecution of the work was stopped by Badcock's death. As a reviewer, Badcock ranks among the best known names of the last century.

[Chalmers; Gent. Mag. 1788 and 1789; Priestley's Life and Correspondence (1831); Polwhele's Traditions and Recollections, i. 184, 240–2.] W. P. C.

BADDELEY, ROBERT (1733–1794), comedian, is said to have been born in 1733. When first heard of he is cook in the establishment of Foote, where he is supposed to have contracted a taste for the stage. Subsequently, as valet to a gentleman whose name has not been preserved, he travelled for three years on what was then called 'the grand tour,' acquiring in so doing a smattering of foreign languages which stood him subsequently in good stead. In 1761 he appeared at the Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, the first part he played being Gomez, a not unimportant rôle 'created' by Nokes in Dryden's 'Spanish Friar.' He must have acted previously, as he was announced as of Drury Lane theatre. Two years later he was an established member of Drury Lane company, playing low comedy parts, and winning some reputation as an exponent of foreign footmen. His chief claim to distinction consists in having been the original Moses in the 'School for Scandal.' While dressing for this character on 19 Nov. 1794 he fell back ill. The next day he expired. His life with Mrs. Baddeley was unhappy [see BADDELEY, SOPHIA, 1745–1786], her loose conduct involving him in many difficulties, among which must be counted a bloodless duel with George Garrick, a brother of David. Baddeley is best remembered by his will, in which he left the reversion of his house at Moulsey, in Surrey, to found an asylum for decayed actors, adding a provision that when the value of the property reached 350*l.* per annum, pensions were to be granted to the inmates. He also bequeathed the interest of 100*l.* to provide the actors at Drury Lane Theatre with wine and cake in the green room on Twelfth Night. This custom is still observed. Baddeley was the subject, during his life, of many gross charges. Michael Kelly speaks of him as a worthy man, and in Jews and Frenchmen a very good actor. Baddeley is buried in St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden.

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Reminiscences of Michael Kelly; Hitchcock's Historical View of the Irish Stage; Theatrical Biography, 1772; Gilliland's Dramatic Mirror; Thespian Dictionary.] J. K.

BADDELEY, SOPHIA (1745–1786), actress and vocalist, was the subject of a biography by a woman who was her companion, and claims to have been her friend. This so-called life has the air of having been written for the purpose of extorting money from the men of rank implicated in the adventures it describes. The name of Mrs. Elizabeth Steele is advanced as that of the author; but the discredit of the publication has been assigned to Alexander Bicknell, the writer of a life of Alfred the Great. According to this work Sophia Snow was born in 1745 in

the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster. She was the daughter of Valentine Snow, serjeant-trumpeter to George II. From her father she received an education in music sufficient to enable her to turn to account a voice of much sweetness. When eighteen years of age she eloped with Robert Baddeley, an actor of Drury Lane Theatre, whom shortly afterwards she married. To the influence of her husband she owed her introduction to Drury Lane, at which house she appeared on 27 April 1765, when she played Ophelia. This is announced on the playbills as her third appearance on any stage. Genest supposes that her début took place on the 27th of the previous September, when the same character, Ophelia, was assigned in the playbills to a 'young gentlewoman.' Her biographer gives Cordelia as her first rôle, and supports the statement by an assertion that when she saw Edgar as Mad Tom she screamed with real terror, and so obtained the sympathies of the audience. The line of Mrs. Baddeley scarcely extended beyond genteel comedy,' her most ambitious effort, consisting in appearing once or twice during an illness of Mrs. Barry as Mrs. Beverley in the 'Gamester.' As a singer she obtained high terms at Ranelagh and Vauxhall. Separated from her husband by her irregularities of life, she played during some years at the same theatre with him, never addressing him or being addressed by him, except when the utterance was dramatic. After a scene in the 'Clandestine Marriage,' in which Baddeley, as Canton, urged King, as Lord Ogleby, to make love to Mrs. Baddeley as Fanny, George III and Queen Charlotte were so delighted with the archness of the actress that they sent an order to her to go to Zoffany and be painted in the character. This order was of course obeyed. Mrs. Baddeley's exceptional beauty, her vanity, and reckless extravagance, made her the fashion. When it was known that admission would be refused her as an actress to a public entertainment, fifty gentlemen of highest station are said to have waited for her in the lobby, drawn their swords on the constables on her appearance, escorted her in triumph to the rooms, and obtained an apology from the directors of the entertainment, and a personally accorded welcome from the aristocratic patronesses. The large sums paid her were recklessly squandered, and she was compelled to take refuge from her creditors in Edinburgh. Here she played during the seasons of 1783–5. Her health appears to have been wretched. According to Tate Wilkinson (*Wandering Patentee*, ii. 151), she took in her later years to laudanum, and was on one occasion, about three years before her death, so stupidly intoxicated with it as to be unable to act. Wilkinson says concerning her: 'The quantity of laudanum she indulged herself with was incredible.' Galt, in his 'Lives of the Players,' asserts that she died in Edinburgh 1 July 1801, an impossible date, since in the 'Children of Thespis,' first printed in 1787, Anthony Pasquin (John Williams) speaks of Scotland and says (p. 121, ed. 1792):—

There Baddeley sleeps on Mortality's bier.

. . . . .

Emaciate and squalid her body is laid.
Her limbs lacking shelter, her muscles decayed,
Cadaverous, fetid, despised, and deformed.

There seems no reason indeed to dispute the statement in her 'Memoirs' that she died in Edinburgh in July 1786, having, during her last days, been supported by her fellows, with whom she was always a favourite. She is said to be buried in Edinburgh.

[Memoirs of Mrs. Sophia Baddeley by Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, 6 vols., London, 1781; Wilkinson's Wandering Patentee, 4 vols., London, 1795; Galt's Lives of the Players; Dutton Cook's Hours with the Players; Genest's Account of the English Stage, 12 vols., London, 1832.] J. K.

BADDELEY, THOMAS (*fl.* 1822), a Roman catholic priest at Manchester, was the author of the 'Sure Way to find out the True Religion,' a colloquial defence of Roman catholic principles, largely mingled with invective against protestantism. The author was stated to be dead in 1825. The tract reached a seventh edition in 1847, and provoked several replies.

[A Sure Way to find out the True Religion, (1820?); Richardson's Popery Unmasked, 1825.] A. R. B.

BADELEY, EDWARD LOWTH (*d.* 1868), ecclesiastical lawyer, was the younger son of John Badeley, M.D., near Chelmsford, by Charlotte Brackenbury. He graduated at Brasenose College, Oxford, as B.A. in 1823, being in the second class in classics, and he took his M.A. degree in 1828. In 1841 he was called to the bar as a member of the Inner Temple, and for a short time went the home circuit, but his tastes were for the study of ecclesiastical law, and he was soon employed in solving its intricacies by those who, like himself, were zealous for the spread of tractarian principles. A speech by him in proof of the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister by Holy Scripture was printed, with Dr. Pusey's evidence before the commission then sitting on the law of marriage, in 1849. When Dr. Phillpotts,

the Bishop of Exeter, refused to admit the Rev. G. C. Gorham to the vicarage of Brampford Speke on the ground of his unsound doctrine on the sacrament of baptism, Badeley argued the bishop's case before the judicial committee of the privy council, 17 and 18 Dec. 1849; and his speech on this occasion was published as a pamphlet. He gave an opinion in 1851 in favour of the legality of altar lights, which was printed in the 'Morning Chronicle,' April 1851, and was republished in 1866 in connection with their use in the parish church of Falmouth. This opinion was attacked in 1851 in a pamphlet issued 'by a layman, late fellow of Trinity Coll. Camb.' His last tract was in support of 'The Privilege of Religious Confessions in English Courts of Justice,' 1865. In the summer of 1850 Badeley and thirteen other members of the English church, including Cardinal Manning, signed a series of nine resolutions to the effect that the views of the privy council on baptism should be solemnly disowned by the national church; and when no such action was taken Badeley and several of his colleagues withdrew to the Roman communion. In this new association he was much engaged in settling the legal points connected with their trusts and charities. Dr. Newman's collection of 'Verses on various Occasions' (1868) was dedicated to Badeley, with very warm expressions of friendship, in commemoration of their warm attachment and their unanimity of religious opinions. Many letters to and from Badeley are printed in Mr. Robert Ornsby's 'Memoirs of Mr. J. R. Hope-Scott,' 1884. Badeley died 29 March 1868.

[Gent. Mag. v. 688 (1868); Denison's Notes of my Life, pp. 197–9; Ornsby's Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott, *passim*.] W. P. C.

BADEW, RICHARD (*fl.* 1320–1330), founder of University Hall, Cambridge, was descended from an ancient and knightly family which appears to have given its name to the manor of Badew or Badow, near Chelmsford, Essex, and whose representatives were owners of the manor in the reigns of the first three Edwards. Richard de Badew married Isabel, daughter of Peter Marshall, by whom he had three sons, William, Edward, and Richard. The last-named was chancellor of the university of Cambridge in the year 1326, and was noted for his zeal in the promotion of learning. It was during his tenure of office that he purchased, most probably on behalf of the university, two tenements in Milne Street, the property of a Cambridge physician named Nigellus de Thornton. And here, according to the tradition preserved by Fuller, 'he built a small college, by the name of University Hall, placing a principal therein, under whom scholars lived on their own expenses.' Scot, however, in his 'Tables of the University,' states that they were maintained at the charges of the university. Sixteen years afterwards the hall was accidentally burnt down, when it was rebuilt and endowed by Elizabeth de Clare, afterwards the wife of John de Burgh, earl of Ulster, its name being changed to Clare Hall.

[Morant's Essex, ii. 19; Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge, ed. Prickett and Wright, 83–4; Cooper's Memorials of Cambridge, i. 28.] J. B. M.

BADHAM, CHARLES, M.D. (1780–1845), medical and poetical writer, was born in London on 17 April 1780. After receiving a sound classical education he applied himself to the study of medicine, and proceeded to Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D. in 1802, on which occasion he published his inaugural dissertation, 'De Calculis.' He was admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1803, and about that time entered Pembroke College, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner. As a member of that house he graduated B.A. in 1811, M.A. in 1812, M.B. and M.D. in 1817. In March 1818 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and in September the same year admitted a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. He was censor of the college in 1821, and wrote the Harveian oration which was delivered in 1840.

Badham began to practise his profession in London in 1803, and before long he was appointed physician to the Duke of Sussex. He also became physician to the Westminster General Dispensary, and in conjunction with Dr. Crichton of Clifford Street, he delivered lectures in London on physic, chemistry, and the *materia medica*. After the conclusion of peace in 1815 he determined to enlarge his stores of scientific information and of general knowledge by a visit to the continent. Accordingly he spent two years in travelling through Europe. Traversing the less-known parts of the kingdom of Naples, he passed to the Ionian Islands and thence to Albania, where he was consulted by Ali Pasha. He then pursued his course over Mount Pindus, through Thessaly, and by Thermopylæ to Athens, and thence by the isthmus and gulf of Corinth to the Neapolitan coast. Badham's fondness for travel, in which he spent nearly the half of his days, and his taste for classical literature, were unfavourable to his attaining that celebrity

and extent of practice which, had he remained in the metropolis, would, with ordinary diligence, assuredly have been his portion; but he preferred the easier, though less lucrative, occupation of travelling physician to persons of high degree.

In 1808 he gave proof of his attainments as an observant practical physician by the publication of 'Observations on the Inflammatory Affections of the Mucous Membrane of the Bronchiæ' (Lond., 12mo), a second edition of which, corrected and enlarged, appeared in 1814 under the title of 'An Essay on Bronchitis, with a Supplement containing Remarks on Simple Pulmonary Abscess.' In this treatise bronchitis, acute and chronic, was for the first time separated from peripneumony and pleurisy and the other conditions with which it had previously been confounded, and its history, differential diagnosis, and treatment established.

In 1812 he published at Oxford 'Specimens of a New Translation of Juvenal,' which was followed by a forcible and elegant version of 'The Satires of Juvenal, translated into English verse' (Lond. 1814, 8vo; reprinted 1831). These works were very severely criticised in the 'Quarterly Review' by Dr. Gifford, himself the author of a translation of the same satirist. Dr. Gifford was, however, constrained to admit that Badham's performance was not without merit, and that in some passages, in which he had had to contend with Dryden, he had 'well sustained the contest.'

When, in 1827, the chair of the practice of physic at Glasgow became vacant, Badham was recommended by his friend Sir Henry Halford to the Duke of Montrose as one whose talents and accomplishments would tend to increase the fame of a rising university; and although Scotchmen were not pleased at seeing an Englishman preferred before them, his lectures displayed so much ability that they soon found they had reason to be proud of the services of so brilliant and remarkable a professor. At Glasgow Badham was but little solicitous of medical practice, and devoted himself almost exclusively to the duties of his chair. The vacations he spent in travel, mostly in the south of Europe. He died in London 10 Nov. 1845.

He was a contributor to 'Blackwood's Magazine.' There appeared in April 1829 his 'Lines written at Warwick Castle,' which had been printed with notes, for private circulation, in 1827, 4to. He prepared for the press an 'Itinerary from Rome to Athens,' but it was never published.

Badham was twice married; in early life to the beautiful Miss Margaret Campbell, first cousin of Thomas Campbell the poet, and for whose hand the poet is understood to have been an unsuccessful suitor. About 1833 Badham married, secondly, Caroline, eldest daughter of Admiral Sir Edward Foote, K.C.B. Two of his sons are noticed in separate articles.

[Private information; St. James's Chronicle, 15 Nov. 1845; Quarterly Review, viii. 60, xi. 377; Biog. Dict. of Living Authors (1816), 11; Gent. Mag. N.S. xxv. 99; Munk's College of Physicians, 2nd edit., iii. 190; Times, 26 June 1840.] T. C.

BADHAM, CHARLES, D.D. (1813–1884), classical scholar, born at Ludlow, Shropshire, on 18 July 1813, was the son of Charles Badham, M.D., F.R.S., regius professor of physic in the university of Glasgow, and of Margaret (daughter of Mr. John Campbell), a cousin of Thomas Campbell the poet. He was educated first under the celebrated Pestalozzi, whose favourite pupil he became, and afterwards at Eton: and in 1830 he obtained a scholarship at Wadham College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1837, and M.A. in 1839. After seven years' study in Germany and Italy he was incorporated M.A. at Cambridge as a member of St. Peter's College; was ordained priest in 1848; appointed head master of King Edward VI's Grammar School at Louth in 1851; took the degree of D.D. at Cambridge in 1852; was appointed in 1854 head master of the proprietary school at Edgbaston, near Birmingham; and in 1860 received from the university of Leyden the honorary degree of doctor literarum at the suggestion of Professor Cobet, who could discern the merits which England ignored. In 1863 he was appointed examiner in classics to the university of London.

Early in life Dr. Badham had become the constant companion and voluntary disciple of Frederick Denison Maurice. Indeed he was debarred from promotion in the church of England by the circumstance of his holding opinions which were a very serious hindrance to preferment. Moreover, in considering his comparative want of success in this country, it must be admitted that he lacked the methodical, businesslike habits which the proper management of a large school requires; and although the most warm-hearted and placable of men he suffered from infirmities of temper which could not fail to some extent to impair his influence. Many years before he quitted his native land, such men as Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman, Mr. Robert Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke), and Grote, had pronounced him to be the greatest of living scholars; and the 'Quarterly Review' said of him that 'he

could impart instruction to the ripest scholars of the age, and that he was universally regarded on the continent as the first living scholar in England.'

When Badham resolved to leave the country which had failed to reward his great merits as a scholar and to become a candidate for a professorial chair at the Antipodes, the testimonials he obtained as to his attainments were of a most remarkable character. For instance, Cardinal Newman wrote: 'As to his classical attainments, others will tell you, who have a better claim to speak than I have, that he is the first Greek scholar of the day in this country.' Dr. William Smith, after testifying to his geniality, his winning manners, his extensive knowledge on all subjects, remarked: 'As to his scholarship I say nothing; he is pre-eminently the best verbal critic in England, and, taken altogether, may be pronounced our greatest scholar. It is a great shame and a reproach to us that such a singularly gifted man should be willing to go to the Antipodes.' Hawtrey, master and afterwards provost of Eton, testified: 'I have known him for nearer forty than thirty years, and I can sincerely say that among all I have had to deal with in my Eton experience, I have never known a more remarkable scholar. His published editions of portions of Plato and Euripides recall the skill of Porson more than the criticisms of any living scholar;' and Dr. Thompson, regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, afterwards master of Trinity College, wrote: 'I am therefore able, conscientiously, to state that as a scholar Dr. Badham has few equals, and no superior in England; and that there is no person in England or elsewhere to whose judgment I should be more inclined to defer in the higher departments of Greek criticism. That this opinion is shared by the best continental scholars I could produce abundant evidence.'

In 1867 Badham, to the great regret of his numerous friends here, proceeded to Australia on being appointed professor of classics and logic in the university of Sydney, where he passed the remainder of his life. His influence was wide and strong in favour of intellectual culture. One of his earliest enterprises after his arrival in New South Wales was the establishment of a system of teaching by correspondence in order to meet the desire for knowledge of persons living in the outlying parts of the colony. He likewise succeeded in raising 10,000*l.* in the colony, to be devoted to founding exhibitions at the university, and at the time of his decease he was engaged in perfecting a scheme which, by means of evening classes, would practically bring university education within the reach of even the labouring classes. He died at Sydney on 26 Feb. 1884, and was buried in the church of England cemetery in West Street.

Badham's memory was marvellous. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that he knew all Greek poetry by heart. He constantly taught his pupils with no book before him, and if they misread a single word he would correct them. He had an almost equal mastery over Latin, English, French, and Italian literature, and was well read in German; and through his habit of constantly illustrating one author by another and one literature by another, he taught his pupils to look on letters as a whole.

He published editions with notes of the 'Iphigenia' and 'Helena' of Euripides (1851), of the 'Ion' of Euripides (1851, 1853, and 1861), of Plato's 'Philebus' (1855 and 1878), of Plato's 'Euthydemus' and 'Laches' (1865); also 'Criticism applied to Shakspere,' Lond. 1846, 8vo, being a partial reprint of a series of essays published originally in the 'Surplice' newspaper; 'The Text of Shakspeare' in 'Cambridge Essays, contributed by members of the University,' Lond. 1856, pp. 261–290; and 'Adhortatio ad Juventutem Academicam Sydneiensem,' 1869.

[Private information; Sydney Morning Herald, 28 Feb. 1884, also mail edition 6 March 1884; Times, 10 and 14 April, 1884; Crockford's Clerical Directory (1882); Saturday Review, 26 April 1884, p. 541; Athenæum, 19 April 1884, p. 506; Illustrated Sydney News, 15 March 1884, p. 2; Heaton's Australian Dict. of Dates and Men of the Time (1879), 7; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

BADHAM, CHARLES DAVID, M.D. (1806–1857), naturalist, son of Dr. Charles, and brother of Professor Badham of Sydney, was born in London in 1806, and educated at Eton and Oxford. After taking his degree he was appointed a travelling fellow of the university, and resided for a long time on the continent, especially at Rome and Paris. He became a fellow of the College of Physicians, but, the delicacy of his health proving an obstacle to his obtaining medical practice, he entered the church, and successively held curacies in Norfolk and Suffolk. He died on 14 July 1857. He contributed extensively to Blackwood's and Fraser's Magazines, and wrote three valuable works: 1. 'Insect Life,' 1845. 2. 'The Esculent Funguses of England,' 1847, a book which embodied the results of much research on the continent, and introduced many varieties of wholesome mushrooms, previously neglected, to English tables. 3. 'Prose Halieutics, or

Ancient and Modern Fish Tattle,' 1854, a delightful miscellany of zoological anecdotes and classical lore, especially valuable for its lively illustrations of Oppian and Athenæus, derived from the author's personal experience of the Mediterranean coasts.

[Fraser's Magazine, lvi. 152, 153.] R. G.

BADILEY, RICHARD (*fl.* 1649–1656), admiral, was apparently a merchant, shipowner, and ship-captain, whom the course of the civil war called to a more stirring life. Of his early service under the parliament, and whether on shore or afloat, nothing is known. His name does not appear in any published list of the parliamentary fleet down to May 1648 (PENN's *Life of Penn*, i. 255), but we find him in April 1649 captain of the Happy Entrance and commander-in-chief of the fleet in the Downs, specially charged with appointing and regulating the convoys of merchant ships and proposing measures to the council of state for capturing or destroying the Antelope, one of the ships which had gone over to the Prince of Wales [see BATTEN, SIR WILLIAM], and was lying at Helvoetsluys. The attempt was made with perfect success, and the Antelope destroyed by a party of seamen from the Happy Entrance, commanded by her lieutenant, Stephen Rose, to whom a gold medal and a gratuity of 48*l.* was awarded as encouragement. Through the years 1650 and 1651 Badiley seems to have continued in the Downs and the North Sea, and in December 1651 sailed in the Paragon, a ship of the second rate, together with a small squadron, in convoy of the Levant trade. On 14 Feb. 1651–2 he overhauled an Algerine corsair, and having the greater force took out of her all the English captives. He then passed on to Zante, to Smyrna, and so back towards Leghorn, where, having had news of the war with Holland, he hoped to effect a junction with Commodore Appleton [see APPLETON, HENRY]. Unfortunately Appleton could not or would not stir to meet him, and the Dutch, leaving two ships, which proved sufficient to hold Appleton in check, turned to attack Badiley, who had only four ships with which to oppose the ten or eleven now brought against him. Off the island of Elba the fight began about four o'clock in the afternoon of 27 Aug. 1652, and continued till nightfall. The English ships, and the Paragon more especially, were singly superior to any of the Dutch who swarmed round them and endeavoured to carry them by force of numbers. The fighting was mostly hand to hand or at very short range. 'We discharged,' wrote Badiley, 'that day from this ship (the Paragon) 800 pieces of great ordnance, which must have done no small execution, having sometimes two of the enemy's best men-of-war aboard, and all the rest within pistol and musket shot of us' (31 Aug.) The Paragon had 26 killed and 57 wounded, out of a complement of 250; had fifty shot in the hull, many of them between wind and water, and her masts and rigging cut to pieces. Badiley thought and said that the other ships might and should have taken some of the pressure off the Paragon; but in fact they were severally as hard pressed as the Paragon, and had not her size and strength. They fired away almost all their ammunition, and towards evening the Dutch succeeded in making themselves masters of the Phœnix. And so the fight ended; the English going the next day into Porto Longone in Elba. The Dutch contemplated attacking them there, and offered the governor a large sum of money to permit them. He, however, refused it, and allowed Badiley to strengthen his position by throwing up some batteries and landing some of his ship's guns. Towards the end of October Badiley received orders from home to take command of the squadron at Leghorn, and, crossing over, he concerted measures with Appleton for the recapture of the Phœnix, the success of which led to the Grand Duke's ordering the English to quit the port. This they did, and were, with one exception, all captured by the Dutch, before Badiley, who was in the offing, but to leeward, could offer any assistance. After this there was nothing further to be done but to provide for the safety of the remaining ships, and Badiley accordingly went down the Mediterranean, and so home, arriving in the Downs in the early days of May 1653. His men, he wrote, were very turbulent and mutinous, refused all compromise, and were determined to go into the river to be paid off. They obtained their demands. 'We are paying off the Straits fleet,' wrote Commissioner Pett from Chatham on 1 June; 'they are the rudest people I ever saw. I hope the ringleaders will be called to account.' About 120 of them were, however, immediately shipped off to join the main fleet with Blake. 'I have had no small trouble to quiet them,' wrote Major Bourne on 4 June; 'they are so enraged that they are sent away. I have promised them that as soon as the exigency of affairs permits they shall enjoy the liberty granted them.' The campaign in the Mediterranean had ended so disastrously, and Appleton was so vehement in his accusations, that Badiley's conduct was formally inquired into. The charges recoiled on Appleton, and Badiley was not only cleared of

all blame but was (7 Dec.) promoted to be rear-admiral of the fleet, a rank equivalent then to what was afterwards known as admiral of the blue squadron. He served for a few months in the Vanguard, and was then transferred to the Andrew, in which, as second to Blake, he went to the Mediterranean, and was engaged in the reduction of Tunis and the liberation of English captives along the northern coast of Africa [see BLAKE, ROBERT]. The Andrew came home and was paid off in the autumn of 1655. In the summer of 1656 Badiley superseded Lawson as vice-admiral in the command of the fleet in the Downs. This ended his service. In April 1657 he was living at Wapping, in feeble health; he probably died within the next two or three years, for there is no trace of him after the Restoration, whilst William Badiley, presumably his brother, was for many years master attendant at Woolwich.

[Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, 1649–57; Captain Badiley's Reply to Captain Appleton's Remonstrance, 1653.] J. K. L.

BÆDA. [See BEDE.]

BAFFIN, WILLIAM (*d.* 1622), navigator and discoverer, was most probably a native of London, but nothing is known of his early life. The earliest mention of him is in 1612, as pilot of the Patience, fitted out at Hull by James Hall, for a voyage of discovery to Greenland. Hall was a Yorkshireman, as was Andrew Barker, master of the Patience's consort, the Heartsease; but four merchants of London—Sir Thomas Smythe (most commonly misspelt Smith), Sir James Lancaster, Sir William Cockayne, and Mr. Ball—had a large and principal share in the adventure; and it is conjectured that Baffin may have been appointed at their instance. The expedition left the Humber on 22 April, and examined the west coast of Greenland, as far as 67° N.; but, Hall having been killed in an affray with the natives, the ships returned to England under the command of Barker. The account of the voyage was written by Baffin, part of which only, as published by Purchas, has been preserved; another account, written by John Gatonby, one of the quartermasters, is in Churchill's 'Collection of Voyages,' vi. 241. On his return from Greenland, Baffin entered the service of the Muscovy Company, which had for some years past sent their ships to catch whales near Spitzbergen. They had just obtained a charter, pretending to give them the exclusive right of this fishery; and authorised by it had, in 1612, been sufficiently strong to drive away all foreigners. In 1613 they again sent out a fleet of seven ships, under the command of Captain Benjamin Joseph, in the Tiger, with William Baffin as chief pilot. They found seventeen foreign ships, Dutchmen, Dunkirkers, and Biscayans, already on the Spitzbergen coast; these all submitted to the English claim without resistance; most of them were ordered away, a few only being allowed to fish on payment of half their take to the English ships, which returned safely in September with full cargoes. The narrative of this voyage, written by Baffin, has been preserved in Purchas; another account, by Robert Fotherby, one of the party, is printed from the original manuscript in 'Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society' (1860), iv. 285. The following year, 1614, Baffin served again in the Spitzbergen fishery with Captain Joseph, and in company with Fotherby, whose narrative of the voyage is given by Purchas. The two, leaving their ship, provisioned two boats and persistently pushed along the north coast to the eastward, as far as Hinlopen Strait; but the year was very unfavourable, the ice coming close down to the coast during the greater part of the season. Baffin returned to London on 4 Oct., and the next year took service with the company for the discovery of a north-west passage, the directors of which were Sir Thomas Smythe, Sir Dudley Digges, and John Wolstenholme; he was appointed pilot of the Discovery, commanded by Captain Robert Bylot. The account of this voyage, written by Baffin, was printed very incorrectly by Purchas; the original manuscript, with map, is in the British Museum (*Add. MSS.* 12, 206), and was edited for the Hakluyt Society in 1849 (RUNDALL, *Narratives of Voyages towards the North-west*). As pilot of the Discovery in 1615, Baffin carefully examined Hudson Strait and the eastern coast of Southampton Island, with such accuracy that his latitudes and his notes on the tides are in remarkable agreement with the more rigid observations of the present century. They passed up Fox Channel, beyond Cape Comfort; but finding the land heading them, and, he says, 'very thick pestered with ice, and the further we proceeded the more ice and shoaler water, with small show of any tide, we soon resolved there could be no passage in this place, and presently we bore up the helm and turned the ship's head to the southward (13 July). The land which we saw bear north and north-east was about nine or ten leagues from us; and, surely, without any question, this is the bottom of the bay on the west

side; but how far it runneth more eastward is yet uncertain.' In August 1821, Captain Parry, with better fortune, repeated Baffin's observations: he confirmed the remark as to the 'small show of any tide,' and he saw also the land to the north-east; but he found this to be an island, to which he gave the appropriate name of Baffin's Island, and succeeded in passing away beyond (*Voyage of Fury and Hecla*, 1824, p. 33). The Discovery anchored in Plymouth Sound on 8 Sept.; and Baffin, summing up the results of the voyage, says that 'doubtless there is a passage; but within this strait, which is called Hudson's Strait, I am doubtful, supposing the contrary . . . and my judgment is if any passage within Resolution Island, it is but some creek or inlet, but the main will be up Fretum Davis.' Acting on this opinion, in the next year, 1616, also in the Discovery, with Captain Bylot, he passed up Davis Strait, and pushing to the north as far as 78° N., discovered and named Smith's Sound (in which the false spelling has become a geographical fact), Lancaster Sound, Jones Sound, Wolstenholme Sound, Sir Dudley Digges Cape, with many others, and charted the whole in a manner which we have warrant to suppose was fairly accurate according to the nautical science of the day. Unfortunately, the map and the journal, as well as the narrative, were handed over to Purchas, who published the narrative alone, and that probably in a garbled and imperfect form, considering the reproduction of the chart and of the journal too costly an undertaking. And, so far as is known, neither the one nor the other has ever been seen since, though Mr. Markham offers the very plausible conjecture that the map published by Luke Foxe in 1635 (*North-West Fox, &c.*) may have been, in this part, copied from the lost map of Baffin. It does not mark all Baffin's names, but it does represent the bay as something like the reality, and closed, as it is described by Baffin. Baffin's conclusion, stated in his report to Sir John Wolstenholme, is briefly: 'There is no passage, nor hope of passage, in the north of Davis Strait, we having coasted all or nearly all the circumference thereof, and find it to be no other than a great bay.' The want of the original map, however, permitted very wild statements as to the shape and size of Baffin's Bay to grow up, so that in course of time it came to be doubted whether the whole story was not a fable; and in later maps the distorted representation of Baffin's most important discoveries was omitted altogether as a mere fancy, till, in 1818, Captain Ross rediscovered them, and without difficulty identified the localities which Baffin had described and named (*Voyage in H.M. ships Isabella and Alexander* (4to, 1819), 140, 146).

Baffin had expressed an opinion against the existence of a north-west passage; but his imagination would not be convinced, and suggested that better fortune might attend an expedition on the other side, starting from the neighbourhood of Japan. In some such hope, though quite indefinite, he obtained an appointment as master's mate in the Anne Royal, a large ship belonging to the East India Company, and commanded by Captain Andrew Shilling. This was one of the fleet which sailed from the Downs on 5 March 1616–7, and arrived at Surat in the following September. Captain Shilling was then directed to proceed into the Red Sea for settling an English trade in those parts; and arrived off Mocha on 13 April 1618. The Anne Royal remained in the Red Sea for about four months, during which time Baffin was busily employed in surveying and in charting his observations; and so also, when, later in the year, the ship went into the Persian Gulf. In February the Anne Royal left India homeward bound, and arrived in the Thames in September 1619. A minute of the court of directors, dated 1 Oct., orders 'William Baffin, a master's mate in the Anne, to have a gratuity for his pains and good art in drawing out certain plots of the coast of Persia and the Red Sea, which are judged to have been very well and artificially performed; some to be drawn out by Adam Bowen, for the benefit of such as shall be employed in those parts' (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, East Indies, 1617–21, 257).

Early the next year, Captain Shilling, in the London, a new ship, again sailed for the East Indies, in command of a company's fleet of four ships, and Baffin accompanied him as master. They arrived at Surat on 9 Nov. 1620, and having learned that a combined force of two Portuguese and two Dutch ships, making common cause against the English, were waiting at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, to attack such of their ships as came that way, they sailed at once to look for and anticipate them. On 16 Dec. the two fleets, equal in point of numbers, met and engaged. They fought for nine hours, and separated to repair damages. Twelve days later they met again. Captain Swan, of the English ship Roebuck, whose journal is given by Purchas (the original manuscript of which is in the India Office) says: 'Our broadsides were brought up, and the good ordnance from our whole fleet played so fast upon them that, doubtless, if the know-

ledge in our people had been answerable to their willing minds and ready resolutions not one of the galleons, unless their sides were impenetrable, had escaped us.' It was, perhaps, not only the want of knowledge but the imperfections of the guns, of the powder and of the shot, that rendered it possible for ships to fire at each other all day without any decided result. On this occasion, however, some damage was done, and towards evening the enemy towed their ships off, and were not pursued. Captain Shilling was mortally wounded, and died on 6 Jan. 1620–1; Captain Blyth succeeded to the command, but the change made no difference to Baffin, who continued master of the London, and the fleet presently returned to Surat. In the following year the English in India agreed to assist the Shah of Persia in driving the Portuguese out of Ormuz, a place which, in former ages, had been the emporium of the East, the wonder and admiration of the world; and though in the hands of the Portuguese, and since the opening of the route round the Cape of Good Hope, its wealth and importance had declined, it was still extremely rich. The Shah had long regarded the Portuguese possession with jealousy, and had coveted the accumulated treasures, greater in repute than in fact, and now hoped, with the help of the English, to achieve his desire. The attack began with the reduction of Kishm, an adjacent island, on which Ormuz was largely dependent for water; and here, on 23 Jan. 1621–2, Baffin, whilst taking the angles of the castle wall, in order to measure its height and distance, received his death-wound. According to the account given by Purchas, 'he received a shot from the castle into his belly, wherewith he gave three leaps, and died immediately.' His death made little difference to the result of the siege; Kishm surrendered on 1 Feb., and Ormuz also, after a stout defence, on 23 April 1622. Baffin appears to have left no surviving children; but his widow preferred a claim for some money which she asserted belonged to her husband, in compensation for which she eventually received 500*l.* She is described as then, in 1628, a woman advanced in years and deaf, and as having married again.

Amongst early navigators Baffin takes a high place as one of the first who endeavoured to determine longitude at sea by astronomical observations. In his first recorded voyage to Greenland (8 July 1612) he describes his attempt to determine the longitude by observing the time of the moon's culmination; and in his voyage to Hudson's Bay (21 June 1615) he has recorded another attempt by the lunar distance of the sun. The measurements were of necessity too rude to give results even approximately correct, but that was the fault of the instruments; and though the observation led to no immediate improvement, the date is noteworthy as that of the first lunar observation taken at sea.

[The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612–22, edited, with notes and an introduction, by Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S. (1881), for the Hakluyt Society. Mr. Markham's Introduction embodies the result of much laborious research, and it is scarcely to be hoped that any further evidence as to Baffin's origin and early life can now be discovered.] J. K. L.

BAGARD, or **BAGGARD**, **THOMAS** (*d.* 1544), civilian, was nominated in 1525 by Cardinal Wolsey one of the first eighteen canons of his college at Oxford, which afterwards became Christ Church. On 7 Oct. 1528 he was admitted to the college of advocates in London. Early in 1532 he became chancellor of the diocese of Worcester through the intercession of Edmund Bonner with Thomas Cromwell. Under date 24 Jan. 1531–2, Bonner asked Cromwell to 'continue good master to Dr. Bagard,' and two letters from Bagard to Cromwell, thanking him for granting him the appointment at Worcester, are extant at the Record Office. Bagard appears to have at first moderately supported Cromwell's ecclesiastical reforms, and, although he disagreed with him in many points of doctrine, to have been on good terms with Hugh Latimer, both before and after he became bishop of Worcester in 1535. In 1534 Cromwell suspected Bagard of disloyalty to the cause of the Reformation, and Bagard replied to the accusation in a long letter asserting his anxiety 'to tender the king's pleasure.' In 1541 he became one of the first canons of Worcester endowed from the confiscated property of the disestablished Worcester priory. Bagard died in 1544.

[Coote's Civilians, p. 24; Wood's Antiquities of Oxford, ed. Gutch, p. 423; Henry VIII's Letters and Papers from 1532 to 1534.] S. L. L.

BAGE, **ROBERT** (1728–1801), novelist, was born at Darley, in the parish of St. Alkmonds, Derby, on 29 Feb. 1728. He was educated at a common school at Derby. At the age of seven he was a proficient in Latin, and his talents were generally admired. On leaving school he was trained to his father's business of paper-making, but did not cease to study. At the age of twenty-three Bage contracted a happy marriage, and with the aid of his wife's dowry he was enabled to establish a paper manufactory at Elford,

near Tamworth, which he carried on until his death. After marriage Bage taught himself the modern languages, becoming especially proficient in French and Italian; and being inclined (says Mrs. Barbauld) when about thirty to learn the more abstruse branches of mathematics, he engaged a teacher at Birmingham, where he spent an evening every week for the purpose of instruction. The reference to the science of mathematics put into the mouth of one of his characters probably refers to its influence over himself. 'He was obliged to this science for a correct imagination, and a taste for uniformity in the common actions of his life.'

Bage did not begin to write until late in life. Sir Walter Scott states, in the 'Novelists' Library,' that in the year 1765 Bage entered into partnership in an extensive iron manufactory, one of his partners being the celebrated Dr. Darwin. The firm was dissolved in 1779, and Bage found himself a loser to the extent of 1,500*l*. In order to divert his mind from his losses he turned to literature. His first venture in authorship was made at the age of fifty-three. 'Mount Henneth,' a novel in two volumes, was purchased by Lowndes for 30*l*., and published in 1781. It is written in the form of a series of letters, and in a humorous preface the author anticipates the critics by reviewing the work himself. 'It puts us in mind of Dr. Johnson's sarcasm on Macklin's conversation—a perpetual renovation of hope, with perpetual disappointment. To say the least we can of it, it is bad in the beginning, worse and worse in its progress, but the end is heaven.' There were sins against decorum in this novel, but 'the strong mind, playful fancy, liberal sentiments, and extensive knowledge of the author are everywhere apparent' (Scott).

Novels quickly succeeded each other, 'Barham Downs,' 'The Fair Syrian,' and 'James Wallace,' appearing at very brief intervals. After the publication of the last-named work the author took a short respite of four years, and then issued, in 1792, 'Man as he is;' this was followed in 1796 by Bage's last and finest novel, 'Hermsprong, or Man as he is not.' All his works were produced within fifteen years, or between his fifty-third and sixty-eighth year. Their freshness and vigour greatly charmed his contemporaries, and the reputation of the author extended beyond the Channel, several of Bage's novels being translated into German and published at Frankfort.

From a correspondence with his friend William Hutton of Birmingham, Bage appears to have got into difficulties with the excise respecting the duty on his paper. But the fault lay with the officials, who seized large quantities of paper after it had left the maker's possession, and after it had been marked, stamped, signed with the officer's name, and the excise duty paid. In 1793 Bage left Elford and went to live at Tamworth, dying in the latter town on 1 Sept. 1801. We have the testimony of Mr. Hutton, his most intimate friend, that in private life Bage was most amiable, but he adds with regret that 'he laid no stress upon revelation,' and was 'barely a christian.' His friends were deeply attached to him, and they described his temper as open, mild, and sociable. He was very kind to his domestics, who lived with him till they were old, and even to his horses when they were past work. He had three sons, who manifested no small portion of his ability, but one of these died in early life.

Notwithstanding his friend's assurance that he was 'barely a christian,' there are signs in Bage's works that he retained a strong affection for the quaker religion, in which he was brought up. He was deeply impressed by the French revolution, and the effects of the new principles are clearly traceable in his later works. In 'Man as he is' the philosophy is that of the French revolution. The work has been described as that of 'a man whose mind has more strength than elegance, and whose opinions, often just, sometimes striking, are marked with traits of singularity, and not unfrequently run counter to received notions and established usages.' In reality, it was the keenness of his satire which was distasteful to the orthodox, and caused them to brand as dangerous works whose sparkling humour, genuine ability, and in the main generous and elevating sentiments, were not sufficiently recognised.

The writer in Chambers's 'Cyclopædia of English Literature' describes Bage's novels as decidedly inferior to those of Holcroft, with whom Bage had no little in common; and he expresses surprise that Sir Walter Scott should have admitted them into his 'Novelists' Library.' But the reader will feel inclined to applaud Sir Walter for granting them this distinction. As novels they may not interest strongly by their plot, but there is a distinct originality about them. They were chiefly intended to inculcate certain political and philosophical opinions. Not unfrequently, perhaps, the author's strong convictions betray him into exaggeration. But touching the literary power of his works there can scarcely be two opinions. Considered altogether apart from their moral and social bearings, the novels of Bage display

an unquestionable power in drawing and developing character, while their style is always entertaining and frequently incisive.

Bage's novels are comparatively unknown, and have not been reproduced in a collective edition. Scott reprinted three of them in the 'Novelists' Library,' and Mrs. Barbauld a fourth in the 'British Novelists.' The full list, with the respective dates of publication, is as follows: 1. 'Mount Henneth,' 1781. 2. 'Barham Downs,' 1784. 3. 'The Fair Syrian,' 1787. 4. 'James Wallace,' 1788. 5. 'Man as he is,' 1792. 6. 'Hermsprong, or Man as he is not,' 1796.

[Ballantyne's Novelists' Library, edited by Sir Walter Scott; Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary; British Novelists, edited by Mrs. Barbauld; and the various works of Bage.] G. B. S.

BAGEHOT, WALTER (1826–1877), an English economist and journalist, was born at Langport, in Somersetshire, on 3 Feb. 1826; he died at the same place on 24 March 1877. For the last seventeen years of his life he edited the 'Economist' newspaper, which was established by the late Right Hon. James Wilson during the anti-corn law agitation to represent free-trade principles. Mr. Bagehot, who married in 1858 Mr. Wilson's eldest daughter, became in 1860, on the departure of his father-in-law to India as financial member of the supreme council, the editor and manager of that journal, and continued in that position till his death. He was a considerable authority in all questions of banking and finance, and consulted by chancellors of the exchequer of both parties on such matters at critical moments; but in the literary world he was even better known for his lively, vivid, and humorous criticisms. The works published during his own lifetime were: 1. 'The English Constitution,' a book used at Oxford and in more than one of the North American universities as a text-book on the subject; it has also been translated into German, French, and Italian. 2. 'Physics and Politics,' an attempt to apply the principles of 'natural selection,' as explained by Mr. Darwin, to the explanation of the competitions and struggles of states; this volume, which is one of the International Scientific Series, has gone through four editions, and has been translated into six or seven different languages. 3. 'Lombard Street,' now in its seventh edition; a study of the money market. He also published during his lifetime a volume of essays, 'Estimates of some Englishmen and Scotchmen,' now out of print, the whole of which, however, is included in either the two volumes of 'Literary Studies,' or the single volume of 'Biographical Studies,' published after his death. Besides these works a volume on the 'Depreciation of Silver,' which discusses the causes of the fall in silver between 1865 and 1875, and which was corrected for the press by himself, appeared immediately after his death in 1877; and a volume of essays on political economy, called 'Economic Studies,' part of which had been published during his lifetime, while part was found among his papers, was published in 1880; Bagehot also published some essays on parliamentary reform, which were republished in 1883.

Langport, where Walter Bagehot was born and died, and with which he was connected both personally and by business ties during the whole of his life, is a little Somersetshire town with a 'portreeve' of its own, and a characteristically sober constitutional history. So long ago as in the reign of Edward I, Langport begged to be relieved of the onerous duty of sending burgesses to the House of Commons, for at that time sending representatives to parliament also involved remunerating them for their responsibilities, dangers, and expenses. This frugality and this rather ostentatious indifference to patriotic pretensions pleased Bagehot, who often boasted of it to his friends as a note of true political sobriety. It was at Langport that the Somersetshire bank was founded by Mr. Samuel Stuckey in the eighteenth century, and with this bank Bagehot, whose father, Mr. Thomas Watson Bagehot, had married Mrs. Estlin, a niece of Mr. Stuckey's, became early connected, and he succeeded his father as vice-chairman of the bank on the latter's retirement. Bagehot was sent to school in Bristol, where his mother's brother-in-law, Dr. Prichard, lived; and the influence of this relative, who wrote a book of great note on the 'Races of Man,' is visible enough in Bagehot's own subsequent writings. In 1842 he entered University College, London, where he became a good mathematician under the late Professor De Morgan, and read very widely in all branches of general literature. Poetry, metaphysics, and history—of which last study he never shirked what are usually thought the dry parts—were his favourite studies. The late Professor Long, who was a learned and accurate student of Roman law, as well as of Roman history, had almost as much influence over his course of studies as Professor De Morgan himself. Bagehot took his B.A. degree in the university of London, with the mathematical scholarship, in 1846, and his M.A. degree in the same university, with the gold medal in intellectual and moral philosophy and political economy, in 1848. Then he began to read law,

in the chambers, first, of Mr. Charles Hall (afterwards Vice-Chancellor Sir Charles Hall), and then of his friend, Mr. Quain (afterwards the late Mr. Justice Quain), where he took a great liking for the art of special pleading, an art of which lawyers have now abandoned at least the technical and scientific use. Bagehot always professed to regret greatly the abolition of special pleas. 'The only thing I ever really knew,' he once wrote, 'was special pleading, and the moment I had learnt that, the law reformers botched and abolished it.' Nevertheless, though called to the bar in the autumn of 1852, he had already made up his mind not to pursue the law as his profession, but to join his father in his shipowning and banking business at Langport.

Before doing this, however, Bagehot spent some months in Paris, and happened to be living there at the time of the *coup d'état* in December 1851. He adopted keenly at the time the side of the prince-president, and horrified some of his liberal friends in London by addressing seven letters on the subject of the *coup d'état* to a little weekly paper, called the 'Inquirer.' These letters have since been republished in an appendix to the first volume of his 'Literary Studies,' which appeared after his death. They are letters of singular force and vivacity, though marked by more of that cynicism not uncommon in young men than any of his later writings. His great thesis was that 'stupidity' is the essential condition of political freedom, and that the French were a great deal too clever to be free. He held that the only security for people's doing their duty was 'that they should not know anything else to do,' and that the only guarantee for political stability was that they should be incapable of comprehending any other condition of political life than that to which they had been accustomed. It is easy to see that this notion, less paradoxically expressed, pervaded the essay on 'Physics and Politics' conceived and written some twenty years later.

In 1852 Bagehot plunged into business; but he had always spare energy for literature, and contributed first to the 'Prospective Review,' and from 1855 onwards to the 'National Review' (of which he was, throughout the existence of that quarterly, one of the editors), a series of essays which attracted very general attention by their brilliancy of style and lucidity of thought. Bagehot's great characteristic as a writer, whether on economic or literary subjects, was a very curious combination of dash and doubt, great vivacity in describing the superficial impressions produced on him by every subject-matter with which he was dealing, and great caution in yielding his mind to that superficial impression—one might almost say great distrust of it, if only because he was always disposed to believe in the illusiveness of a first impression. His face reflected both phases of his mind. He had heavy black hair, flashing black eyes, a florid complexion, a lissome figure, and the look of high animal spirits; but he had also something of good-natured mockery in his glance, and his face reflected that habitual reserve of judgment which has been called 'detachment' of mind—in other words, a power of holding himself aloof from the influence of his own first impressions till he had checked and criticised them. Perhaps the essays which would best represent his peculiar genius are those on the 'First Edinburgh Reviewers,' on 'Hartley Coleridge,' and on 'Bishop Butler.' In those essays you get a glimpse of Bagehot's ultimate creed, such as you hardly reach in any of his more elaborate works.

Of these more elaborate works, probably the most adequate to his own conception was that on the 'English Constitution,' in which he tries to get rid of all the formal theory of 'checks and balances,' and to show where the centre of power in the United Kingdom really is, and why the House of Commons is so much more powerful than other representative assemblies of the same class. His view was that the throne and the House of Lords are of the highest use, *not* in directly checking the House of Commons, but in affecting the wishes of the people as to what the commons should do and what they should not do. He regarded 'the dignified parts,' or, as he also calls them, 'the theatrical parts,' of the constitution, as useful chiefly to inspire in the people political confidence, to give a fuller significance to the sense of national unity, and to incline the people to look above themselves in education and social rank for the leaders by whom they would be guided. But the effective part of our constitution is, in Bagehot's view, the very close unity between the executive government and the legislature, produced by the machinery of the cabinet, which is at once responsible for every administrative act and for the legislation which enlarges, or contracts, or alters the scope of, both the administration and the legislature. He contrasts, at great length, the fusion of the administrative and legislative functions in the English cabinet with their formal and careful separation in the American constitution, and he maintains that the House of Commons gains enormously in efficiency by its power of dismissing and virtually nominating the cabinet; for that is the power,

according to Bagehot, which gives so much importance to its debates, and which brings home to the electors their responsibility for sending to parliament the right kind of men, and for making their dissatisfaction felt when their representatives do not speak and vote in the manner best calculated to lend weight to the party which they are pledged to support. Bagehot held that a representative assembly which, like the House of Representatives in the United States, cannot effect any great and notable change by its resolutions, is bound to be something of a cipher, and that the people will never care enough about what such an assembly does, to take the pains requisite for selecting the best men. Nay, more, the best men themselves will not fix their ambition on becoming members of an assembly which exerts so little conspicuous influence on the course of national events. Bagehot was the first to bring out powerfully the paradox in 'government by public meeting,' as he called it, though he did not live to see all the practical illustrations of that paradox which we have witnessed of late years since the rise of Mr. Parnell's Irish party into its present importance. But he had fully grasped the absolute impossibility of conducting such a government as ours unless the House of Commons, in whom all power is centred, is really docile to its leaders on both sides. And Bagehot held that nothing could make it docile to its leaders on both sides except a profound popular conviction that deference to leaders is of the very essence of parliamentary government.

Bagehot, though no admirer of the House of Lords, is, on the whole, a decided partisan of the House of Lords as a revising assembly; but he earnestly desired its reconstitution by the help of a considerable number of distinguished life-peers. 'Most lords,' he said pithily, 'are feeble and forlorn.' The young peers are seldom aware that 'business is really more agreeable than pleasure.' Moreover, they are timorous creatures, who do not know when it is safe to resist an apparent current of popular opinion any more than they know when it is fatal to attempt to resist it. But with all this depreciation of the peers, Bagehot thought that the existence of the House of Lords tended to maintain the respect of the English people at large for the influence of wealth and culture in the community, and to prevent hungry and ignorant men from dictating foolish revolutionary measures to hungry and ignorant crowds of followers. While the House of Lords remains, the people will be insensibly influenced by their liking for the wealth and splendour of the aristocracy, and this liking will act as a sedative to keep them from rash and violent measures, and to confine reform to the removal of clear and visible grievances.

'Physics and Politics' was described by Bagehot as 'an attempt to apply the principles of natural selection and inheritance to political society.' His general view was that in early times the value of government chiefly consisted in the drill of a society into fixed habits, customs, preferences, and rules of its own, so as to subdue arbitrary personal caprice, and to create a common mind and character, a common groove of thought and feeling. He held that for this purpose a good habit or rule was better than a bad habit or rule; but that even a bad habit or rule thoroughly impressed on the whole people, and inducing a common life, was better than a good habit or rule which had not bitten deeply into the life of the people and effectually moulded them in a single mould. The race of men who cannot help acting together if they would, are sure to get the better over any race whose combination for co-operative actions is loose and imperfect; hence his preference for what he called political stupidity—the dull fixed habit of acting all in one way as the English do—to the sprightly divergences and differences of opinion which make it so difficult for the French to know what they really wish, or whether they have any wish in common by which the masses are profoundly affected. In the same way Bagehot explained, of course, the triumph of Rome over Greece and other indifferently welded, though cleverer and more reflective communities. He maintained, however, that this drill may be *too* effective, may go too far, and that, when it does so, we have cases of what he called 'arrested civilisations.' Such an arrested civilisation we have in China, where the common drill completely trampled out that disposition for cautious criticism and review of national prejudices, which ought to come sooner or later if there is ever to be an age of progress and discussion. Bagehot held that in our own day that respect for action which was characteristic of the times when action was needed to form and mould the national character, is excessive. He thought that reserve of judgment, and especially reserve of resolve, is not half common enough. Men are over-eager to be doing what they are not sure of approving even when they have done it. The military instincts inherited from the age of drill precipitate us into all sorts of premature action, where we really want discussion and suspense of judgment till discussion has done its perfect work. 'Physics and Politics' is a very remarkable illustration of the dread

of eagerness inspired by the doubts of a reflective mind. The eager nations, he held, had had their day. The time for deliberating, hesitating and slowly resolving nations, had arrived.

As an economist Bagehot belonged decidedly to the Ricardo school; but he held that the Ricardo political economy does not apply to any country in which the larger commerce and the system of open competition have not been more or less introduced. He denied altogether, for instance, that in such a country as India it is true that capital flows towards any occupation in which a high rate of profit is to be made, or that the Ricardo theory of rent is true in India. He regarded political economy as a science of *tendencies* only, these tendencies being approximately true in countries like England, though not more than approximately true even there, while in the older world they are absolutely invisible.

Bagehot was one of the best conversers of his day. He was not only vivid, witty, and always apt to strike a light in conversation, but he helped in every real effort to get at the truth, with a unique and rare power of lucid statement. One of his friends said of him: 'I never knew a power of discussion, of co-operative investigation of truth,' to approach to his. 'It was all stimulus, and yet no contest.'

[The books mentioned above, and the memoir prefixed to the two volumes of Literary Studies.] R. H. H.

BAGFORD, JOHN (1650–1716), 'shoemaker and biblioclast,' was born in St. Anne's parish, Blackfriars, and brought up as a shoemaker. Like many of his craft, he had a turn for literature and general information, and in process of time became a collector of books on commission for booksellers and amateurs. In the exercise of his vocation he formed the two collections for which he is chiefly remembered, the 'Bagford Ballads,' which, by rescuing so many curious broadside ditties from destruction, has entitled him to the gratitude of all antiquaries and lovers of old English verse, and the enormous collection of title-pages and other fragments in sixty-four volumes folio, which has procured him the no less emphatic maledictions of all who object to the mutilation of books. 'He was,' says Dibdin, 'the most hungry and rapacious of all book and print collectors, and in his rage he spared neither the most delicate nor the most costly specimens.' His ravages were perpetrated under the idea that he was amassing materials for the history of printing, proposals for which were published in 1707, but which he would have been quite incompetent to write. He was, however, diligent and honest, and, according to Hearne, possessed a great knowledge of paper and binding. He was one of the revivers of the Society of Antiquaries, and a valuable letter from him on the antiquities of London is printed in the first volume of Leland's Collectanea. He himself exercised printing on a small scale. In his latter days he was admitted into the Charterhouse, and died on 15 May 1716. His collections were purchased after his death by Lord Oxford, and came eventually into the British Museum. 'The Bagford Ballads, illustrating the last years of the Stuarts,' were edited for the Ballad Society by the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, 2 vols., Hertford, 1878; and other pieces referring to the periods of the Civil War, Commonwealth, and Restoration have appeared in others of Mr. Ebsworth's reprints. Some have been included in Mr. Chappell's editions of the Roxburghe Ballads.

[Dibdin's Bibliomania, pp. 430–37; Blades's Enemies of Books.] R. G.

BAGGERLEY, HUMPHREY (*fl.*1654), royalist captain, was in the service of James, the seventh earl of Derby. He was employed in the embarkation of that nobleman in the Isle of Man on 12 Aug. 1651. On 13 Oct. in that year the earl applied that Captain Baggerley, who was then a prisoner at Chester, might be allowed to attend him during the few hours he had to live. The request was granted, and it is to Baggerley's pen that we are indebted for a minute and touching narrative of the earl's final hours and execution. This narrative has been printed by Draper in his account of the 'House of Stanley,' 1864. In 1654 Captain Baggerley was imprisoned in London for taking part in what was called Gerard's conspiracy. He subsequently acted as steward to William, ninth earl of Derby.

[Draper's House of Stanley, 99, 217, 218, 231.] T. C.

BAGGS, CHARLES MICHAEL, D.D. (1806–1845), catholic bishop, controversialist, scholar and antiquary, was born at Belville, in county Meath, Ireland, on 21 May 1806. He was the eldest son of a protestant barrister of Dublin, Charles Baggs, Esq., afterwards judge of the court of vice-admiralty in Demerara, by his wife Eleanor, fourth daughter of John Howard Kyan, Esq., of Mount Howard and Ballymurtagh in the county of Wicklow. Through his mother's family (see BURKE'S *Landed Gentry*, 4th edition, p. 825) he was directly descended from the O'Cahans, princes

of Derry, a younger branch of the illustrious house of O'Neil of Tyrone.

His father being a member of the established church, he was sent first of all to a protestant academy kept by a Mr. King at Englefield Green in Berkshire. Early in 1820 his father died suddenly at Demerara, three days after hearing of the death of a friend for whom he had become security for 60,000*l*. Upon the news of this double calamity Charles Baggs was removed by his mother from Englefield Green to the then well-known catholic seminary of Sedgeley Park. There he remained for exactly a year, namely, until the June of 1821, when, at the instance of Bishop Poynter, vicar-apostolic of the London district, he was transferred as an ecclesiastical student to St. Edmund's College in Hertfordshire. For three years he continued his studies there with intense application. Having won greatly upon his superiors by his docility and intelligence, he was in the summer of 1824 sent to the English College at Rome, in the Via di Monserrato, which thenceforth, from the date of his arrival there on 9 June, became his home for sixteen years. The academic honours won by him were numerous. In 1825, besides contending for the second prize in logic, he won the first prize in mathematics. In 1826, again, he secured not only the first prize in Hebrew, but the first also in physics and mathematics. In 1827 he was pronounced 'laudatus' in theology, and was awarded the first prize in sacred scripture.

His remarkable ability was shown in a signal manner on 25 Sept. 1830, when, in the presence of a distinguished audience presided over by Cardinal Zurla, he held his ground as a Latin disputant against all comers in the maintenance of his unusually ample theses as a theologian. They embraced fifty in regard to Holy Writ, forty-one in regard to dogmatic theology, and sixty in regard to ecclesiastical history. This display, which won for him his doctor's cap at the early age of twenty-four, is still commemorated in the volume entitled 'Theses ex Theologia Universa et Historia Ecclesiastica quas sub tutela et auspiciis eminentissimi principis Placidi Zurla S.R.E. Cardinalis Tituli S. Crucis in Jerusalem SS. D. N. Pii Papæ VIII in Urbe Vicarii, etc. et Collegii Anglorum Patroni propugnandas suscipit Carolus Michael Baggs eiusdem collegii alumnus septimo Kal. Septembris facta cuilibet mane indiscriminatim vespere autem post tertium singulas oppugnandi facultate. Romæ, MDCCCXXX. Apud Leopoldum Bourlieum,' 4to, pp. 48.

He was ordained in his twenty-fifth year (Dec. 1830) to the priesthood, having in the previous month been ordained subdeacon and deacon. He took high rank in the English college as a teacher. For several years he occupied the chair of professor of Hebrew. His knowledge of French and Italian in particular, as well as of Spanish and German, was remarkable. As a pulpit orator he was not long in becoming known outside the walls of San Tommaso degli Inglesi. His earliest published discourse was one on the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs, delivered on 7 Feb. 1836, in the church of Gesù e Maria in the Corso, and was issued from the press immediately afterwards, with an appendix (in 8vo, pp. 79), dedicated to Cardinal Weld. In the following month, 8 March 1836, appeared his 'Letter addressed to the Rev. R. Burgess, Protestant Chaplain at Rome' (8vo, pp. 58); a controversial argument, which in the same year was translated into Italian by Dr. Baggs himself and by Augusto Garofolini, both versions being printed separately at the Tipografia delle Belle Arti.

During the rectorship at the English College in Rome of Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, Dr. Baggs was appointed, as early as in 1834, to the post of vice-rector. By his holiness Pope Gregory XVI, with whom he was always an especial favourite, he was nominated a 'cameriere d'onore,' and in the same pontificate was created a monsignore. A monograph from his hand, entitled 'The Papal Chapel described and illustrated from History and Antiquities, by C. M. Baggs, D.D., of the English College at Rome, Cameriere d'Onore to his Holiness,' appeared at Rome in 1839 (8vo, pp. 44), inscribed to Monsignore Charles Acton. It is still widely popular as a handbook for English-speaking visitors. The same may be said also of another larger work by Dr. Baggs, which was published almost simultaneously. This was 'The Ceremonies of Holy Week at the Vatican and S. John Lateran's. Described and Illustrated from History and Antiquities. With an Account of the Armenian Mass at Rome on Holy Saturday, and the Ceremonies of Holy Week at Jerusalem. By C. M. Baggs, Cameriere d'Onore, &c.,' 8vo, pp. 132. The dedication of the book last named to Hugh Charles Lord Clifford of Chudleigh is dated English College, Rome, 16 March 1839.

During the following year Baggs published at Rome another ecclesiastico-archæological work of curious elaboration, entitled 'The Pontifical Mass sung at St. Peter's Church on Easter Sunday, on the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul, and Christmas Day, with a Dissertation on Ecclesiastical Vestments,' 8vo, 1840. This work he formally dedicated

to Cardinal James Giustiniani, bishop of Albano and protector of the English College. Baggs preached the funeral oration of his cousin, Lady Gwendoline Talbot, Princess of Borghese, on 23 Dec. 1840, at the church of San Carlo in the Corso. In its printed form he inscribed it to the father of the young princess, John, the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury.

Four months prior to this Baggs was advanced to the rectorship of the English College, upon the consecration of his predecessor, the future Cardinal Wiseman, on 8 June 1840, as bishop of Melipotamus. During the last ten years of his sojourn in Rome, Baggs, both orally and in writing, held high rank there as a controversialist. Before the Accademia di Religione Cattolica, he read, on 30 June 1842, his 'Dissertazione sul Sistema Teologico degli Anglicani detti Puseyisti,' afterwards published in 8vo, pp. 35, in the 'Annali delle Scienze Religiose,' vol. xv. No. 43. In a subsequent number of the same record, vol. xvii. No. 49, appeared, in 8vo, pp. 28, his 'Dissertazione sullo Stato Odierno della Chiesa Anglicana.'

Throughout the pontificate of Gregory XVI, Baggs was the 'cameriere d'onore' upon whom was devolved the duty of presenting all the English visitors, both catholic and protestant, who were admitted to the privilege of a private audience with his holiness. In this capacity he enjoyed a high degree of popularity, not merely among his co-religionists, but among his compatriots generally. His career at Rome was fittingly closed by his elevation to the episcopate. This occurred on 28 Jan. 1844, when, in the church of St. Gregory on the Cælian Hill, he was consecrated Bishop of Pella in partibus infidelium by Cardinal Fransoni, assisted by Dr. Brown, then Bishop of Tloa and afterwards of Liverpool, and by Dr. Collier, the Bishop of Port Louis in the Mauritius. It was in consequence of the death of Bishop Baines that Gregory XVI selected him thus to fill the suddenly vacated office of vicar apostolic of the western district in England. On his departure from Rome the pope made him a present of books, while the students of the English College gave him a costly pectoral cross, and the protestants then residing in the Eternal City purchased for him by subscription a superb crucifix. He formally took possession of his diocese on 30 May 1844, when his arrival at his future home in England was welcomed by a large gathering of the clergy and laity at Prior Park near Bath. There, two days afterwards, he held his first ordination. Visiting his extensive diocese during the course of that summer, he newly organised it in the autumn, by portioning it out, on 2 Oct., into four deaneries. Shortly after taking up his residence at Prior Park, Bishop Baggs delivered a remarkable course of lectures on the supremacy of the pope, in the church, at Bath, of St. John the Evangelist. At the beginning of the second year of his episcopate, Bishop Baggs died at the early age of thirty-nine, on 16 Oct. 1845, at Prior Park. There his remains were solemnly interred in the partially completed new church of the college on the 23rd of that month, being a few years afterwards removed thence to their present place of sepulture in the church of Midford Castle.

[For the authentication of facts in this memoir careful research has been made in the archives of the English college at Rome, the portions of which relating to Bishop Baggs are mostly in the handwriting of his vice-rector and successor as rector, the late Dr. Thomas Grant, afterwards first bishop of Southwark. Reference may also be made to the following authorities: Memorial Notice in the Morning Post, 3 Nov. 1845; another in the Weekly and Monthly Orthodox Journal of June 1849; Memoir with Portrait in the Catholic Directory for 1851, 12mo, pp. 152–155; Oliver's Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester, 8vo, pp. 230–3; Brady's Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, A.D. 1400 to 1875, 8vo, Rome, 1877, pp. 330–3.]

C. K.

BAGNALL, GIBBONS (1719–1800), poetical writer, the son of Gibbons Bagnall of Windsor, was admitted to Balliol College, Oxford, 12 July 1735, where he proceeded B.A. 30 April 1741 (*Rawl. MS.* in the Bodl. Libr.). He afterwards went to King's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1760. Taking orders, he became vicar of Holm Lacy in Herefordshire, and head-master of the free school at Hereford. He was collated on 27 May 1760 to the prebend of Piona Parva in the church of Hereford, and on 1 Aug. 1767 to the prebend of Barsham in the same cathedral establishment. He also held for some time the rectory of Upton Bishop; and in 1783 he was presented to the vicarage of Sellack. He died on 31 Dec. 1800, in his 82nd year.

His works are: 1. 'A Sermon on Exodus xv. 20,' 1762, 8vo. 2. 'Education: an Essay,' in verse, London, 1765, 4to. 3. 'A New Translation of Telemachus, in English verse,' 2 vols., Hereford, 1790, 8vo; 2 vols., Dublin, 1792, 12mo.

[MS. Addit. 19209 f. 33; Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglicanæ, ed. Hardy, i. 496, 523; Gent. Mag. lxx. (ii.) 1300; Watt's Bibl. Brit.]

T. C.

BAGOT, LEWIS (1740–1802), bishop, was seventh son of Sir Walter Bagot, bart., and brother of the first Lord Bagot. Born 1 Jan. 1741, he was educated at Westminster, although not on the foundation, was with his brother a schoolfellow of Cowper, was sent to the university of Oxford, and was appointed a canoneer student of Christ Church. He wrote verses in 1761—printed among the Oxford poems—on the death of George II and accession of George III. There is loyalty, but no inspiration, in them. Being very fragile in health, he was removed to Lisbon. On his return, considerably invigorated, he proceeded M.A. 23 May 1764. Having been admitted to holy orders, he was presented to the rectory of Jevington, and also of Rye, Sussex. Prior to this he had been made canon of Christ Church in the place of Moore, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1771. In this year he married a Miss Hay, niece of the Earl of Kinnoul, and sister of Dr. Hay, of Christ Church. He proceeded D.C.L. in 1772, and was installed in his deanery 25 Jan. 1777, on which he resigned his two livings. Dr. Bagot was consecrated bishop of Bristol 23 Feb. 1782, and held his deanery *in commendam* with the see, until his translation to Norwich in 1783. In March 1790 the good bishop was further translated to St. Asaph. He rebuilt the palace. Amiable, gentle, benevolent, humble, and laborious, he lived on intimate terms with his clergy and 'the common people.'

His 'Warburtonian Lecture' of 1780 on the 'Prophecies' is his only book. In 1781 he received the thanks of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for a gift of fifty copies of Dr. Barrow's 'Doctrine of the Sacraments,' which he had reprinted. The tract still remains on the society's lists. Through the same society he published a tractate on the 'Errors of the Anabaptists' (first printed at Reading 1776). He died in London 4 June 1802, but was buried at St. Asaph. His portrait, by Hoppner, is in Christ Church hall.

[Memoirs of the Bagot Family, 85; Catal. of Oxford Graduates; Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, iii. 443, Appendix, 330; Nichols's Lit. Hist. v. 630; Santley's Confer. v. 114; Barret's Hist. of Bristol, 338–9; Gent. Mag. xli. 379, lxxxiii. 96; Alumni Westmonasterienses, 34, 351–2.] A. B. G.

BAGOT, RICHARD, D.D. (1782–1854), bishop successively of Oxford and of Bath and Wells, was the sixth son of William, first Lord Bagot, by Louisa St. John, daughter of the second Viscount Bolingbroke. Educated at Rugby, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1800, and proceeded B.A. in 1803, and M.A. in 1806. In 1804 he was elected to an All Souls' fellowship, which he resigned two years later, on his marriage with Lady Harriet Villiers, daughter of the Earl of Jersey. After taking holy orders in 1806, he was presented by his father to the rectory of Leigh, Staffordshire, and in 1807 to that of Blithfield. In the same year he became a canon of Windsor, and in 1817 was nominated to a canonry of Worcester. In 1829 he was consecrated bishop of Oxford, and received from his university the degree of D.D.

Bagot was bishop of Oxford at the date of the Oxford movement, and was reluctantly forced to play a part in its history. In the charge that he delivered to his clergy in 1838 he spoke of the frequency with which appeals had been made to him of late years to check breaches both of doctrine and discipline. But he declared that, so far as the authors of 'Tracts for the Times' had recalled forgotten truths, and drawn attention to the union, discipline, and authority of the church, they had done good service. He warned them, however, against creating schisms, or reverting to practices 'which heretofore have ended in superstition.' This mild warning was at first construed into a general censure of the 'Tracts' by their opponents; but Dr. Pusey, in a published letter to the bishop, interpreted it otherwise, and created the impression that Bagot sanctioned his views. In 1840 the bishop was implored by a clergyman of his diocese, in a long anonymous pamphlet, to condemn Dr. Pusey's opinions, and in the following year, on the publication of Tract XC, Bagot requested the author, Newman, to bring the series to an immediate close. His request was at once complied with, and the bishop continued to treat the Tractarians with marked courtesy. Late in 1841 he defended Newman in a letter to Pusey from the charge of having broken word with himself by republishing Tract XC (Browne, *Annals of the Tractarian Movement*, 1861, p. 83). In 1842 Bagot rediscussed the movement at length in another charge to his clergy. He condemned the violent attacks made on the Tractarians, and spoke with respect of their leaders, although he felt no sympathy with their disciples; but he proceeded to expose, in decisive language, 'the lamentable want of judgment' exhibited in the writings of 'the advocates of catholic principles.' William Palmer dedicated to Bagot in admiring terms his account of the 'Tracts for the Times,' first published in 1845.

When the see of Bath and Wells fell vacant, in 1845, Bagot, at his own desire,

was translated to that diocese. The excitement of previous years had ruined his health; soon after leaving Oxford he suffered from a temporary mental derangement, and his see was for a time administered, in accordance with a special act of parliament, by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. He had, however, recovered sufficiently before 1854 to engage in a controversy in that year with Archdeacon Denison, who, according to Bagot, had taught the real presence in the Eucharist in a sense not sanctioned by the church of England. The correspondence, which began in a conciliatory spirit, concluded, without any agreement between the writers having been reached, with a letter from the bishop dated 11 May, four days before his death. He died at Brighton from a complication of disorders on 15 May 1854. His wife, by whom he had eight sons and four daughters, survived him. He published his charges to the clergy for 1834, 1838, 1842, and 1847, and two sermons, one in 1835 and the other in 1840. The charge of 1842 passed through four editions. Archdeacon Denison published his correspondence with the bishop in 1854, shortly after Bagot's death.

[Gent. Mag. for 1854; E. G. K. Browne's Annals of the Tractarian Movement, 1861; F. Oakeley's Tractarian Movement (1865), pp. 51–2; W. Palmer's Tracts for the Times (1883), pp. 80–6; Mozley's Reminiscences, i. 442; Bagot's Charges; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

BAGOT, Sir WILLIAM (*fl.* 1397), minister of Richard II, appears early in his reign with Sir John Bussy and Sir Thomas Green as a member of his council (*Proceedings of Council*, i. pp. xxi, 77–8); and, having been appointed a proxy for the Earl of Nottingham, 3 Oct. 1396 (*Fœdera*, vii. 844), sat in the obsequious parliament of September 1397, acted with Bussy and Green on behalf of Richard, and headed with them the demand for the repeal of the pardons to the appellants (Wals. ii. 224). At this crisis he was among the 'præcipui de consilio' (Trokelowe, 209, 223), and it was at his house, near Coventry, that Richard took up his abode for the great combat of Hereford and Norfolk in September 1398 (*Chronicque*, p. 17). On Richard's departure for Ireland (29 May 1399), Bagot, Bassy, Green, and Scrope were left in charge of the kingdom as 'souuerains conseillers' (*ib.* p. 24), and the subsidies given them to farm (Fabyan). On the landing of Henry (4 July) he attended, with his fellows, the council at St. Albans, and accompanied the Duke of York's forces to Bristol, which he aided in seizing (Wals. ii. 232). On the capture of the council there, he alone escaped, and fled by Chester to Ireland (*ib.* ii. 233), securing for himself, meanwhile, grants from the crown—3 July and 20 Sept. Richard resigned 29 Sept. 1399, and on 16 Oct. Bagot, who had been lodged in Newgate (Ickham), was brought up, at the request of the commons, for trial, and at once charged by the Duke of Aumâle with instigating Richard's crimes. He was instantly challenged to combat by Aumâle, Surrey, and Exeter (Trokelowe, 304-5), and after subsequent examinations was finally committed to the Tower (*ib.* 308), where he last appears, 5 April 1400 (*Claus.* 1 *H. IV*).

[Chronicque de la Traison (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 1846; Trokelowe and Thomas of Walsingham (Rolls Series); Stubbs's Const. History (1878), iii. 19.] J. H. R.

BAGOT, WILLIAM, second Lord Bagot (1773–1856), was descended from a family which, at the time of the Conquest, were possessors of lands in Staffordshire. He was the third son of the first Lord Bagot, by a daughter of the second Lord Bolingbroke, and was born in Bruton Street, London, 11 Sept. 1773. He was educated at Westminster School, and at Magdalen College, Oxford. As the eldest surviving son, he succeeded to his father's title in 1798. Lord Bagot took an active interest in agricultural pursuits, was well versed in natural history, and possessed an inclination towards antiquarian studies. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and of the Linnean, Horticultural, and Zoological Societies. In 1824 he published 'Memorials of the Bagot Family,' containing a sketch of his ancestors from the time of the Conquest. From the university of Oxford he received, in 1834, the degree of D.C.L. He did not take an active part in politics, but, by his votes, gave a consistent support to the tories. He died at Blithfield, Staffordshire, 12 Feb. 1856. By his first wife, Emily, fourth daughter of the first Lord Southampton, he had no issue; but by his second wife, Louisa, eldest daughter of the third earl of Dartmouth, he had three sons and three daughters.

[Gent. Mag., new series, xlv. 422; Ann. Reg. xcviii. 239.] T. F. H.

BAGSHAW, CHRISTOPHER (*d.* 1625?), priest, came of a Derbyshire family. He graduated B.A. on 12 July 1572, of Balliol College, Oxford, and in the same year was elected probationer fellow of his college. Before going to Oxford he appears to have studied for a short time at Cambridge. Baker records that he matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, on 22 Nov. 1566. Ac-

cording to Anthony à Wood he owed his fellowship to the influence of Robert Parsons; but Wood's editor, Bliss, prints in the footnotes to the life of Parsons (*Athen. Oxon.* ii. 657) a letter of Archbishop Abbot to Dr. Hussye, from which it appears that Bagshaw 'coming to be fellow was most hot in prosecution against Parson,' whose expulsion from the college he was instrumental in procuring. On 21 June 1575, Bagshaw took the degree of M.A. At this time he was zealous in his devotion to protestant principles, 'yet proved troublesome in his public disputes and in his behaviour towards persons.' About 1579 he became principal, whether in his own right or as deputy, of Gloucester Hall, where he made himself very unpopular. He soon resigned this office, and in 1582 went into France. Here he became a convert to Romanism, and was made a priest. Then, with the permission of Cardinal Allen, he went to Rome, and was admitted to the English college, where his quarrelsome temper made him so unpopular that he was expelled by Cardinal Boncompagno. On leaving Rome he returned to Paris, where he became a doctor of divinity and one of the Sorbonne. The Jesuit writers used to style him derisively 'doctor erraticus' and 'doctor per saltum.' Afterwards he went to England to make converts, and in 1587 we find him imprisoned in the Tower (Foley, *Records of the Society of Jesus*, i. 481). In 1593 he was confined with other priests and gentlemen in Wisbeach Castle. His fellow prisoners held him at first in great esteem, but he was soon exposed by Father Edmonds, alias Weston, as 'a man of no worth, unruly, disordered, and a disobedient person, not to be favoured or respected by any' (*Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbich*, 1595 (1601), 4to, p. 38). When examined at the Tower for treasonable practices, Squier, an emissary from some English priests in Spain, affirmed that he had come with a letter (which he threw into the sea off Plymouth) from Father Walpole to Bagshaw at Wisbeach (Foley, *Records*, ii. 244). After his liberation, Bagshaw continued to reside abroad. In 1612 he held a disputation with Dr. Daniel Featley concerning transubstantiation. Notes of this disputation were printed many years afterwards in 'Transubstantiation exploded, or an Encounter with Richard, the titularie Bishop of Chalcedon. . . . By Daniel Featley, D.D. Whereunto is annexed a publique and solemne disputation held at Paris with Christopher Bagshawe, D. in Theologie and Rector of Avie Marie College,' 1638. Wood says that Bagshaw 'died and was buried at Paris after the year sixteen hundred and twenty-five, as I have been informed by Franc. à Santa Clara, who remembered and knew the doctor well, but had forgotten the exact date of his death.'

Bagshaw published at Paris in 1603 'An Answer to certain points of a Libel called An Apology of the Subordination in England,' 8vo. He is also thought to have been concerned in (1) 'Relatio compendiosa Turbarum quas Jesuitæ Angli una cum D. Georgio Blackwello, Archipresbytero, Sacerdotibus Seminariorum Populoque Catholico concivere,' &c., Rothomagi, 1601, 4to (published under the name of John Mush): (2) 'A true Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbich by Father Emonds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, 1595, and continued since by Father Walley, alias Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits in England, and by Father Parsons in Rome,' 1601, 4to

[Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, ii. 389–90, Fasti, i. 188, 199; Dodd's Church History, ii. 67; Foley's Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, i. 42, 481, ii. 239, 244.] A. H. B.

BAGSHAW, EDWARD, the elder (*d.* 1662), royalist, politician, and author, was of a Derbyshire family. In 1604 he entered at Brasenose College, Oxford, where his tutor was Robert Bolton, a puritan writer of some note, whose life was subsequently written by Bagshaw. He proceeded B.A. in 1608, and was entered of the Middle Temple, of which society he became in due course one of the benchers. At this time his leanings were entirely upon the side of the puritans, and when, in 1639, he was in his turn elected Lent reader, he took the opportunity of delivering two discourses to the effect that 'a parliament may be held without bishops,' and that 'bishops may not meddle in civil affairs.' The lectures attracted the notice of Laud, and Bagshaw was prohibited from continuing them. Through the popularity which these proceedings gained for him, he obtained in the following year his election to the Long parliament as a burgess for the borough of Southwark.

Bagshaw did not long continue to act with the party which he had adopted, and when the king retired to Oxford Bagshaw joined him there and sat in the so-called parliament which Charles convoked in that city. In 1644 he was taken prisoner by the parliamentary army, and consigned to the King's Bench prison in Southwark; and while in this confinement he composed the greater number of his works. He was set at liberty in 1646, died in 1662, and was buried at Morton Pinckney, in Northamptonshire, near

which place his property lay. The following is a list of his writings: 1. 'Life and Death of Mr. Robert Bolton,' London, 1633. 2. Editions of three of Bolton's works, 1633–35–37. 3. Several speeches in parliament, viz. (1) on 9 Nov. 1640, (2) on 9 Feb. 1640 (1641); 'Concerning Episcopacy,' 18 Feb. 1640 (1641); 12 Jan. 1641 (1642), 'The Trial of the Twelve Bishops.' 4. Two arguments in parliament, viz. (1) 'Concerning the Canons,' (2) 'Concerning the Præmunire on these Canons.' 5. 'Treatise defending the Revenues of the Church,' London, 1646. 6. 'Treatise maintaining the Doctrine, Liturgy, and Discipline of the Church of England,' 1646. 7. 'Short Answer to the Book of W. Prynne entitled University of Oxford's Plea refuted' (1848, printed). 8. 'De Monarchia Absoluta,' 1659. 9. 'Just Vindication of the questioned part of the reading in Middle Temple Hall, 20 Feb. 1639,' London, 1660; with 'A Narrative of the Cause of their Silencing by the Archbishop of Canterbury' (printed together apud Rushworth). 10. 'Short Defence of the Reformation of the Church by K. Edward and Q. Elizabeth' (not printed).

[Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses (Bliss), iii. 618.]
C. F. K.

BAGSHAW, EDWARD, the younger (1629–1671), divine and controversialist, the son of Edward Bagshaw [see BAGSHAW, EDWARD, *d.* 1662], was born at Broughton, Northamptonshire. He was sent to Oxford from Westminster School, having been elected thence a student of Christ Church 1 May 1646. The testimony is unvarying that from his earliest residence in the university he was refractory and self-conceited. He became B.A. in 1649, and M.A. and Senior of the Act in 1651. During this period he made himself conspicuous for his insolent bearing towards the vice-chancellor. He also played a very prominent part in an ill-conducted agitation for the abolition of hoods and caps. He was incorporated in the degree of M.A. at Cambridge in 1654. He was appointed second master of his own former school, Westminster, in 1656, and was confirmed in December 1657. At the time the first master of Westminster was the 'terrible' Dr. Busby. There was swift quarrelling between the two high-tempered masters. Of the curiosities of literature is Bagshaw's now extremely rare vindication of himself, entitled 'A True and Perfect Narrative of the Differences between Mr. Busby and Mr. Bagshaw, the First and Second Masters of Westminster School,' 1659, 4to.

In 1659 he was ordained by the eminent Bishop Brownrigg. He became vicar of Ambrosden, in Oxfordshire; but he elected to be one of the two thousand clergymen ejected in 1662 by the Bartholomew Act of 1661. He was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Anglesey; but again his intractable temper marred his prospects. He crossed over to Ireland to join his patron, and was soon, as Wood acrimoniously puts it, 'gaping after great matters, but without success, and therefore enraged.' On his return to England in December 1662, having fallen to abusing the king and government, church and state, he was put prisoner into the Gatehouse; thence, in January 1663, removed to the Tower, and thence, in January 1664, to Southsea Castle, Hampshire. On his release, in 1664–5, he is found again in London. Dr. Walter Pope, in his 'Life of Bishop Ward,' tells us of this period of his life: 'He was advised by some considerable friends to live peaceable and conformable for the space of a year; who assured him that at the end of it they would provide him some considerable preferment in the church. Accordingly he went and tried, but not being able to hold, he soon repaired to London, much more embittered against ecclesiastical and kingly government than when he went into the country.' He adds: 'He sided tooth and nail with the fanatics, and made a great figure amongst them;' and concludes: 'He exceeded most, if not all of them, in natural and acquired parts.' Palmer on this quaintly remarks (*Nonconf. Mem.* iii. 111): 'But this writer was too little acquainted with that sort of people he calls Fanatics to be able to pass a judgment.' He was speedily involved in 'conventicling' and the inevitable 'sedition.' He was again flung into prison—this time Newgate—'for refusing to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance.' He completed his singular career by marrying, in his old age, a blind gentlewoman, who had fallen in love with him for his preaching. His unreasonableness is proved by the insolent attacks he made upon the venerable Richard Baxter. The title (abbreviated) of the great nonconformist's last answer to these unmeasured attacks will speak for itself: 'The Church told of Mr. Edward Bagshaw's Scandal, and warned of the Dangerous Snares of Satan he has laid for them in his Soul-killing Principles' (1671). Nearly all his title-pages are accusations, if not libels, save when he writes of personal religion. His 'Practical Discourse concerning God's Decrees' (1659), which was dedicated to President Bradshaw, is a very able book; while his 'Saintship no Ground of Sovereignty' (1660) shows plainly he was no fanatic.

It was long believed that Bagshaw died in

Newgate; but it appears that he was allowed out on parole, and really died in Tothill Street, Westminster, on 28 Dec. 1671. A reference to his death by Richard Baxter, that has become classic, must find place here. 'About the day it ['The Church told'] came out, Mr. Bagshaw died, a prisoner, tho' not in prison; which made it grievous to me to think that I must seem to write against the dead. While we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying, and passing to the world that will decide all controversies; and the safest passage thither is by peaceable holiness.' He was buried in Bunhill Fields, and Dr. John Owen wrote the following inscription for his altar-tomb:—

'Here lies interred, the Body of Mr. Edward Bagshaw, minister of the Gospel, who received faith from God to embrace it, courage to defend it, and patience to suffer for it, which is by most despised and by many persecuted; esteeming the advantage of birth, education, and learning as things of worth to be accounted loss for the knowledge of Christ. From the reproaches of pretended friends, and persecutions of professed adversaries, he took sanctuary, by the will of God, in eternal rest, the 28th December 1671.'

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 944–50; Fasti, ii. 120, 166; Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, 675; Noble's Cont. of Granger, i. 98, note; Calamy's Abridgment, ix. 336; Bridge's Northamptonshire, ii. 87–8; Pope's Life of Seth Ward; Seymour's Survey of London, i. 98; Cole's MS. Athenæ, Y. Incorporations; Alumni Westmonasterienses, 125–6; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, iii. 111; Ἐλαιοφορία, or the Peace with Holland, 1654.] A. B. G.

BAGSHAW, HENRY, D.D. (1632–1709), divine, the younger son of Edward Bagshaw, treasurer of the Middle Temple, was born at Broughton, Northamptonshire, in 1632. After attending Westminster School, he was, in 1651, elected student of Christ Church, Oxford, of which he became M.A. in 1657. In 1663 he was appointed chaplain to Sir Richard Fanshaw, ambassador to Spain and Portugal. After the death of Sir Richard Fanshaw in 1666, he returned to England, and became chaplain to the Archbishop of York, who made him prebendary of Southwell and rector of Castleton in Synderick. In August 1667, he was collated to the prebend of Barnaby in York Cathedral, and in 1668 to that of Fridaythorp. He became B.D. in the same year, and D.D. in 1671. In 1672 he was made chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Danby, and rector of St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate, London, which he exchanged for Houghton-le-Spring, Durham. In 1681 he was appointed prebendary of Durham. He died at Houghton 30 Dec. 1709. Bagshaw enjoyed a high reputation as a pulpit orator, and he also published 'Sermon preached in Madrid on the occasion of the Death of Sir R. Fanshaw,' 1667; 'The Excellency of Primitive Government, in a Sermon,' 1673; 'A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall,' 1676; and 'Diatribæ, or Discourses upon Select Texts against Papists and Socinians,' 1680.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 631; Hutchinson's History of Durham, ii. 206.] T. F. H.

BAGSHAW, WILLIAM (1628–1702), divine, was known as the 'Apostle of the Peak.' One of the most enduring religious chapbooks, though it is rarely to be met with now, was his 'Life and Funeral Sermon' by J. Ashe (1704, 12mo). It is the main source of information concerning him, though even to-day, in the dales and mountain-sides of Derbyshire, his name is known and honoured. He was born at Litton, in the parish of Tideswell, 17 Jan. 1627–8. He received his early education at 'several country schools,' and made 'greater proficiency in learning than most of his equals.' He received profound religious impressions under the old puritan ministers, Rowlandson of Bakewell and Bourn of Ashover. He was of the university of Cambridge, entering Corpus Christi College. He received holy orders, and preached his first sermon in the chapel of Warmhill, in his native parish. There he remained about three months. Though later he lamented that in his youth he had entered 'too rashly on the awful work,' his labours in and out of the pulpit proved singularly acceptable. From Tideswell he removed to Attercliffe, in Yorkshire. Here he occupied a twofold post, viz. assistant to the Rev. James Fisher of Sheffield, and chaplain in the family of Colonel (afterwards Sir) John Bright. He was ordained at Chesterfield, Derbyshire, on 1 Jan. 1650. Some time after he was presented to the living of Glossop. After the Restoration the Act of Uniformity left him no choice but to withdraw from his beloved church and congregation. He was one of the two thousand ejected in 1662.

Upon the ejection he retired to Ford, in an adjacent parish. He was well-born and possessed of a 'good estate,' and lived as a country gentleman. He stood fast to his nonconformity; but his 'moderation was known to all men.' He attended the parish church. But holding his 'orders' to be 'divine and indefeasible,' he did not hesitate to 'preach the Gospel' as opportunity offered, in his own private house and those of friends, and regularly conducted service on Thursday evenings.

He held special 'conferences' for devotion and discussion. On the Indulgence of 1672 being promulgated, he felt free to preach regularly in his former parish and in the neighbourhood. He lectured at Ashford, Malcoffe, Middleton, Bradwell, Chalmarton, and Hucklow. When the 'Declaration' was recalled by Charles II, he continued to preach secretly. 'Popish plots' were in the air, and nonconformists were always 'suspect.' Two informers who once disturbed him in a private religious service acknowledged that his 'reverend countenance' struck them with terror. There were several warrants issued against him, but he either escaped elsewhere or the magistrates themselves quashed them. While James II's 'Declaration for Liberty of Conscience' was in force, and through the beginning of William and Mary's reign, he was an incessant preacher and toiler. He died on 1 April 1702, and was buried at Chapel-en-le-Frith. He left an enormous mass of manuscripts behind him (fifty volumes, folio, quarto, and duodecimo), which, it is to be feared, have nearly all perished. His own published books are all short, but now fetch high prices. Their (abbreviated) titles are: 1. 'Waters for a Thirsty Soul, in several sermons on Rev. xxi. 6,' London, 1653. 2. 'Of Christ's Purchase,' to which is prefixed his 'Confession of Faith.' 3. 'Rules for our Behaviour every Day and for sanctifying the Sabbath, with Hints for Communicants.' 4. 'The Ready Way to prevent Sin,' on Prov. xxx. 22, with 'A Bridle for the Tongue,' on St. Matt. x. 36. 5. The 'Miner's Monitor.' 6. The 'Sinner in Sorrow and the Humble Sinner's Modest Request.' 7. 'Brief Directions for the Improvement of Infant Baptism.' 8. The 'Riches of Grace,' three parts. 9. 'Trading Spiritualized,' three parts. 10. 'De Spiritualibus Pecci: Notes concerning the Work of God, and some that have been walkers together with God in the High Peak of Derbyshire,' a peculiarly interesting biographic work (London, 1702). 11. 'Principiis Obsta,' 1671. 12. 'Sheet for Sufferers.' 13. 'Matters for Mourning'—posthumous. 14. 'Essays on Union to Christ,' which appeared after his death.

[Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. i. 405–10; Ashe's Life and Character; local researches; Dr. Grosart's collection of Bagshaw's works.]

A. B. G.

BAGSTER, SAMUEL, the younger (1800–1835), printer and author, eldest son of Samuel Bagster, 1772–1851 [q. v.], was born on 19 Oct. 1800, and, after having been educated at a school at Oxford, conducted by the Rev. James Hinton, was articled to his father in 1815. From an early age he showed a serious tendency, and in October 1822 joined the baptist church in Blackfriars. Having acquired the necessary technical training in his father's establishment, young Bagster commenced business for himself in 1824 as a printer in Bartholomew Close. He married Miss Elizabeth Hunt in June 1825. During the summer of 1834 he brought out a little work on 'The Management of Bees,' printed by himself, published jointly by his father and William Pickering, and which has passed through three editions. It is full of useful and practical information, and, although now superseded by more recent treatises, has been in considerable repute. Samuel Purchas, the son of the author of the 'Pilgrimes,' issued in 1657 a quaint quarto, now extremely rare, styled 'A Theatre of Politicall Flying Insects,' in two parts, the first being devoted to the history and management of bees and the second to 'meditations and observations, theological and moral,' upon the subject. The greater part of these reflections were reprinted by Bagster in a volume produced in the same style and at the same time as his own practical handbook. He contributed 'The Treasury of Scripture Knowledge' to his father's polyglot series, and projected a series of questions on the gospels for Sunday-school children, but the manuscript of the latter remained unfinished and unpublished. Although at first the progress of his business gave him cause for anxiety, it steadily increased in extent. Many of the polyglot bibles and other learned publications of Messrs. Bagster & Sons came from his press. His amiable and devout disposition is dwelt upon by his biographer, the Rev. John Broad, a baptist minister, from whom we learn that the subject of this memoir took an active part in the anti-slavery and temperance movements. For the latter cause he wrote several pamphlets. Shepherd's Bush, where he spent the last part of his life, was then a rural neighbourhood, and Bagster occupied some of his leisure in poultry-breeding and bee-keeping. There he died at his residence, Aldine Cottage, on 1 July 1835, aged 35 years, leaving no children. He was buried at Tottenham Court Chapel, and his remains were removed in 1843 to the family vault in Abney Park Cemetery. His widow survived until 1879.

His works consist of: 1. 'The Treasury of Scripture Knowledge; consisting of a rich and copious assemblage of more than 500,000 scripture references and parallel passages from Canne, Brown, Blayney, Scott, and others, with numerous illustrative notes; adapted to be the companion of every biblical reader,' London, S. Bagster [1834], foolscap

8vo and 4to, forming the second part of the 'Treasury Bible.' 2. 'The Management of Bees, with a description of the "Ladies Safety-hive," with 40 illustrative wood engravings,' London, S. Bagster, 1834, small 8vo. A second edition was published in 1838, and a third (also unaltered) in 1865. 3. 'Spiritual Honey from Natural Hives, or Meditations and Observations on the Natural History and Habits of Bees, first introduced to public notice in 1657 by S. Purchas, M.A.,' London, S. Bagster, 1834, small 8vo.

[Information from Mr. B. Bagster; Broad's Memoir of the Life and Christian Experience of S. Bagster, jun., 1837; Literary Gazette, 1834, p. 753.] H. R. T.

BAGSTER, SAMUEL, the elder (1772–1851), founder of the publishing firm of Bagster & Sons, born 26 Dec. 1772, was the second son of George and Mary Bagster, of Beaufort Buildings and St. Pancras. He was educated at Northampton under the Rev. John Ryland, and, after serving an apprenticeship with William Otridge, commenced business as a general bookseller on 19 April 1794 in the Strand, where he remained until 1816. A few years before his removal, the rarity and consequent costliness of all polyglot bibles gave him the idea of supplying the want of a handy and inexpensive edition. He first brought out a Hebrew Bible, which was followed by the Septuagint, both in foolscap octavo. The production of English bibles was a monopoly in the United Kingdom, confined in England to the king's printer and the two great universities, in Scotland to Sir D. H. Blair and John Bruce, and in Ireland to Mr. Grierson. It had been decided, however, that the patent did not apply to bibles printed with notes, and Bagster brought out in 1816 'The English version of the polyglot bible' (with a preface by T. Chevalier), in foolscap octavo size, containing a selection of over 60,000 parallel references, mainly selected and all verified by himself. The book was extremely successful. Every detail in its production was superintended by the publisher, who introduced a new style of binding in the best Turkey morocco, with flexible tight backs, the sheets being sewed with thin thread or silk. He also used prepared sealskins, which, with their 'pin-head grain,' were much admired. In 1816 he removed to 15 Paternoster Row. The first issue of the 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta Bagsteriana' appeared between 1817 and 1828, four volumes in foolscap octavo and quarto form, containing, besides the prolegomena of Dr. Samuel Lee, the Hebrew Old Testament with points, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament, the Latin Vulgate, the authorised English version, the Greek Textus Receptus of the New Testament, and the Peshito or ancient Syriac version. An edition was printed of a quarto French, Italian, Spanish, and German Bible, which Lowndes states was entirely destroyed by fire on the premises in March 1822, when only twenty-three copies of the New Testament portion were preserved. A folio edition of the polyglot was published in 1828, repeated in 1831, and subsequently, presenting eight languages at the opening of the volume, and including all the ancient and modern versions above mentioned. Copies of the different texts and translations were brought out separately, and in various combinations. The well-known motto of the firm, *πολλαὶ μὲν θνητοῖς γλῶτται, μία δ' ἀθανάτοισιν*, is said to have been due to the Rev. H. F. Cary (*Notes and Queries*, ser. i. v. 587). We are informed by a member of the family that the Latin version, *multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una*, was by William Greenfield. As the two versions appear on Greenfield's tomb, it is very probable that they were both by him. In consequence of the arbitrary regulations of the excise authorities, paper could only be had of certain sizes. It was partially owing to Bagster's exertions that the rules were modified. Two other forms of the English bible were issued, and, all of them harmonising page for page, began what is known as the 'Facsimile Series.' The publication of the first volume of the polyglot was followed in 1821 by an octoglot edition of the liturgy of the Church of England in a handsome quarto. The eight languages were English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, ancient Greek, modern Greek, and Latin. In 1822 Bagster made the acquaintance of the self-taught Orientalist, William Greenfield, of whose life he wrote an interesting account in the 'Imperial Magazine' (1834, pp. 9, 63). Greenfield had suggested a lexicon to the polyglot edition of the Hebrew Bible, which caused him to be engaged as a proof-reader to the various learned publications Bagster was then bringing out. In 1824 Bagster circulated the prospectus of a polyglot grammar in twenty or thirty languages upon the principles of comparative philology, also the suggestion of Greenfield, who in 1827 edited for the publisher his 'Comprehensive Bible,' with 4,000 illustrative notes, 500,000 marginal references, a general introduction, and a variety of other useful information. Bagster's Syriac New Testament (1828–29), Hebrew New Testament (1830), Polymicrian Greek Lexicon (1829), Schmidt's Greek Concordance (1829), and, in fact, all the small and

beautifully printed Polymicrian series, were also edited by Greenfield. Many books were subsequently printed by Bagster. A fine quarto issued in 1841 is specially deserving of mention. It is 'The English Hexapla,' giving the six most important versions in our tongue of the New Testament, being those of Wiclif (1380), Tyndale (1534), Cranmer (1539), the Genevan (1557), the Anglo-Rhemish (1582), and the authorised (1611), together with the Greek text after Scholz, and a valuable historical account of the English translations. Another noteworthy publication was the 'Bible of every land,' 4to, supplying specimens of over 270 different languages and versions.

Bagster's long and honourable career as a publisher of aids to the study of the Scriptures has earned for him the esteem of all biblical scholars. His own attainments in this direction were considerable, and his taste and enterprise are well displayed in the handsome typographical appearance of the numerous volumes which bear his imprint. He died at his residence in Old Windsor on 28 March 1851, aged 78. He married on 19 Dec. 1797 Miss Eunice Birch, who survived him twenty-six years, attaining the venerable age of 100. His son Jonathan (1813–1872) followed him as senior member of the firm.

[Information from Mr. B. Bagster; T. H. Horne's Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures; Horne's Manual of Bibl. Bibliography; Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, by H. G. Bohn; The Bookseller, February 1880; Gent. Mag. May 1851; Kitto's Journal of Sacred Lit. 1856, 3rd series, iii. 327.] H. R. T.

BAGWELL, WILLIAM (*fl.* 1655), a London merchant and writer on astronomy, is stated by Burke, in his pedigree of the Bagwells of Ireland, to have been a brother of Alderman Backwell, but his name is not mentioned in the Backwell pedigree, and the different spelling of the name would seem to militate against the supposition. As the inscription on his portrait in 1659 gives his age as sixty-six, he was probably born in 1593 (Granger, *Biog. Hist. of England*, iii. 121). According to his own account in 'The Mystery of Astronomy made Plain,' he was bred a merchant of good quality, and skilfully furnished with knowledge. He had 'seen the world abroad,' and for several years had carried on an extensive trade, when losses beyond the seas led to his being sent to prison for debt. In 1654 he had been in and out of prison for twenty years. The tedium of confinement he relieved by writing an 'Arithmetical Description of the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes,' a treatise which he deemed too abstruse for popular use, but yet worthy to be placed in some university to be consulted by the learned. The manuscript is in the British Museum (MS. Sloane 652). After being set at liberty in 1654 Bagwell was put by some friends in good employment, and in 1655 published 'The Mystery of Astronomy made Plain,' a simplification of his more elaborate treatise. Bliss, in a note to Wood (*Fasti*, ii. 221), states that he dedicated his 'Sphinx Thebanus, or Ingenious Riddle,' 1664, to the worshipful Humphry Brook, doctor of physic, his approved good friend and patron. So strongly was Bagwell impressed with the value of the discipline he obtained from his hard experiences, that in 1645 he published 'The Distressed Merchant, and Prisoner's Comfort in Distress,' a lugubrious piece of doggerel, which is caricatured in 'Wil Bagnal's Ghost, or the Merry Devill of Gadmunton in his Perambulations of the Prisons of London,' by E. Gayton, Esq., 1655, and in 'Will Bagnalls Ballet,' in 'Wit Restored,' 1658. Bagwell also published another short poem, entitled 'An Affectionate Expostulation for the Pious Employment both of Wit and Wealth.' In 1652 there was published, by order of Cromwell, 'A Full Discovery of a Foul Concealment, or a True Narrative of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Committee for the Accompts of the Commonwealth of England with William Bagwell and John Brockedon, accomptants, Discoverers and Plaintiffs against the Committee of Hartford, the Treasurer and Paymaster there in the year 1643;' but possibly the William Bagwell of this title-page may be another person.

[Preface to Mystery of Astronomy made Plain, in the frontispiece to which is his portrait by Gaywood; various allusions in the Distressed Merchant; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, iii. 121–2; MS. Sloane 652.] T. F. H.

BAIKIE, WILLIAM BALFOUR, M.D. (1825–1864), naturalist, traveller, and philologist, eldest son of Captain John Baikie, R.N., was born at Kirkwall, Orkney, on 27 Aug. 1825, and educated privately and at the grammar school there. After taking his degree in medicine at Edinburgh, he entered the royal navy in 1848 as assistant surgeon. He served on her majesty's ships Volage, Vanguard, Ceylon, Medusa, and Hibernia in the Mediterranean, and then became assistant surgeon at the Haslar Hospital from 1851 to 1854, when the influence of Sir Roderick Murchison procured him the post of surgeon and naturalist to the Niger expedition of 1854, and on the death of the captain at Fernando Po, Baikie succeeded to the command of the Pleiad, the exploring vessel.

This first successful voyage, penetrating 250 miles higher up the Niger than had before been reached, is described by Baikie in his 'Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the . . . Niger and Isadda,' London, 1856. After spending some months in arranging his African collections, and again serving at the Haslar Hospital, Baikie left England in 1857 on a second expedition, in which the Pleiad was wrecked, and the other explorers returned to England, and left him to carry on the exploration alone. He bought a site—Lukoja—at the confluence of the Quorra and Benue, and soon collected a considerable native settlement, over which he held sway and where he officiated in every capacity. He explored the country around, entered into relations with the King of Nupé, the next powerful sovereign to the Sultan of Sokoto, and induced him to 'open out roads for the passage of caravans, traders, and canoes' to Lukoja. Before five years were over he had opened up the navigation of the Niger, made roads, established a regular market for native produce, collected vocabularies of numerous African dialects, and translated parts of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer into Hausa. He died on his way home, on a well-earned leave of absence, at Sierra Leone on 12 Dec. 1864, aged 39. A monument to his memory was erected in the cathedral of St. Magnus, Kirkwall. His earliest works related to Orkney: 'Historia Naturalis Orcadensis: Zoology, Part I. Mammalia and Birds observed in the Orkney Islands,' by W. B. Baikie, M.D., and R. Heddle, Edinburgh, 1848; and 'List of Books and Manuscripts relating to Orkney and Zetland,' &c., by W. B. Baikie, Kirkwall, 1847. His 'Observations on the Hausa and Fulfulde Languages' were privately printed in 1861; his translation of the Psalms into Hausa ('Letâfi ta Zabûra') was posthumously published by the Bible Society in 1881; and other translations were incorporated in Reichardt's 'Grammar of the Fulde Language' (1876). Dr. Baikie was also a contributor to the transactions of various learned societies.

[Information received (September 1883) from Miss Eleanor Baikie, of Kirkwall, sister of Dr. Baikie; Gent. Mag., March 1865.] S. L.-P.

BAILEY. [See also Baillie, Baily, Bayley, and Bayly.]

BAILEY, JAMES (*d.* 1864), classical scholar, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He graduated B.A. 1814, M.A. 1823, and obtained the Browne medals for Greek ode and epigrams, and the members' prizes in 1815 and 1816. He was for many years master of the Perse grammar school, Cambridge, from which he retired on a pension. In 1850 he received a further pension of 100*l.* per annum from the queen, on the recommendation of Bishops Maltby and Kaye. Besides his numerous contributions to the 'Classical Journal,' Bailey published 'An Annotated Edition of Dalzel's Analecta Græca Minora' (1835); 'Passages from the Greek Comic Poets,' which had been translated into English by R. Cumberland, Fawkes, and Wrangham, with notes (1840); proof-sheets of this work, with autograph letter to Archdeacon Wrangham, are in the British Museum; a work on the 'Origin and Nature of Hieroglyphics and the Greek inscription on the Rosetta Stone' (1816). He is best known for his edition of 'Forcellini's Latin Dictionary,' 2 vols. (1826), in which he translated the Italian explanations into English, incorporated the appendices of Forcellini with the main work, and added an extensive Auctarium of his own. Bailey died in London, 13 Feb. 1864.

[Gent. Mag. 3rd series, vol. xvi. 535; Cat. Brit. Mus.] A. G-n.

BAILEY, or **BAILY, JOHN** (1643–1697), protestant dissenting minister, was, according to Cotton Mather, who preached his funeral sermon, born 'near Blackburn on 24 Feb. 1643-4.' He was son of Thomas Bailey, member of the congregation of the Rev. Thomas Jolly at Altham, and later at Wymond House. Probably the former was the birthplace. Both are near Blackburn (Lancashire). His father was for long a 'notorious evil liver,' but his wife was a woman of remarkable piety as well as strength of character. So early as his twelfth year John conducted family worship; and Mather tells that when the drunken and profligate father heard of this he was greatly impressed, and became a wholly changed man. Curiously enough, an entry which the preacher could not have known of in the church-book of Mr. Jolly, not only records that John at the age of twelve was a 'wonderful child' for religion, but had been 'the occasion of good to his father and a schoolfellow.' He attended at first the Queen Elizabeth grammar school of Blackburn. The master was then Charles Sagar. Later he was placed under the theological tuition of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Harrison, nonconformist minister at Chester. He began to preach in his twenty-second year, but was not ordained until 1670. Being an independent or congregationalist, he was soon exposed to the malicious reports that long after the ejection of 1660–2 of the 'two thousand' pursued nonconformists. He was

arrested and imprisoned in Lancaster gaol for nonconformity alone. By some influence he was released 'after a while.' He removed to Ireland, remaining in Dublin temporarily, and proceeding later to Limerick. His earnest ministry and pastorate proved a great success in this great town, where he had as a regular hearer a member of the ducal family of Ormond. This coming to the ears of the protestant Bishop of Limerick, he lodged a complaint with the Duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant. The duke's friend did not abandon Bailey, but so represented his case and worth that Ormond made offer first of a deanery, and then of the first bishopric that fell vacant, if Mr. Bailey would conform. But the bribe was declined without a moment's hesitation. He was again imprisoned in the public gaol. Petitions were presented to the judges at the court of assize in his behalf, but in vain. When arraigned, he dared to address the bench thus: 'If I had been drinking, gaming and carousing at a tavern, with company, my lords, I presume that I would not have procured my being thus treated as an offender. Must prayers to God and preaching Christ with a company of christians who are peaceable, inoffensive, and serviceable to his majesty and the government, as any of his subjects—must this be considered a greater crime?' The recorder answered, 'We will have you know that it *is* a greater crime.' At length intimation was secretly sent him that he would be allowed out on condition that within a limited specified time he left the country. To this he reluctantly and sorrowfully agreed. He was not allowed to meet his flock or preach a farewell sermon. In the place of the sermon Bailey printed a letter-address.

He emigrated to New England in 1683; and his name occurs in church matters there in 1684. He arrived first of all in Boston, and in 1684 was appointed assistant to the celebrated Rev. Samuel Willard, M.A., of the old South church. Early in 1685 correspondence was entered into with the independent congregation at Watertown, Connecticut, with the result that on 6 Oct. 1686 he succeeded the Rev. John Sherman at Watertown. It is chronicled in Judge Sewall's 'Diary' and elsewhere, that Mr. Bailey, holding to the validity of his original ordination, refused to be inducted with the laying on of hands—an innovation in Independent church ways that was somewhat of a scandal for the moment. Letters to his former pastor and friend, Mr. Jolly, communicated tidings of how things ecclesiastical moved in New England. When he was translated from Boston to Watertown, his health must have been failing; for within a month or so a younger brother, Thomas, was appointed his assistant. Unfortunately the assistant died 21 Jan. 1689. In the same year another 'assistant' was appointed. In 1692, he resigned his charge at Watertown, and, after a quaintly recorded farewell to persons and places, returned once more to Boston. He must in some measure have recovered his health; for in 1693 he accepted the post of assistant-pastor to the Rev. Mr. Allen, of the First Church, Boston.

He had married in England a lady whose christian name was Lydia. She died at Watertown, 12 April 1690. She bore him no children. His second wife was named Susannah, by whom he had female issue—still represented in New England. His widow married after his death the Rev. Peter Thatcher. He died on Sunday, 12 Dec. 1697, and Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon, which was published. He chose for its text the words 'Into Thy hands I commit my spirit,' on which Mr. Bailey had prepared a sermon—never delivered—under a presentiment that it would be his last.

Bailey was markedly modest, and could not be persuaded to print any of his sermons. One extremely rare little book by him is extant, however, which was published by his friends. The volume is entitled 'Man's Chief End to Glorify God, or Some Brief Sermon-notes on 1 Corinthians x. 31,' to which is added his letter-address to his 'dearly beloved christian friends in and about Limerick,' 1689 (12mo). A lifelike portrait of him (in oils), which represents him with 'a pensive and somewhat feminine face and long flowing hair,' is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose archives are also some manuscripts of his brother Thomas. He had another brother named Henry living at Manchester in 1688, where his mother was also still living.

[Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 201–4; Abram's History of Blackburn, pp. 358–9; Mather's Magnalia, iii.; Mather's Funeral Serm.; Nonconf. Mem. i.; Emerson's History of First Church, Boston; Francis's History of Watertown.] A. B. G.

BAILEY, JOHN (1750–1819), agriculturist and engraver, was the son of William Bailey, of Blades Field, near Bowes, Yorkshire, where he was born in 1750. At an early age he manifested strong artistic tendencies, and while employed as tutor to his uncle's children devoted his leisure hours to engraving various pieces, which he afterwards

published. Both in his artistic and mathematical studies he received valuable assistance from his uncle. After completing the education of his uncle's children he became mathematical teacher at Witton-le-Wear, and began also the business of a land surveyor. Shortly after his marriage he was appointed land agent to Lord Tankerville at Chillingham, a situation he retained till his death, 4 June 1819, in his sixty-ninth year. Bailey engraved several of the plates for the works of William Hutchinson, the topographer of Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland. He devoted also much of his attention to the natural sciences, especially mineralogy, chemistry, hydraulics, and pneumatics, and his scientific acquirements were turned by him to excellent practical account in promoting improvements in rural economy. In 1795 he published an 'Essay on the Construction of the Plough,' in which he employed mathematical calculations to demonstrate the advantages of the alterations he proposed. He was also the joint author of the reports on the counties of Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture.

[Richardson's Local Historian's Table-Book of Durham, Historical Division, iii. 197; Mackenzie and Ross's View of the County of Durham, ii. 212.] T. F. H.

BAILEY, NATHAN or NATHANIEL (*d.*1742), lexicographer, published in 1721 'An Universal Etymological English Dictionary,' which was greatly esteemed in its day. The library of the British Museum contains copies of no fewer than twenty-five separate editions of this work. Of the compiler nothing is known beyond the fact that he belonged to the seventh-day baptists, being admitted to membership 6 Nov. 1691, and kept a boarding school at Stepney, where he died on 27 June 1742. A supplementary volume of his dictionary appeared in 1727, and in 1730 a folio, entitled 'Dictionarium Britannicum, collected by several hands. The Mathematical part by G. Gordon, the Botanical by P. Miller. The whole revis'd and improv'd with many thousand additions by N. Bailey.' This contains many technical terms. Thirty editions of the dictionary appeared, the latest at Glasgow in 1802, and it was reprinted by various booksellers. It is the basis of the English-German dictionaries of Arnold (3rd edition, 1761), A. E. Klausing (8th edition, 1792), and J. A. F. Krüger (11th edition, 1810). Lord Chatham is said to have read it through twice, and Chatterton obtained many sham-antique words from Bailey and Kersey. Johnson made an interleaved copy the foundation of his own. Bailey also published a spelling-book in 1726; 'All the Familiar Colloquies of Erasmus Translated,' 1733, of which a new edition appeared in 1878; 'The Antiquities of London and Westminster,' 1726; 'Dictionarium Domesticum,' 1736; Selections from Ovid and Phædrus; and 'English and Latin Exercises.' In 1883 appeared 'English Dialect Words of the Eighteenth Century as shown in the . . . Dictionary of N. Bailey, with an introduction by W. E. A. Axon (English Dialect Society),' giving biographical and bibliographical details.

[Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Gent. Mag. xii. 387; Chalmers's Biogr. Dict.; Notes and Queries, 5th series, i. 448, 514, ii. 156, 258, 514, iii. 175, 298, 509, iv. 276, vii. 447, viii. 52.] A. H. B.

BAILEY, SAMUEL (1791–1870), philosophical writer, was the second son and fifth child of Joseph Bailey, of Burngreave, by Mary, daughter of Mr. Eaden, master of the free writing school at Sheffield. Samuel was educated by his maternal grandfather and at the Moravian school of Fulneck. He was a reserved boy, and his only recreation was riding upon a schoolfellow's back. On leaving school, Samuel entered the office of his father, who had risen from the position of artisan to be a general merchant at Sheffield, and who was master-cutler in 1801. The son was one of the first Sheffield merchants who visited America in order to establish business connections with that country. Bailey's attention, however, was gradually diverted from business to literary and political pursuits. He became known as an able author by various essays published in 1821 and the following years. In 1828 he was elected one of the town trustees. He became a candidate for the representation of Sheffield on the election which followed the Reform Bill in 1832. Having retired from his business, he was prepared to devote himself to political life. His principles resembled those of the 'philosophical radical;' he advocated triennial parliaments, vote by ballot, and the abolition of tithes and taxes on knowledge. The anti-corn law rhymer called him the 'Hallamshire Bentham.' Messrs. Parker and Silk Buckingham, however, were elected, and at the close of the poll Bailey, with 812 votes, was the last of four candidates. The prejudice of practical men against 'theoretical' politicians told against him; but the defeat of a distinguished writer was felt to be discreditable to his native place, and enthusiastic supporters founded a 'Bailey Club,' intended to secure his election at the next opportunity. He was put forward as

a candidate, without his own consent, in 1834, but the two sitting members were re-elected by 1,607 and 1,554 votes, Bailey receiving 1,434. After this he declined to allow any further use of his name in politics, and his life became one of quiet seclusion. He was several times president of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society; and he became chairman of the Sheffield Banking Company, an institution which he had helped to found in 1831. He attended the board meetings with absolute punctuality up to the last. His life was one of 'clockwork regularity.' He had no intimates and few acquaintances. An annual visit to a sister-in-law at Cheltenham for change of air was his only relaxation. He died suddenly as he left his bath on 18 Jan. 1870, and left a sum of over 80,000*l.* to the town trust. The bequest was realised after a lawsuit, and more than doubled the income of the trust. Bailey's portrait by Sir W. Gordon is in the bank over which he presided.

Bailey's first publication was a volume of 'Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions and other subjects,' 1821. A second edition appeared in 1826, and a third in 1831. The chief essay is a vigorous defence of the thesis, that a man is not responsible for his opinions, because they are independent of his will; and that opinions should therefore not be the objects of disapproval or of punishment. In 1825 Bailey published a 'Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measure, and Causes of Value.' It is chiefly directed against Ricardo, James Mill, and De Quincey's exposition of Ricardo in the 'Templar's Dialogues.' Bailey's main contention is, that these writers confound exchange value with real or intrinsic value; the former meaning of the word being, as he holds, the only one relevant in political economy. He was attacked with considerable asperity in the 'Westminster Review' for January 1826, where it is maintained that Ricardo intentionally and judiciously used the word 'value' in both senses. Bailey replied in November of the same year in a 'Letter to a Political Economist.' Bailey had the best of the argument in temper and style, though he points out rather ambiguities of language than substantial errors of logic. In the 'Westminster' for July 1826, there had already been a complimentary notice of his essays on the formation of opinion by James Mill (see Bain's *Life of Mill*, p. 304), who fully sympathised with his opinions. In 1829 Bailey published his 'Essays on the Pursuit of Truth and on the Progress of Knowledge,' and a criticism (by James Mill?) in the 'Westminster Review' for July 1829 begins by declaring that if a man were allowed to claim the paternity of any modern book, he would not hazard much by choosing, after the 'Wealth of Nations,' the essay on the formation of opinions, of which the later volume is virtually a continuation.

In 1835 Bailey published a treatise on the 'Rationale of Political Representation,' and in 1837 a pamphlet, intended to form part of the larger book, upon 'Money, its Vicissitudes in Value.' The politics are those of a moderate utilitarian radical, with a strong objection to state interference.

In 1842 Bailey published a 'Review of Berkeley's Theory of Vision,' which again brought him into collision with the 'Westminster Review.' It was answered by J. S. Mill in the number for October 1842, in an article reprinted in Mill's 'Dissertations' (ii. 80). A reply was also made by Professor Ferrier in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' which is republished in Ferrier's 'Philosophical Remains.' Bailey's chief point is that Berkeley begged the question by assuming that space in a direct line from the eye was not directly visible. Mill seems to prove that he had not really understood Berkeley's argument. Bailey replied in a 'Letter to a Philosopher.' He maintains that we have a direct perception of external objects which cannot be analysed into a complex operation. This theory (which resembles Reid's perception theory, though he is opposed to Reid on the theory of vision) appears in his latest philosophical writings. After publishing, in 1851, a 'Theory of Reasoning' (2nd edition 1852), which is more logical than metaphysical, and hardly touches the ultimate questions, he published three series of 'Letters on the Philosophy of the Human Mind' (1855, 1858, and 1863). These are rather fragmentary and discursive, but contain his most interesting speculations. He maintains his old argument against Berkeley, but agrees with Berkeley's nominalism in a vigorous attack upon the theory of 'abstract ideas.' He criticises German metaphysicians, chiefly Kant, with much shrewdness, though with insufficient knowledge; and the third volume contains an interesting defence of utilitarianism. Bailey is also a thorough 'determinist,' a doctrine which he had advocated with marked power in an essay upon 'uniformity of causation,' in the volume containing the essay on the pursuit of truth.

Bailey had the faults and merits of a self-taught and recluse thinker. His knowledge of other schools of thought is limited, and he does not seem fully to appreciate the bearings of his speculations. But he is shrewd and independent, terse in his exposition, and

frequently pointed in style. A short criticism may be found in Ribot's 'Psychologie Anglaise contemporaine.' Besides the above, Bailey published 'Questions on Political Economy,' &c., 1823, a collection of subjects for discussion in literary societies, with brief indications of appropriate arguments and references; discourses on various subjects (read before various societies), 1852; pamphlets on parliamentary reform and on the right of primogeniture, and a 'glance at some points in education' (privately printed).

In 1861 and 1862 he published two volumes upon 'the received text of Shakespeare's dramatic writings,' containing a number of hazardous conjectures; and he seems clearly to have been the author of 'Letters from an Egyptian Kafir on a visit to England in search of religion,' 1837, a defence of liberty of inquiry; and of a poem called 'Maro or Poetic Sensibility' (1846). He left many manuscripts, which have disappeared.

[Sheffield Independent, 19 Jan. 1870; Gatty's Sheffield Past and Present; Chambers's Encyclopædia (Supplement), x. 413; information kindly procured by Mr. P. A. Barnett, of Firth College, Sheffield.] L. S.

BAILEY, THOMAS (1785–1856), topographer and miscellaneous writer, was born at Nottingham 31 July 1785. His education was received partly in a day-school in his native town, and partly in a boarding-school at Gillingham, Yorkshire. Afterwards he was for some time engaged in business as a silk-hosier at Nottingham. A liberal in politics, though not a radical, he came forward unsuccessfully, in 1830, as a candidate for the representation of the borough. In 1836 he was elected to the town council, and he continued to be a member of that body for seven years. In 1845–6 he became proprietor and editor of the 'Nottingham Mercury,' but his opinions were too temperate to suit the taste of his readers. The circulation of the paper declined, and at last, in 1851, the mass of the subscribers withdrew in wrath, on account of the editor's views respecting the original error of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and his prophecies of its inevitable failure. In the following year the journal became extinct. Previously to this, in 1830, he had purchased a mansion at Basford, near Nottingham, where he spent the later years of his life, engaged in literary pursuits and in the formation of a choice collection of books and engravings. He died at Basford 23 Oct. 1856. His son, Mr. Philip James Bailey, is the well-known author of 'Festus,' and of other poems.

Thomas Bailey's works are: 1. 'What is Life?' and other Poems,' Lond., 1820, 12mo. 2. 'The Carnival of Death,' a poem, Lond., 1822, 16mo. 3. 'A Sermon on the Death of Byron,' 1824. 4. 'Ireton,' a poem, Lond. 1827, 8vo. 5. 'Discourse on Political Revolutions,' 1830. 6. 'Recreations in Retirement,' a miscellany of poetry and prose, 1836. 7. 'The Rights of Labour,' a pamphlet, 1844. 8. 'The Advent of Charity and other Poems,' Lond. 1851, 16mo. 9. 'Annals of Nottinghamshire; a new and popular history of the county of Nottingham, including the borough,' 4 vols., Lond. 1852–55, 8vo, his most important publication. 10. 'Village Reform: the great social necessity of Britain,' being a letter to Lord Palmerston, Lond. 1854, 12mo. 11. 'Handbook to Nottingham Castle,' Lond. 1854, 8vo. 12. 'Handbook to Newstead Abbey,' Lond. 1855, 12mo. 13. 'Records of Longevity; with an introductory discourse on Vital Statistics,' Lond. 1857, 8vo.

[Private information; Memoir by Mr. Philip James Bailey in Cornelius Brown's Lives of Nottinghamshire Worthies (1882), 341; Gent. Mag. cci. 776; Men of the Time, 11th edition, 61; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

BAILLIE, or **BAILLY**, CHARLES (1542–1625), a member of the household of Queen Mary, was by birth a Fleming, though by descent a Scot. A letter in the State Papers (*Calendar*, Scottish series, p. 574) mentions him as a 'great papist, who lived with the queen of Scots after her husband was murdered.' In all probability he was from the beginning a papal agent, and having the mastery of several European languages he was, after the imprisonment of Mary, employed in fomenting foreign plots on her behalf. In the spring of 1571 he was about to leave Flanders with copies, which he had got printed at the Liège press, of a book by the bishop of Ross in defence of Queen Mary, when Rudolfi, the agent of Pius V, entrusted him with letters in cipher for the queen, and also for the Spanish ambassador, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Ross, and Lord Lumley. They described a plan for a Spanish landing on behalf of Mary in the eastern counties of England. As soon as Baillie set foot on shore at Dover, he was arrested and taken to the Marshalsea. The letters were, however, conveyed in secret by Lord Cobham to the bishop of Ross, who, with the help of the Spanish ambassador, composed others of a less incriminating character to be laid before Lord Burghley. The scheme might have been successful had not Burghley made use of a traitor, named

Thomas Herle, to gain the confidence of Baillie, whom Herle describes as 'fearful, full of words, glorious, and given to the cup, a man easily read.' Herle had also gained the confidence of the bishop, and a complete exposure of the whole plot was imminent when an indiscretion on the part of Herle convinced Baillie that he was betrayed. He endeavoured to warn the bishop by a letter, but it was intercepted, and Baillie was conveyed to the Tower, where, on his declining to read the cipher of the letters, he was put on the rack. The following inscription, still visible on the walls, records his reflections inspired by the situation: 'L. H. S. 1571 die 10 Aprilis. Wise men ought to se what they do, to examine before they speake; to prove before they take in hand; to beware whose company they use; and, above all things, to whom they truste.—Charles Bailly.' These sound maxims he seems to have forgotten as soon as he had written them. One night there appeared at his bedside the figure of a man who said that he was Dr. Story, whom Baillie knew to be in the Tower awaiting execution. In reality the figure was that of a traitor of the name of Parker; but Baillie fell into the trap with the same facility as before. On the advice of Parker he endeavoured to gain credit with Burghley by deciphering the substituted letters of the bishop of Ross. He revealed also the story of the abstracted packet, and sought to persuade Burghley to grant him his liberty by offering to watch the correspondence of the bishop of Ross. That he gained nothing by following the advice of his second friendly counsellor is attested by an inscription in the Beauchamp tower as follows: 'Principium sapientie timor Domini, I. H. S. X. P. S. Be friend to no one. Be enemye to none. Anno D. 1571, 10 Septr. The most unhapy man in the world is he that is not pacient in adversities; for men are not killed with the adversities they have, but with ye impacience which they suffer. Tout vient apoient, quy peult attendre. Gli sospiri ne son testimoni veri dell' angolcia mia, aet. 29. Charles Bailly.' In all probability Baillie received his liberty about the same time as the bishop of Ross, in 1573. At any rate it appears, from a letter in the State Papers (foreign series, 1572–74, entry 1615), that in 1574 he was in Antwerp. He died 27 Dec. 1625 in his 85th year, and was interred in the churchyard of Hulpe, a village near Brussels, where, in the inscription on his tombstone, he is designated as 'Sir Charles Bailly, secretaire de la Royne d'Ecosse decapitée pour la foy catholiq.'

[Murdin's Burghley State Papers; State Papers, Foreign series (1572–74), entry 1615; State Papers, Scotch series, pp. 574, 897, 898, 899; Notes and Queries, 2nd series, viii. 267, 316; 3rd series, v. 284; Guardian Newspaper, 21 Sept. 1859; Bayley's History of the Tower, pp. 145–9, 176; Britton's Memoirs of the Tower, pp. 320–22; Hepworth Dixon's Her Majesty's Tower; Inscriptions in the Beauchamp Tower, 1853 (with facsimile illustrations); Froude's History of England, Library ed. x. 209–20.]

T. F. H.

BAILLIE, CHARLES, Lord Jerviswoode (1804–1879), a lord justiciary of the Scotch court of session, the second son of Mr. George Baillie, of Mellerstain, Berwickshire, and of Jerviswoode, Lanarkshire, was born at Mellerstain on 3 Nov. 1804. Paternally he was descended from the memorable Baillie of Jerviswoode, who died on the scaffold in 1683 for real or supposed treason in the interests of the Duke of Monmouth. His mother was Mary, the youngest daughter of Sir James Pringle, baronet, of Stitchill, Roxburghshire. He was admitted as an advocate at the Scottish bar in 1830, and married, 27 Dec. 1831, the Hon. Anne Scott, third daughter of the fourth Lord Polwarth. The influence of his family connections combined with his high character and attainments to secure his rapid rise at the bar. He filled the office of advocate-depute from 1844 to 1846 under the ministry of Sir Robert Peel, and again in 1852 under that of the late Earl of Derby. He was appointed sheriff of Stirlingshire, 2 March 1853, and acted in that capacity till, on the re-accession of Lord Derby to power, 26 Feb. 1858, he was made solicitor-general for Scotland, his appointment being gazetted 17 March. Later in the same year, 10 July 1858, he was gazetted her majesty's advocate, or lord-advocate, for Scotland—an office for which a seat in the House of Commons is a necessary qualification, and Baillie was returned without opposition for the county of Linlithgow, 7 Feb. 1859. He had represented this constituency little more than two months, however, when he was elevated, 15 April, to the Scottish bench as a judge of the court of session, where he sat, under the courtesy title of Lord Jerviswoode, during a period of fifteen years, for twelve of which he also sat in the supreme criminal court, having been appointed, 17 June 1862, a lord of justiciary in succession to Lord Ivory, resigned. Previous to this latter date, Lord Jerviswoode had been raised, in 1859, together with his two younger brothers, by royal warrant to the rank and precedence of an earl's son. As counsel, Mr. Baillie was distinguished for his deliberation rather than for his forensic

ability; and he discouraged lengthy litigation. As judge, Lord Jerviswoode had a high character for courtesy, sagacity, patient and painstaking investigation, competent learning, and uprightness; he lacked originality, but was habitually laconic in his utterances. In 1874, Lord Jerviswoode retired on a pension from his judicial functions and from public life to his country residence, Dryburgh House, near St. Boswell's, Roxburghshire, in the quiet and seclusion of which he chiefly spent his time until his death, which took place at Dryburgh, 23 July 1879.

Lord Jerviswoode patriotically officiated as convener of the acting committee of the Wallace monument, erected on the Abbey Craig, Stirling; and he formally handed over the keeping of the edifice, which was completed in 1869, to the provost, magistrates, and town council of the burgh, and the patrons of Cowan's hospital, the owners of the Craig. In 1861 he was elected assessor of the university of St. Andrew's, and was a trustee of the board of manufactures of Scotland. For a number of years he was the president of the Edinburgh Border Counties Association, and in that capacity took an active part in the movement for the celebration of the centenary of Sir Walter Scott. Lord Jerviswoode was a conservative, and a warm supporter of the church of Scotland.

[Scots Magazine, November 1804; London Gazette and Gent. Mag., passim; Scotsman, and Edinburgh Courant, 24 July; Times, 26 July, and Law Times, 2 Aug. 1879; Foster's Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage of the British Empire, 1882.] A. H. G.

BAILLIE, CUTHBERT (*d.* 1514), lord high treasurer of Scotland, was, according to one authority, a natural son of Sir William Baillie of Lamington, one of the favourites of James III; and there are some other reasons for doubting the contradictory statement that he was a descendant of the house of Carphin. His first incumbency was that of Thankerton. In the charter granted him of the five merk lands of Lockhart Hill, Lanarkshire, his name occurs as Cuthbert Baillie, *clericus*. He became commendator of Glenluce, but the hitherto current statement that he was rector of Cumnock is an error which seems to have arisen from confounding his name with Cuthbert of Dunbar, who received a grant of lands in Cumnock. In the 'Register of the Great Seal' Thomas Campbell is mentioned as rector of Cumnock in 1481, and in the 'Protocola Diœcesis Glasguensis' his name occurs as prebendary of Cumnock under date 11 June 1511. Cuthbert Baillie under the same date is mentioned as prebendary of Sanquhar, and the same title is given to him in 1508 and 1511 in the 'Register of the Great Seal.' He entered upon the duties of lord high treasurer on 29 Oct. 1512, and died in 1514.

[James W. Baillie's Lives of the Baillies (privately printed 1872), p. 26; Crawfurd's Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland, i. 369; Register of the Great Seal of Scotland.] T. F. H.

BAILLIE, LADY GRIZEL (1665–1746), poetess, was the eldest daughter of Sir Patrick Hume (or Home), afterwards first earl of Marchmont, and was born at Redbraes Castle, Berwickshire, on 25 Dec. 1665. So early as her twelfth year she gave proof of a singularly mature character; for when she had not yet entered her teens, she was entrusted by her father with a perilous duty. Her father was the bosom friend of the illustrious patriot, Robert Baillie of Jerviswood [see BAILLIE, ROBERT, *d.* 1684]; and the latter being imprisoned, Sir Patrick Hume was specially anxious to communicate with him by letter. He dared not himself attempt to gain admission; but he employed the services of his daughter, 'little Grizel.' To her the all-important letter was handed over with the charge to deliver it personally, and to bring back as much intelligence from the state prisoner as possible. She contrived to deliver the letter and carry back grateful and useful messages from her father's friend. In the performance of this task she had to consult with the prisoner's own son, George Baillie of Jerviswood, who fell in love with her, and married her some years later, on 17 Sept. 1692.

The same womanly heroism and self-possession were shown by young Grizel on behalf of her own father. As the trial of Robert Baillie of Jerviswood—described in the contemporary broad-sheets and elsewhere—attests, Sir Patrick Hume boldly went to the court and, wherever he could, interfered in defence of his great friend, sometimes blunting with rare skill the edge of manufactured 'false witness,' to the rage of the prosecutors. He was equally with Baillie a suspected man; and, the troopers having taken possession of his house, Redbraes Castle, he had to hide in the vaults of neighbouring Polwarth parish kirk. Thither at midnight, his brave little daughter was wont to carry her father food, contriving at the dinner-table to drop into her lap as much of victuals as she well could.

On the death, by hanging, of Baillie of Jerviswood, the Hume family fled to Holland. They settled at Utrecht, Sir Patrick passing as a Dr. Wallace. In the 'Memoirs' of Lady

Murray of Stanhope, Lady Grizel's daughter, delightful glimpses are obtained of the bright though straitened life in Holland. Grizel was the manager of the humble establishment, and she used to tell in her old age that those years in Holland were about the happiest of all their lives.

At the Restoration, Lady Grizel was offered the post of maid of honour to the Princess of Orange. She preferred returning to Scotland, where, as already stated, she was married to her girlhood's love. George Baillie died at Oxford 6 Aug. 1738, after forty-six years of an incomparable married life. They had issue one son, who died in childhood, and two daughters: Grizel, who married Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope; and Rachel, who married Charles, Lord Binning. From the latter are descended the earls of Haddington who represent to-day the great historic house of Baillie of Jerviswood and Mellerstain. There are few more charming 'Memoirs' than that named of our Lady Grizel by her daughter. It was originally appended to Rose's Observations on Fox's historical work on James II, and afterwards republished in a thin quarto by Thomas Thomson (1822). From earliest youth Grizel was wont to write in verse and prose. Her daughter had in her possession a manuscript volume with varied compositions, 'many of them interrupted, half writ, some broken off in the middle of a sentence.' Some of her Scottish songs appeared in Allan Ramsay's 'Tea-Table Miscellany' and other collections of Scottish songs. One has passed into the song-literature of Scotland imperishably—'And werena my heart light I wad dee.' 'Its sudden inspiration,' says Tytler, 'has fused and cast into one perfect line, the protest of thousands of stricken hearts in every generation' (Tytler and Watson's *Songstresses of Scotland*). She died 6 Dec. 1746, in her eighty-first year, and was buried beside her husband at Mellerstain. Judge Burnet (Monboddo) wrote an inscription for her monument.

[Authorities cited in the article.] A. B. G.

BAILLIE, JOANNA (1762–1851), dramatist and poet, was descended from an ancient Scotch family. She was born at the manse of Bothwell, Lanarkshire, 11 Sept. 1762. Although her birth was premature, and in infancy she was very delicate, she lived to the great age of 88 years. Her sister, to whom Joanna addressed a memorable birthday ode, was still more remarkable for her longevity, dying in 1861 at the age of 100 years. The Baillie family claimed amongst their progenitors on the male side the great patriot, Sir William Wallace. The mother of Joanna Baillie was the sister of William and John Hunter. The youth of Joanna was spent at Bothwell amidst scenes which deeply impressed the imagination of the future dramatist. But while, as daughter of the minister of Bothwell, she had many opportunities for studying character, unfortunately, in the manse itself, 'repression of all emotions seems to have been the constant lesson.' In 1769 Dr. Baillie was appointed to the collegiate church of Hamilton. Before she was ten years of age Joanna Baillie afforded striking proofs of courage; but she was somewhat backward in her studies, although her intellect was unusually keen. At the age of ten she was sent to a school in Glasgow, and here her faculties were rapidly developed. She excelled in vocal and instrumental music, and evinced a decided talent for drawing. She had also a great love for mathematics; her argumentative powers, too, were unusually strong. She was early distinguished for her skill in acting and composition, being especially facile in the improvisation of dialogue in character.

In 1776 her father was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, and removed to the house provided for him at the university. But two years later Dr. Baillie died, and his widow and daughters retired to Long Calderwood, in Lanarkshire; Matthew Baillie, the only son, proceeded to Balliol College, Oxford. In 1783 Dr. William Hunter died in London, leaving to Matthew Baillie the use of his house and his fine museum and collections. The following year Mrs. Baillie and her daughters joined Matthew Baillie in London, remaining with him until he married, in 1791, Miss Denman, sister of lord chief justice Denman.

It was in London that Joanna Baillie's genius first displayed itself. She published anonymously, in 1790, a small volume of miscellaneous poems, entitled 'Fugitive Verses,' which received considerable encouragement. But her genius had not yet discovered its true channel. 'It was whilst imprisoned by the heat of a summer afternoon, and seated by her mother's side engaged in needlework, that the thought of essaying dramatic composition burst upon her.' The first play she composed, 'Arnold,' does not survive; but in 1798 she issued the first volume of her 'Plays on the Passions,' entitled 'A Series of Plays; in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger passions of the mind, each passion being the subject of a tragedy and a comedy.' The volume contained 'Basil,' a tragedy on love; the 'Trial,' a comedy on the same subject; and 'De Monfort,' a tragedy

on hatred. The work was published anonymously, but its author was immediately sought after. Samuel Rogers reviewed it as the work of a man, and Sir Walter Scott was at first suspected of being the author. By one or two critics the volume was severely attacked; but it brought the author an acquaintance with Scott himself, which ripened into a warm friendship, lasting 'uninterruptedly for more than half a century.'

In an elaborate preface to the 'Plays on the Passions,' Miss Baillie defended herself for this somewhat novel venture in dramatic writing. Having first shown that the study of human nature and its passions has always had, and ever must have, an irresistible attraction for the individual man, the writer proceeds to maintain that the sympathetic instinct is our best and most powerful instructor. It teaches us to respect ourselves and our kind, and to dwell upon the noble, rather than the mean, view of human nature. Amidst all decoration and ornament in poetry, 'let one simple trait of the human heart, one expression of passion, genuine and true to nature, be introduced, and it will stand forth alone in the boldness of reality, whilst the false and unnatural around it fade away upon every side like the rising exhalations of the morning.' But the plays gave rise to much controversy. The tone and substance of the objections of hostile critics were thus summed up by Campbell (*Life of Mrs. Siddons*): 'If Joanna Baillie had known the stage practically, she would never have attached the importance she does to the development of single passions in single tragedies; and she would have invented more stirring incidents to justify the passion of her characters, and to give them that air of fatality which, though peculiarly predominant in the Greek drama, will also be found to a certain extent in all successful tragedies. Instead of this she tries to make all the passions of her main characters proceed from the wilful natures of the beings themselves. Their feelings are not precipitated by circumstances, like a stream down a declivity that leaps from rock to rock, but, for want of incident, they seem often like water on a level, without a propelling impulse.' In acting contrary to established usage the author no doubt handicapped herself from the point of view of the successful dramatist. By setting herself to delineate one master passion she deliberately put from her the means which generally insure dramatic success.

Yet the 'Plays on the Passions' attracted the notice of John Kemble, who determined to produce 'De Monfort' at Drury Lane Theatre, with himself and Mrs. Siddons in the chief characters. Every care was given to the representation of the tragedy, for which the Hon. F. North wrote a prologue, and the Duchess of Devonshire an epilogue. It was produced with much splendour in April 1800, but it failed to obtain a firm grasp upon the public. It ran, however, for eleven nights. It has been said that the passage in the play descriptive of Jane de Monfort formed the best portrait ever drawn of Mrs. Siddons herself; and 'it is probable that John Kemble and his sister had been present to the mind of Joanna when she composed the tragedy of "De Monfort."' The opinion of Mrs. Siddons upon the play may be gathered from an expression uttered by her in conversation with the author: 'Make me some more Jane de Monforts.'

Undeterred by adverse criticism, Miss Baillie, in 1802, issued a second volume of 'Plays on the Passions.' It included a comedy on 'Hatred,' a tragedy (in two parts) on 'Ambition,' and a comedy on the same passion. The comedy on 'Hatred,' with music, was produced at the English Opera House; but the tragedy on 'Hatred,' notwithstanding its admittedly fine passages, was too unwieldy for stage production.

Shortly after the appearance of this volume Mrs. Baillie and her daughters went to live at Hampstead; but in 1806 Mrs. Baillie died. The sisters then rented a new house in the neighbourhood of Hampstead heath, and this house they continued to occupy until they died. They were visited by many friends eminent in letters, in science, in art, and in society, and they were on very intimate terms with their neighbour, Mrs. Barbauld. Scott looked forward to a visit to his friends at Hampstead as one of the greatest of his pleasures, and Lord Jeffrey wrote, under date 28 April 1840: 'I forgot to tell you that we have been twice out to Hampstead, to hunt out Joanna Baillie, and found her the other day as fresh, natural, and amiable as ever, and as little like a tragic muse.' Two years later the whig editor again saw her (she being then eighty years of age), when he described her as 'marvellous in health and spirits, and youthful freshness and simplicity of feeling, and not a bit deaf, blind, or torpid.' Geniality and hospitality were the characteristics of the two sisters during their residence at Hampstead, and even when one became an octogenarian and the other a nonagenarian they could enter keenly into the various literary and scientific controversies of the day.

In 1804 Joanna published a volume of 'Miscellaneous Plays,' containing two tragedies, 'Rayner,' and 'Constantine Paleologus.' These plays were constructed more upon the

usual lines, and the dramatist stated, in her apology for their appearance, that she wished to leave behind her a few plays, some of which might continue to be acted 'even in our canvas theatres and barns;' while she also desired to keep her name in the remembrance of lovers of the drama generally. The motive of the tragedy 'Rayner' was to exhibit a young man of an amiable temper, tempted to join in the proposed commission of a detestable deed, and afterwards bearing himself with diffidence and modesty. The play had been written many years before. The scene of the tragedy was laid in Germany, and its turning-point was the crime of murder. Between the two tragedies was placed a comedy, the 'Country Inn.' The second tragedy, 'Constantine Paleologus,' was written in the hope of being produced at Drury Lane, with Kemble and Mrs. Siddons in the principal characters; but those great actors declined to produce it. The subject of the play was taken from Gibbon's account of the siege of Constantinople by the Turks. But more than five of her plays were produced on the stage. Amongst these was 'Constantine Paleologus,' which, while declined at Drury Lane, was produced at the Surrey Theatre as a melodrama under the title of 'Constantine and Valeria;' Valeria being an imaginary conception, intended for Mrs. Siddons. The play was also produced at Liverpool, Dublin, and Edinburgh, in every case to large houses and with much success. Of the production in Edinburgh, in 1820, the writer herself, then on her last visit to her native land, was a gratified spectator.

In 1810 Miss Baillie produced her play of the 'Family Legend.' It was founded upon a Highland tradition relating to the feud between the lord of Argyle and the chieftain of Maclean. The tragedy, with a prologue by Sir Walter Scott, was brought out under Scott's auspices at the Edinburgh theatre. Henry Mackenzie, author of the 'Man of Feeling,' wrote an epilogue. The play had a genuine success. 'You have only to imagine,' wrote Scott to Miss Baillie, 'all that you could wish, to give success to a play, and your conceptions will still fall short of the complete and decided triumph of the "Family Legend." Everything that pretended to distinction, whether from rank or literature, was in the boxes; and in the pit such an aggregate mass of humanity as I have seldom, if ever, witnessed in the same place.' The tragedy was played for fourteen nights on the first representation, and it was produced on several subsequent occasions. Its success induced the managers of the Edinburgh theatre to revive the author's tragedy of 'De Monfort,' and in describing the reception of this drama one who was present wrote that 'the effect produced was very great; there was a burst of applause when the curtain fell, and the play was announced for repetition amid the loudest applause.' In 1815 the 'Family Legend' was produced for the benefit of Mrs. Bartley at Drury Lane Theatre, and in 1821 Mr. Kean brought forward 'De Monfort' again on the same stage.

In 1812 appeared a third series of 'Plays on the Passions,' consisting of two tragedies and a comedy on the subject of 'Fear,' and a musical drama on 'Hope.' By the publication of this volume Miss Baillie showed that she had abandoned her old ideas. The first of these new plays had for its principal character a woman under the dominion of superstitious fear. In the second drama the fear of death was made the actuating principle of a hero of tragedy. The hero of the third play, a comedy on 'Fear,' is represented as timid, and endeavouring to conceal his fear by a boastful affectation of gallantry. 'Metrical Legends,' the next work by Joanna Baillie, appeared in 1821. The poems were suggested by her visit to Scotland in the previous year. The patriot Wallace is the principal personage in one poem, and Lady Griselda Baillie in another. There were also included some dramatic ballads cast in the ancient mould. 'Poetic Miscellanies,' published in 1823, contained poems by Sir Walter Scott, Miss Catherine Fanshawe, Mrs. Hemans, and others. This collection of poems, which was made with a charitable object, had a very satisfactory pecuniary result. A deep affliction overtook the sisters Baillie in 1823 by the death of their brother, Dr. Matthew Baillie, who was tended by Joanna during his last illness with the utmost solicitude. The drama of the 'Martyr,' by Joanna Baillie, was published in 1826, though it had been written some time before. The play relates to the martyrdom of Cordenius Maro, an officer of the imperial guard of Nero, who had been converted to the christian faith. Miss Baillie accepted the unitarian view of Christ; and in her seventieth year put forward a publication on this question, entitled 'A View of the general Tenor of the New Testament regarding the Nature and Dignity of Jesus Christ.' In this work she clearly expressed her assent to the views held by Milton and others.

In 1836 Miss Baillie published three volumes of 'Miscellaneous Plays,' which, at the time of their composition, she had intended for posthumous publication. Three of these dramas were in continuation of the 'Plays on the Passions,' and completed the

series. They consisted of a tragedy and a comedy illustrating the passion of jealousy, and a tragedy on the subject of remorse. An interesting circumstance is connected with two of the dramas. It appears that Sir Alexander Johnston, chief justice of Ceylon, being desirous of raising the minds of the inhabitants of that island, and of eradicating their vices by writings directed to that end, turned to the drama as being specially adapted to the purpose. Miss Baillie's 'Martyr' he had already seen and welcomed as an auxiliary, and, in response to his desire for a second drama of the same nature, the author wrote the 'Bride.' Both dramas were translated into the Cingalese language. In the second play the writer endeavoured to set forth the christian principle of the forgiveness of injuries. Of the miscellaneous dramas, two were brought out simultaneously at Covent Garden and Drury Lane respectively; the younger Kemble appearing in the 'Separation' at the former house, and Vandenhoff in the tragedy of 'Henriquez' at the latter. They had but a partial success, and it would have been strange had the result been otherwise, considering the writer's adhesion to her former principles of construction and her lack of knowledge of stage requirements.

Miss Baillie continued to write after she had reached a very advanced age, some of the poems in her new collection of 'Fugitive Verses' having been produced when she was verging upon fourscore years. As the end of life approached she was prepared to meet it. 'On Saturday, the day preceding that of her death, which occurred 23 Feb. 1851, Joanna expressed a strong desire to be released from life. She retired to bed as usual, complained of some uneasiness, and sank till the following afternoon, when, without suffering, in the full possession of her faculties, with sorrowing relations around her, in the act of devotion, she expired' (*Prefatory Memoir to Collected Works*). 'Joanna Baillie was under the middle size, but not diminutive, and her form was slender. Her countenance indicated high talent, worth, and decision. Her life was characterised by the purest morality.' The prominent features of her character, which impressed all with whom she came in contact, were her consummate integrity, her moral courage, her freedom from affectation, and a never-failing charity in all things.

The faculty of invention displayed in Joanna Baillie's writings is very great. Her blank verse also possesses a notable dignity and sonorousness which rank her works among English classical dramas, although they will never be popular on the stage. Her minor works have much beauty and delicacy. Some of her songs, as, for example, 'Up, quit thy bower,' 'Woo'd, an' married, an' a',' 'It fell on a mornin' when we were thrang,' and 'Saw ye Johnnie comin'?' will doubtless always live. It has been often remarked of the tragedies of Joanna Baillie, that 'with all their deficiencies' they are probably 'the best ever written by a woman.' Miss Mitford (*Recollections*) observes of Miss Baillie's tragedies that they 'have a boldness and grasp of mind, a firmness of hand, and resonance of cadence, that scarcely seem within the reach of a female writer; whilst the tenderness and sweetness of her heroines, the grace of the love-scenes, and the trembling outgushings of sensibility, as in Orra, for instance, in the fine tragedy on "Fear"—would seem exclusively feminine if we did not know that a true dramatist—as Shakspeare or Fletcher—has the wonderful power of throwing himself into the character that he portrays.' Sir Walter Scott, when questioned respecting his own dramatic efforts, replied: 'The "Plays on the Passions" have put me entirely out of conceit with my germanized brat (the "House of Aspen"); and should I ever again attempt dramatic composition, I would endeavour after the genuine old English model.' Speaking on another occasion of Miss Baillie's tragedy of 'Fear,' he said that the language was distinguished by a rich variety of fancy which he knew no instance of excepting in Shakespeare, and he paid a very high tribute to its author, 'the immortal Joanna,' in his introduction to the third canto of 'Marmion.'

The various works of Joanna Baillie have been already referred to in their order of publication, with the exception of a poem entitled 'Athalya Baee,' printed originally for private circulation and published posthumously. It deals with a legend concerning the 'wise and good' Indian sovereign who furnishes the title of the poem.

[Dramatic and Poetical Works of Joanna Baillie; Annual Register, 1851; Inchbald's British Theatre; Mitford's Recollections of a Literary Life; Chambers's Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen; Rogers's Modern Scottish Minstrel; Quarterly Review, March 1841.]

G. B. S.

BAILLIE, JOHN (1741–1806), divine, was born in 1741, and became in 1767 minister of the Carliol-Street meeting-house (United Secession) at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. His convivial habits having led him into irregularities peculiarly inconsistent with his profession, his connection with this congregation ceased about 1783. He then assisted William Tinwell, the author of a treatise on

arithmetic, in conducting a school. Afterwards he lectured in a schoolroom in St. Nicholas's churchyard at Newcastle, and in 1797 his friends fitted up the old Postern Chapel for his use. He was in pecuniary difficulties for several years previous to his death, which occurred at Gateshead on 12 Dec. 1806. He published several detached sermons, including 'A Funeral Discourse on the Death of the Papacy, delivered before a crowded audience,' Newcastle, 1798, 8vo, and 'A Funeral Sermon occasioned by the death of Frances Baillie,' his daughter, who kept a school at Newcastle, and who died in 1801 at the age of twenty-three. His other works are: 1. 'A Course of Lectures upon various antient and interesting Prophecies; tending to strengthen the faith and enliven the hopes of believers in the Divine Saviour, to whom all the Prophets bare witness. Lecture I. Haggai ii. 6–10,' Newcastle, 1784, 8vo. 2. 'An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and its Vicinity' (anon.), Newcastle, 1801, 8vo. 3. 'History of the French War, from 1791 to 1802,' 8vo. He also assisted in writing a 'History of Egypt.'

[Gent. Mag. lxxvi. (ii.) 1182; Mackenzie's Newcastle, i. 394; Sykes's Local Records, 227; Richardson's Local Historian's Table Book (Historical Division), iii. 60.] T. C.

BAILLIE, JOHN (1772–1833), colonel, orientalist, political agent, and director of the East India Company, entered the company's service in 1790, arriving in India in 1791. He took ensign's rank in 1793 and lieutenant's in 1794, devoting his leisure to the study of oriental languages, which he prosecuted with such success that on the foundation of the new college of Fort William in 1801 he was appointed professor of the Arabic and Persian languages and of Mohammedan law. In 1803, on the outbreak of the Mahratta war, he joined in the siege of Agra with the rank of captain, and soon after was appointed to the difficult post of political agent at Bundelkhand. Disaffection was rife here, and the chiefs were forming dangerous combinations. Captain Baillie, however, succeeded in disuniting the league of the chiefs and re-establishing order and security, for which services he was publicly thanked by the governor-general in a letter to the directors, in which it was said that 'the British authority in Bundelkhand was only preserved by his fortitude, ability, and influence.' He had, in fact, transferred to the company a territory with a revenue of 225,000*l.* a year. Baillie resigned his professorship in 1807 for the position of resident at Lucknow, which he held till 1815. Three years later he retired from the service, and on his return to England went into parliament as one of the members for the borough of Hedon (now disfranchised), for which he sat from 1820 to 1830, and afterwards from 1830 to 1832 represented the burghs of Inverness. He was elected a director of the East India Company in 1823, and died 20 April 1833. While professor, Colonel Baillie published his useful 'Sixty Tables elucidatory of a Course of Lectures on Arabic Grammar delivered in the College of Fort William during the first year of its institution' (1801), and the text of 'The Five Books upon Arabic Grammar,' i.e. the 'Meeut Âmel,' 'Shurhu Meeut Âmel,' 'Mesbâh,' 'Hedâyut oon-Nuhve,' and the 'Kâfeea,' of which the first four were issued in two thin volumes in 1802–3, and the last was not published. He also translated from the Arabic part (relating to commercial transactions) of a digest of Mohammedan law in 1797, at the request of Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), the then governor-general, but the work was never completed.

[Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, iii. 100, 101 (1834); Annual Register, 1833, lxxv. 219.] S. L.-P.

BAILLIE, MARIANNE (1795?–1830), traveller and verse-writer, whose maiden name was Wathen (*Guy of Warwick*, &c., 1817, pp. 42, 43, and 64), married Mr. Alexander Baillie 'some years previous' to 1817 (*Guy of Warwick*, pp. 47, 66, and 72). Mrs. Baillie's first contribution to literature was a small volume, entitled 'Guy of Warwick, a Legende, and other Poems,' Kingsbury, 1817. A very limited edition was printed by Mr. Baillie at his private printing-press, and, in 1818, a second edition was in demand. Some of the poems in this work were afterwards reproduced in a volume privately printed in London in 1825, and 'not published,' entitled 'Trifles in Verse.' The preface is written by Mr. Baillie, who says that after the year 1817 'hard times came.' Early in 1818 the Baillies found a 'shelter' and a 'calm retreat' at Twickenham, where they received kindness from Lady Howe, whose second husband, Sir Wathen Waller, would seem to have been a relative of Mrs. Baillie. It was from Twickenham that the Baillies set out for a continental tour, crossing the Channel from Dover to Calais 9 Aug. 1818, and returning 8 Oct. following. The literary result of this journey appeared in a volume inscribed by the author to the Right Hon. John Trevor, who had been British minister at Turin from 1783 to 1798; of

whom Mrs. Baillie spoke after his death as a 'paternal friend' (*Trifles in Verse*, pp. 40 and 41). The title of the volume was 'First Impressions on a Tour upon the Continent in the Summer of 1818, through Parts of France, Italy, Switzerland, the Borders of Germany, and a Part of French Flanders,' 8vo, London, 1819. In the same year Mrs. Baillie wrote a poetical 'Farewell to Twickenham.' After spending some time in Devonshire, she entered in June 1820 upon a residence of about two years and a half in Portugal. There she wrote a series of letters to her mother, afterwards published, with an inscription to the Earl of Chichester, 'to whose kindness they owe their existence,' in two volumes, entitled 'Lisbon in the Years 1821, 1822, and 1823,' 8vo, London, 1824; second edition 1825. Several of her poems, published first in her letters, and afterwards in 'Trifles in Verse,' describe the beauties of Cintra. The Baillies returned to England in October 1823, and settled in London. Mrs. Baillie died in 1831.

[Martin's Bibliographical Catalogue of Privately Printed Books, 2nd ed. 1854.] A. H. G.

BAILLIE, MATTHEW (1761–1823), morbid anatomist, was born at Shots, Lanarkshire, on 27 Oct. 1761. His father (James) was the minister of the parish, and was afterwards professor of divinity at Glasgow. His mother (Dorothea) was a sister of the great anatomists, William and John Hunter. Joanna, the poetess, was Matthew's sister. Baillie went to the grammar school of Hamilton, and thence to the university of Glasgow. On the advice of Dr. William Hunter he chose medicine as his profession. He came to London at the age of eighteen, and lived in William Hunter's house. Baillie entered at Balliol College, Oxford, and worked hard there at the studies of the place; but his more valuable education was carried on in Windmill Street in the vacations. A lecture-theatre and museum adjoined Dr. William Hunter's house, and in them Baillie attended public lectures, which his uncle supplemented by instruction whenever he and his nephew were together. He taught Matthew how to observe, communicated to him his own love of science, and set him an example of lucid exposition. In two years Dr. William Hunter died, and left theatre and house to his nephew. The museum was ultimately to go to Glasgow, where it now is, but its present use was left to Matthew, and so was a family estate in Scotland. This Baillie honourably handed over to his uncle, John Hunter, as the natural heir. No man could have had a more fortunate introduction to medicine, and Baillie showed that he understood his advantages. He began to lecture, and turned his attention in particular to every kind of diseased structure. In 1787, being M.B., he was elected physician to St. George's Hospital, and in 1789 took his M.D. degree, and became a fellow of the College of Physicians. Somewhat later he was elected F.R.S. His first publication appeared in 1794, and was an edition of a treatise on the 'Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus,' which Dr. William Hunter had left in manuscript. In 1795 Baillie published 'The Morbid Anatomy of some of the most important Parts of the Human Body,' the work on which his fame rests. It was the first book on the subject in English, and excelled any of the previous Latin treatises in lucidity. Morgagni's 'De Sedibus et Causis Morborum,' the work which may be regarded as the foundation of the study of diseased structures and organs, is long, intricate, and difficult of reference. Morgagni's method, which is also that of the other predecessors of Baillie, is to state in full the history and symptoms of cases, with a minute account of all the appearances found on opening the body after death. Baillie's was the first book in which morbid anatomy was treated as a subject by itself. He followed the plan of treatises on normal anatomy, going through the morbid appearances of each organ. This system, without any loss of exactitude, enabled him to set forth a great collection of observations in a few words. What was common was confirmed by the statement of many observations, without wasting space on the details of each; and what was rare was placed near the more frequent conditions to which it was related. The great majority of the observations are Baillie's own, some made in his examinations of bodies, others in the specimens preserved by his uncles, William and John Hunter. He sometimes mentions the descriptions of Morgagni, of Lieutaud, and of a few of his own contemporaries; but he does so to fill up gaps in his own series, and does not profess to reduce into order the mass of details contained in their pages. His work is limited to the thoracic and abdominal organs and the brain. He leaves untouched the morbid changes observable in the skeleton, muscles, nerves, and spinal cord. A short paper ('Observations on Paraplegia,' 1822), published elsewhere, shows that he had begun to pay attention to diseases of the spinal cord, of which very little was then known, but that he had not advanced far into the subject. The pathology, or explanation of morbid appearances, necessarily changes with the advance of knowledge, but accurate

descriptions of them never become obsolete or useless. Baillie shows remarkable acuteness in perceiving the uncertainty of the pathology of his time. He restricts himself to precise descriptions of what he had seen, and little is to be found in his pages which is not of permanent value. He was the first to define exactly the condition of the liver now known as cirrhosis, and to distinguish the common renal cysts from the rare cysts of parasitic hydatids of the kidney. He demolished the prevalent opinion, that death was often due to a growth in the heart, and showed that the polypus, as it was called, was in reality a mass of coagulated fibrin formed after death. He described simple ulcer of the stomach and the ulcers of typhoid fever, though the full meaning of these appearances was not made out till some years after his death. The book was dedicated to his friend, Dr. David Pitcairn, whose fatal illness and autopsy a few years later gave Baillie the opportunity of describing a morbid condition before unknown. Two additions were afterwards made to the book. In 1797 a few notes were added on the anatomy found in relation to particular symptoms, and in 1799 a fine series of engravings by Mr. Clift. Baillie's practice soon began to increase, and in 1799 was so great that he resigned his post of physician at St. George's Hospital and gave up lecturing. He went to live in Grosvenor Street, and became physican extraordinary to George III. From this time forth his labours were only useful to his own generation. He was not of a robust constitution, and his health was ruined by a practice beyond his strength. For several years he saw patients or wrote letters for sixteen hours a day, and after a few years he ceased to enjoy an annual holiday. In consultation he was famed for the clearness with which he expressed his opinion in simple terms. He despised every way of obtaining professional eminence except that of superior knowledge, and while he treated the opinions of others with consideration was firm in his own. There are many proofs of his kindness to patients, but he sometimes gave sharp replies to foolish questions when suffering from the irritation of overwork.

He married Sophia, daughter of Dr. Denman and sister of the law lord, and he left two children. During the period of his great practice Baillie made a few contributions to clinical medicine. These, and some others which he left unpublished, are to be found in the collected edition of his works ('The Works of Matthew Baillie, M.D.,' to which is prefixed an Account of his Life by James Wardrop, 2 vols., London, 1825). They are not of the same value as his morbid anatomy, for he had no time to think out the general results of his bedside observations. In a short essay on 'Pulsation of the Aorta in the Epigastrium,' he was the first to show that this symptom is often present without any internal structural change.

Baillie died of phthisis on 23 Sept. 1823. He bequeathed his collection of specimens of morbid anatomy, of books and of drawings, to the College of Physicians with a sum of money. The gold-headed cane which Baillie had received from Dr. David Pitcairn, to whom it had descended through William Pitcairn, Askew, and Mead from Radcliffe (*The Gold-headed Cane*, London, 1827, and new edition by Dr. Munk, 1884), was presented by Baillie's widow to the College of Physicians, and is there preserved, with the arms of its successive possessors engraved upon it. Baillie died at his country house, and was buried in the parish church of Duntisbourne, Gloucestershire, and he is commemorated in Westminster Abbey by a bust and inscription.

[Collected Works; Lectures and Observations on Medicine by the late Matthew Baillie, M.D., privately printed, 1825.] N. M.

BAILLIE, ROBERT, D.D. (1599–1662), one of the most learned of the earlier Scottish presbyterian divines, was born at Glasgow in 1599 (*Letters and Journals*, ed. Laing, 1841–2, 3 vols.) His father is described as son of Baillie of Jerviston (Jerviswood?), and descended of the Baillies of Hoprig and Lamington—Lamington coming to them through a marriage with the daughter of Sir William Wallace. But although of high descent, Robert Baillie's father was a citizen of Glasgow and engaged there in trade.

Robert Baillie entered the university of his native city as a mere lad. He took its highest degree of M.A. Having further studied theology, he, 'about the year' 1622, received orders, not from the church of Scotland—i.e. presbyterians—but from Archbishop Law of Glasgow. He was chosen also a regent of philosophy in his university. Whilst in this office he was tutor to a son of the Earl of Eglinton. In spite of his episcopal ordination, that earl presented him to the parish of Kilwinning, Ayrshire—i.e. of the church of Scotland. Notwithstanding that he was now a clergyman of the national church of Scotland, he kept up an affectionate correspondence with the archbishop. In 1629 he delivered an oration 'In laudem Linguæ Hebrææ.' In 1633 he declined a translation to Edinburgh. In 1637 his patron the archbishop requested him to preach a sermon in

the Scottish metropolis in recommendation of the Canon and Service Book then published. He did not see his way to do so, and his letter giving his reasons for refusal is still of interest. Events were thickening to disaster. In 1638 he was chosen by his own presbytery of Irvine a member of the historic general assembly at Glasgow, which heralded the civil war. He spoke out courageously and unmistakably against the obtrusion and Arminianism of Laud. In 1640 he was sent by the covenanting lords to London, to draw up an accusation against the archbishop. His 'Letters and Journals' of the period reflect the lights and shadows of events. In 1641 he published his 'Antidote against Arminianism;' 'The Unlawfulness and Danger of a Limited Prelacie and Episcopacie;' 'A Parallel or Briefe Comparison of the Liturgie with the Masse-Book, the Breviarie, the Ceremoniall, and other Romish Ritualls;' 'Laudensium Αὐτοκατάκρισις;' and 'The Canterburian's Self-Conviction; or an Evident Demonstration of the avowed Arminianisme, Poperie, and Tyrannie of that Faction, by their owne Confessions; with a Postscript to the Personat Jesuite Lysimachus Nicanor.' These extraordinary books had been preceded by daring action. For in 1639 he accepted the chaplaincy of Lord Eglinton's regiment, and was with the army of the covenanters at Dunse Law under Leslie (*Letters and Journals*, ed. Laing, i. 174). The treaty of Berwick led to a temporary cessation of the unhappy strife. But again in 1640 he appeared in arms with the covenanters. It was from the heat of these bold acts that he proceeded to London. In 1642 he was again in Scotland, and appointed professor of divinity along with David Dickson, in Glasgow University. His reputation was great, so much so that the other three Scottish universities contended for his services. He was frequently absent in London, having formed one of the renowned Westminster Assembly. He returned to settle finally in Scotland in 1646. Other theological and ecclesiastical books had in the interval, and in this year, appeared —e.g. 'Satan the Leader in Chief to all who resist the Reparation of Sins; as it was cleared in a Sermon to the Honourable House of Commons at their late Solemn Fast, Feb. 28, 1643;' 'Errours and Induration are the great Sins and the great Judgments of the Time; preached in a Sermon before the Right Honourable the House of Peers in the Abbey Church of Westminster, July 30, 1645;' 'An Historicall Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, from the manifold base Calumnies which the most malignant of the Prelates did invent of old, and now lately have been published with great industry in two pamphlets at London: the one intituled "Issachars Burden," &c., written and published at Oxford by John Maxwell, a Scottish Prelate, &c., 1646;' 'A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time; wherein the Tenets of the Principall Sects, especially of the Independents, are drawn together in a Map, 1645–6;' 'Anabaptism, the True Fountaine of Independency, Brownisme, Antinomy, Familisme, &c., or a Second Part of the Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time, 1647.' His larger books, published later, are: 'A Review of Dr. Bramhall, late Bishop of Londonderry, his Faire Warning against the Scotes Disciplin,' 1649; 'A Scotch Antidote against the English Infection of Arminianism,' 1652; 'The Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time, vindicated from the Exceptions of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tombes,' 1655; 'Opus Historicum et Chronologicum,' published at Amsterdam, 1663.

When, after the beheading of Charles I, Charles II was proclaimed in Scotland, Baillie was one of the divines appointed by the general assembly to wait upon his majesty at the Hague. On 27 March 1649 he addressed Charles in a remarkable speech. He was emphatic against the execution of Charles I; but his acceptance of Charles II was limited by all the niceties of casuistry. At the Restoration he was full of ardent hope. By the influence of Lauderdale he was appointed principal of the university of Glasgow on his refusal of a bishopric. He was not destined to hold his ultimate dignity very long. In the spring of 1662 he was 'sick and weak.' In his last illness he was visited by the newmade archbishop of Glasgow, and whilst he could not address him as 'my lord,' they got on excellently. He died in July 1662, aged 63. His 'Letters and Journals,' dating from 1637 to 1662, remained for many years in manuscript in the hands of Baillie's heirs. Many transcripts were made from them in the early part of the eighteenth century, of which one is now in the British Museum, and another in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. They were printed for the first time at Edinburgh in two octavo volumes in 1775, at the suggestion (it has been doubtfully asserted) of Robertson and Hume. This work was very poorly edited by 'Mr. Robert Aiken, schoolmaster of Anderton,' and is disfigured by careless omissions and errors. The Bannatyne Club issued the best edition in 1841–2, in three volumes, edited by David Laing.

Baillie was twice married, firstly to Lilias Fleming, of the family of Cardarroch—by whom he had a large number of children, but only five survived him; she died in June

1653. His second wife was Mrs. Wilkie, widow, daughter of a former principal of the university (Dr. Strang); by her he had a daughter, Margaret, who became wife of Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, and grandmother of Henry Home, Lord Kames. Another descendant was Miss Walkinshaw, mistress of James Charles Stuart.

As a scholar, Baillie was remarkable. He understood thoroughly no fewer than thirteen languages, including Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. He had a keen, penetrative intellect, which never allowed his learning to overload it. He is an alert controversialist, with a swift eye to his opponents' weaknesses and admissions. He bows to what he believes to be the true interpretation of Holy Scripture. He fiercely denounces 'the sectaries,' and though personally modest, he shows towards adversaries little charity. His 'Letters and Journals' are for Scotland much what Pepys and Evelyn are for England. They are especially valuable in relation to the assembly of 1638 and the assembly of Westminster.

[Kippis's Biogr. Brit. i. 510–15; Chalmers's Biogr. Dict.; Anderson's Scottish Nation; Neal's Puritans (*passim*); a remarkable paper by Carlyle on 'Baillie the Covenanter' in Westminster Review, xxxvii. 43, and reprinted in his Miscellanies.] A. B. G.

BAILLIE, ROBERT (*d.* 1684), patriot, the 'Scottish Algernon Sydney,' as he has been named, was son of George Baillie of St. John's Kirk, Lanarkshire, of the Lamington Baillies, though he himself is known as Baillie of Jerviswood. He first appears in full manhood, as the object of suspicion and hatred to the powers then dominant in Scotland. An apparently trivial incident brought things to a crisis. In June 1676 the Rev. Mr. Kirkton, a non-episcopalian minister, who had married Baillie's sister, was illegally arrested in the High Street of Edinburgh by an informer named Carstairs, on the bidding of Archbishop Sharp, himself a renegade presbyterian. Carstairs, not having a warrant, endeavoured to extort money from his prisoner before releasing him. Baillie having been sent for arrived on the scene. It was a mean house near the common prison ('Heart of Midlothian'). Carstairs had locked the door and refused to open it. Kirkton desired of him that he would either produce his warrant or set him free. Instead of compliance, Baillie drew a pocket-pistol, and a struggle ensued for its possession. Those without, hearing the noise and cries, burst open the door, and discovered Kirkton on the floor and Carstairs seated upon him. Baillie demanded sight of the warrant, but none was produced. Thereupon Kirkton and his friends left the house. Upon the complaint of the informer, he procured an ante-dated warrant, bearing the signatures of some members of the privy council. Baillie—the higher victim—was called before the council, and by Sharp's influence was fined 'in six thousand marks' (= 318*l.*, or, according to Wodrow, 500*l.*), 'to be imprisoned till paid.' After being four months in prison, he was liberated on payment of half the fine to Carstairs. Needless to say he was a suspected man henceforward. None the less was he bold and outspoken for civil and religious liberty. In the year 1683, sick at heart and seeing no prospect of relief from the prevailing tyranny in his native land, he joined some fellow-countrymen in negotiations for emigration to South Carolina. The scheme was frustrated. Contemporaneously, Baillie and compatriots repaired to London, and entered into association with Monmouth, Sydney, Russell, and their friends, if possible to obtain mitigation, or perchance change, of government measures. The Rye House plot came to the front, and though Baillie had nothing whatever to do with it, he was arrested and sent north to Scotland. Hopes of a pardon for himself having been treacherously held out to him, on condition of his giving the government information, he replied: 'They who can make such a proposal to me neither know me nor my country.' The late Earl Russell observes: 'It is to the honour of Scotland that no witnesses came forward voluntarily to accuse their associates, as had been done in England.' Baillie had married, when young, a sister of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston (who was executed in June 1633); and during his imprisonment she offered to go into irons as an assurance against any attempt at escape, if only she might keep her husband company. But permission was denied. He was accused of complicity in the Rye House plot and conspiracy to raise a rebellion, but his prosecutors were unable to adduce one iota of evidence. Therefore he was ordered to 'free himself' by oath. This he refused to do, and was fined 6,000*l.* He was still held in prison and refused the slightest alleviation. Bishop Burnet, in his 'History of his own Times,' informs us that 'the ministers of state were most earnestly set on Baillie's destruction, though he was now in so languishing a condition, that if his death would have satisfied the malice of the court, it seemed to be very near.' He adds, that 'all the while he was in prison he seemed so composed and cheerful, that his behaviour looked like the reviving spirit of the noblest of the old Greeks or Romans, or rather of the

primitive christians and first martyrs in those best days of the church.' On 23 Dec. 1684 the dying prisoner was (afresh) arraigned before the High Court of Justiciary on the capital charge of treason. He was carried to the bar in his night-dress, attended by his sister (Mrs. Ker of Graden). He solemnly denied having been accessory to any conspiracy against the king's or his brother's life, or of being an enemy to monarchy. He was 'brought in' guilty on 24 Dec., early in the morning, and sentenced to be hanged the same afternoon at the market cross of Edinburgh, with all the usual barbarities of beheading and quartering. Upon hearing his sentence he said simply: 'My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp, but I thank my God, who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live.' He was attended to the scaffold by his devoted sister. He was so feeble that he required assistance to mount the ladder. When he was up he said: 'My faint zeal for the protestant religion has brought me to this;' but the beating of the drums interrupted him. An intended speech had to go undelivered. Thus, says Bishop Burnet, 'A learned and worthy gentleman, after twenty months' hard usage, was brought to such a death, in a way so foul, in all the steps of it of the spirit and practice of the courts of the Inquisition, that one is tempted to think that the methods taken in it were suggested by one well studied if not fostered in them.' The illustrious nonconformist divine Dr. John Owen, writing to a friend in Scotland before his death, said of him: 'You have truly men of great spirit among you; there is, for a gentleman, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, a person of the greatest abilities I ever almost met with.'

The Jerviswood family was ruined by the execution and consequent forfeiture of their head. His son George fled to Holland. He returned in 1688 with William of Orange, when he was restored to his estates. The Baillies of Jerviswood have prospered since. An exquisite miniature of our patriot, painted in 1660, is at Jerviswood. It shows a firm yet naturally gentle face, with touches of Cromwell in it.

[Contemporary broad-sheet of Trial; Anderson's Scottish Nation, i. 177–9; Burnet's Own Time; Russell's Life of Lord William Russell; Wodrow's Analecta; Chambers's Scotsmen.]

A. B. G.

BAILLIE, THOMAS (*d.* 1802), captain in the royal navy, entered the navy about 1740, and was made lieutenant on 29 March 1745. In 1756 he was serving on board the Deptford, and was present at the action near Minorca on 20 May. He was shortly afterwards promoted to the command of the Alderney sloop, and early in the following year, whilst acting captain of the Tartar frigate, captured a French privateer of 24 guns and 240 men, which was purchased into the service as the Tartar's prize, and the command of her, with post-rank, given to Captain Baillie, 30 March 1757. In this ship he continued, engaged for the most part in convoy service, till she was lost in 1760; and in the following year, 1761, he was appointed to Greenwich Hospital, through the interest, it is said, of the Earl of Bute; he certainly had no claim to the benefits of the hospital by either age, or service, or wounds. In 1774 he was advanced to be lieutenant-governor of the hospital, and in March 1778 published a work of 116 pages in quarto, the best account of which is its title. It runs: 'The Case of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, containing a comprehensive view of the internal government, in which are stated the several abuses that have been introduced into that great national establishment, wherein landsmen have been appointed to offices contrary to charter; the ample revenues wasted in useless works, and money obtained by petition to parliament to make good deficiencies; the wards torn down and converted into elegant apartments for clerks and their deputies; the pensioners fed with bull-beef and sour small-beer mixed with water, and the contractors, after having been convicted of the most enormous frauds, suffered to compound their penalties and renew their contract.' The sin of making charges such as these was aggravated by the evidence, amounting to absolute proof, which accompanied them. Baillie had not put his name on the title-page, but he made no attempt to conceal it; and Lord Sandwich, whose conduct was both directly and indirectly called in question, at once deprived him of his office, and prompted the inferior officials of the hospital to bring an action for libel against him. The trial which followed, in November 1778, is principally noticeable for the magnificent speech with which Mr. Erskine, afterwards lord chancellor, but then just called to the bar, wound up the defence, and cleared Baillie of the charge (Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, vi. 391–8). From the purely naval point of view, however, Baillie was ruined; he was acquitted of all legal blame; but Lord Sandwich had deprived him of his post, and refused to reinstate him, or to appoint him to a ship for active service. The question was raised in the House of Lords (*Parl. Hist.* xx. 475); but the interest of the ministry was sufficient to

decide it against Captain Baillie, who during the next three years made several fruitless applications both to the secretary of the admiralty and to Lord Sandwich himself. His lordship had publicly declared that he knew nothing against Captain Baillie's character as a sea-officer, and also that he did not feel disposed to act vindictively against him; but Baillie's claims were, nevertheless, persistently ignored, and he was left unemployed till, on the change of ministry in 1782, the Duke of Richmond, who became master-general of the ordnance, appointed him to the lucrative office of clerk of the deliveries. A legacy of 500*l.* which fell to him two years later served rather to mark the current of public feeling in the city. Mr. John Barnard, son of a former lord mayor, had left him this 'as a small token of my approbation of his worthy and disinterested, though ineffectual, endeavours to rescue that noble national charity [sc. Greenwich Hospital] from the rapacious hands of the basest and most wicked of mankind.' Captain Baillie's old age passed away in the quiet enjoyment of his office under the Ordnance, which he held till his death, 15 Dec. 1802.

[Charnock's Biog. Nav. vi. 214; Official Letters in the Public Record Office.] J. K. L.

BAILLIE, WILLIAM, Lord Provand (*d.* 1593), Scottish judge, of the family of Baillie of Lamington, first appears as a judge of the court of session, 15 Nov. 1550. He was appointed president of the court on the death of John Sinclair, bishop of Brechin, in 1566. On 6 Dec. 1567, he was deprived of this office, in favour of Sir James Balfour, by the regent Murray, on the pretext that the act of institution required it to be held by a person of the spiritual estate. Balfour was in turn removed in 1568, when he was accused of participation in Darnley's murder, and Baillie, being reinstated, held the office till his death, 26 May 1593.

[Brunton and Haig's College of Justice.] Æ. M.

BAILLIE, WILLIAM (*fl.* 1648), Scottish general, was the son of Sir William Baillie of Lamington, an adherent of Queen Mary of Scotland. His mother was a daughter of Sir Alexander Hume, lord provost of Edinburgh, and he was born during the lifetime of his father's first wife, Margaret Maxwell, countess of Angus. Sir William Baillie, on the death of the countess, married his mistress, but the son was not thereby legitimatised, and the estates were inherited by Margaret Baillie, the eldest daughter by the first marriage. In early life Baillie went, therefore, to Sweden, and served under Gustavus Adolphus. In a 'list of Scottish officers that served his majesty of Sweden' at the time of the monarch's death in 1632, he is styled 'William Baily, colonell to a regiment of foote of Dutch.' After his return to Scotland in 1638 he was employed on many important services by the covenanters. In his commission in the army, ratified by parliament 11 June 1640, he is designated 'William Baillie of Lethem (Letham), Stirlingshire,' an estate which came into his possession through his marriage to Janet, daughter of Sir William Bruce of Glenhouse, and granddaughter of John Baillie of Letham. In 1641 he made an unsuccessful attempt to have the settlement of the Lamington estates reversed in his favour. Under Leslie, earl of Leven, he was present with the army which in 1639 encamped on Dunse Law, and he also took part in the incursion into England in the following year. As lieutenant-general of foot he also distinguished himself under Leslie in 1644, at Marston Moor, the siege of York, and the capture of Newcastle. In order to check the brilliant raids of Montrose and his Highlanders in the northern districts of Scotland, he was, in 1645, appointed to the command of a strong force, with Sir John Urry, or Hurry, as assistant general. For some time he manœuvred against Montrose with great strategic skill, but, the forces under his command having divided, Urry was routed at Auldearn, and he himself, after a stubborn contest, was worsted at Alford and compelled to retreat southwards. Attributing his defeat to the fact that his forces had been unnecessarily weakened by the drawing off of recruits, he resigned his commission; but after receiving from the authorities formal approbation of his conduct, he agreed to continue in command till an efficient substitute could be found. The result fully justified his scruples. On 15 Aug. the opposing forces again came in sight of each other at Kilsyth. The committee of estates resolved to give battle, a determination so strongly disapproved of by Baillie that he declined to undertake the disposition of the troops, and consented to be present merely that he might lessen the disastrous results of a defeat which he felt to be inevitable. So overwhelming was the victory of Montrose that Scotland for a time was at his feet. It seemed indeed to be fated that the undoubted bravery and skill of Baillie should always be thwarted by the incompetence and blunders of those whom he served. When the Scots, after the 'engagement' with Charles in the Isle of Wight, resolved on an expedition into England to deliver the 'king from

the power of sectaries,' Baillie was appointed lieutenant-general of foot in the army raised by the Duke of Hamilton. The loose order kept by the duke rendered the disaster at Preston on 11 Aug. 1648 a foregone conclusion. Baillie rallied his forces near Winwick, three miles from Warrington, 'maintaining the pass,' according to Cromwell, 'with great resolution for many hours;' but, receiving 'an order to make as good conditions as he could,' he with great reluctance sent in a capitulation to Cromwell, which was accepted. He took no further prominent part in the events of his time, and there is no record of the day or year of his death.

[Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, edited by David Laing, especially ii. 417–25, containing Sir William Baillie's vindication of his conduct at Kilsyth and Preston, and iii. 455–7 (Appendix); Hunter's Biggar and the House of Fleming, 2nd ed. (1867), 596–7; Napier's Life of Montrose; Carlyle's Cromwell.] T. F. H.

BAILLIE, WILLIAM, Lord Polkemmet (*d.* 1816), Scottish judge, was the eldest son of Thomas Baillie, writer to the signet. He was admitted advocate 1758, judge 1793, resigned 1811, and died 14 March 1816.

[Brunton and Haig's College of Justice.] Æ. M.

BAILLIE, WILLIAM (1723–1810), amateur engraver and etcher, was born at Kilbride, in the county of Carlow, 5 June 1723. He was educated in Dublin under Dr. Sheridan, and at the age of eighteen came to London and entered the Middle Temple for the purpose of studying the law, but he soon accepted a commission in the army, and fought in the 13th foot at Culloden, and in the 51st foot at Minden. He afterwards exchanged into the cavalry, but retired from the service in 1761 with the rank of captain in the 18th light dragoons, and in 1773 was appointed a commissioner of stamps, which office he held until 1795. Both before and after leaving the army Baillie devoted his leisure entirely to art, and he was considered one of the most accomplished connoisseurs of his time. He practised engraving in nearly all its branches, blending mezzotint and etching with great success, but he shone most in his imitations of Rembrandt, whose 'Hundred Guilder' print he exhibited at the Society of Artists in Spring Gardens in 1776, in two different states, before and after his reworking of the original plate which he had acquired in Holland. A few of his smaller pieces are etched after his own designs, but by far the larger number of his plates are executed in a mixed manner after the paintings or drawings of eminent masters of the Dutch and Flemish schools. He produced upwards of a hundred plates, of which he was himself the publisher, but nearly all were collected and issued in two folio volumes by Alderman Boydell in 1792, and reissued in 1803. Baillie died at Paddington, 22 Dec. 1810. His best known works are his restoration of Rembrandt's plate of 'Christ healing the Sick,' commonly called the 'Hundred Guilder' print; his completion in mezzotint of Rembrandt's own etching of 'Jesus disputing with the Doctors;' and his copies of the same master's 'Three Trees' and 'The Gold Weigher.' Besides these may be mentioned his etchings of Rembrandt's 'Christ and the Two Disciples at Emmaus' and 'Burial of Jacob' (often miscalled the 'Entombment of Christ'), Rubens's 'Christ washing the Feet of the Apostles,' Van den Eeckhout's 'Susannah and the Elders before Daniel,' Terborch's equestrian portrait of William, prince of Orange, and 'The Sacrifice of Abraham' and a very spirited whole-length figure of 'An Officer' from his own designs. His principal works in mezzotint are a whole-length portrait of James, duke of Monmouth, after Netscher and Wyck, a half-length of Frans Hals, the Dutch painter, after himself, and 'The Piping Boy,' after Nathaniel Hone. He also etched a small head of himself, and engraved in stipple another portrait of himself after Nathaniel Hone.

[Somerset House Gazette, 1824, i. 300; Ottley's Notices of Engravers and their Works, 1831; Meyer's Künstler-Lexikon, ii. 549–56; Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, ed. Graves, 1884; Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 1878; Notes and Queries, 1st series, xii. 186, 5th series, iii. 309; Smith's British Mezzotinto Portraits, 1878, i. 5–7.] R. E. G.

BAILLIE, WILLIAM (*d.* 1782), lieutenant-colonel in the East India Company's service, was one of Hyder Ali's captives. The biography of this brave but unfortunate officer presents some obscurity. His name, in common with the names of some other officers of the same standing, is omitted from Dodswell and Miles's 'Lists of the Indian Army from 1760;' but records in the India Office show that he entered the army of the East India Company on 18 Oct. 1759 as a lieutenant in the infantry at Madras, and that the dates of his subsequent commissions were as follows: brevet-captain 5 Sept. 1763, substantive captain 2 April 1764, major 12 April 1772, lieutenant-colonel 29 Dec. 1775. The historian Wilks identifies him with the Captain Baillie who did good service as commandant of one of the three 'English'

battalions in the pay of the company, employed under Colonel Joseph Smith, in the operations against Hyder Ali in 1767–8 (Wilks, *Hist. Sketches*, vol. i. and index to work). He was in command at Pondicherry during the destruction of the French works there in 1779 (Vibart, vol. i.), and in 1780 was at the head of a detached force, consisting of two companies of European infantry, two batteries of artillery, and five battalions of native infantry, in the Guntoor Circars. When Hyder Ali, with an army of 100,000 fighting men, swooped down on the Carnatic by way of the Changama Pass in July of that year, Baillie was ordered to unite his force with the army collecting near Madras under command of Lord Macleod, who was immediately afterwards succeeded by Sir Hector Munro. Moving down with the gigantic camp-following then customary, and, as some writers assert, with many needless delays, Baillie drew near to Madras, defeating a division of the enemy under Hyder's son Tippoo, which attacked him on the march near the village of Perambaukum. Thence he sent on word to Munro, who was encamped at Conjeveram, fourteen miles distant, that his losses prevented his further movement. Munro appears to have feared having his stores exposed at Conjeveram, and, instead of bringing the help which Baillie expected, merely sent a small reinforcement of Highlanders and sepoys under Colonel Fletcher. Indeed, a want of judgment and energy seems to have pervaded the measures of both commanders, the result being that Baillie, moving forward from Polilore in the direction of Conjeveram, on the morning of 10 Sept. 1780, found himself assailed by Hyder Ali's entire host. In the engagement which ensued, the blowing up of two tumbrils within the oblong into which Baillie had formed his troops, followed by a general stampede of camp-followers through his ranks, produced irretrievable confusion. Despite the heroic efforts of their officers, the sepoys, panic-stricken, could not be rallied; but the Europeans, to the number of five hundred, got together in square under Colonel Baillie, who was on foot, and, taking post on a rising bank of sand, fought with a stubborn determination never surpassed. Again and again they withstood the fierce charges of fresh bodies of Hyder's horse, supported by masses of infantry in the intervals, until all the officers lay killed or wounded, and but sixteen soldiers out of the five hundred of all ranks in the square remained unhurt. The survivors, including such of the wounded as were thought worth removal, were swept from the field as prisoners, and carried off to Seringapatam. Among the number grievously wounded was Colonel Baillie, whose personal courage in the fight and in the subsequent captivity was admitted alike by friends and foes. In dungeons at Seringapatam, and most of the time in chains, the prisoners remained until 1784, when the survivors were returned to Madras. A few among them, like Captain Baird, 73rd (71st) Highlanders, afterwards General Sir D. Baird, witnessed the day of retribution, long deferred, when the fortress fell to British arms on 4 May 1799; but Colonel Baillie was not of the number, death having ended his sufferings in captivity on 13 Nov. 1782 (Hook's *Life of Baird*, vol. i.).

[Information supplied by India Office from (1) MS. Fort St. George (Madras) Army Lists, 1759–82; (2) MS. Army List, without date, received from Madras in October 1781. In the latter Army List Colonel William Baillie is shown as a 'prisoner,' and in the Fort St. George List for November 1782 his name is cancelled with the note 'dead.' Wilks's Historical Sketches S. India, vols. i. and ii. (Madras, 1869); Vibart's History of Madras Sappers and Miners, vol. i. (London, 1882). For details of the disaster of 10 Sept. 1782 the following works may be consulted: Wilks's Historical Sketches, Mill's Hist. of India, vol. iv., and Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. vol. xi.; and for particulars of the captivity and for the date of Colonel Baillie's death, which is not specified in India Office Lists, see Hook's Life of Sir D. Baird, vol. i. (London, 1832).]

H. M. C.

BAILY, CHARLES (1815–1878), architect and archæologist, third son of William Baily, of 71 Gracechurch Street, London, and East Dulwich and Standon, Dorking, Surrey, was born 10 April 1815. His independent architectural work included the building of St. John's Church, East Dulwich, and the restoration of Barnard's Inn Hall, and of Leigh Church (with new tower), near Tunbridge, Kent. He was for some years principal assistant to the City architect, London, in which capacity he took a leading part in constructing the new roofing of the Guildhall and in the building of the Corporation Library. In January 1844 Baily was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and was also a prominent member of various archæological societies. To the fourth volume of the serial published by the Surrey Archæological Society he contributed 'Remarks on Timber Houses,' with many admirable illustrations by himself. Baily was long associated with Mr. G. R. French in the production of the noble 'Catalogue of the Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, London, in the month of May 1861,' 2 vols, 4to, 1869, and was

master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1874–5. He died at Reigate 2 Oct. 1878.

[Information from Mr. W. Baily; City Press, 9 Oct. 1878; Builder, 12 Oct. 1878.] G. G.

BAILY, EDWARD HODGES (1788–1867), sculptor, was born at Bristol, where his father was known as a skilful carver of figure-heads for ships. He was sent to a grammar school, but showed the common artistic repugnance to the regular studies. Young Baily would carve strange portraits of his schoolfellows, and showed no capacity for ordinary school work. At fourteen he entered a merchant's office, and remained there for two years. During this time he obtained some instruction from a modeller in wax, and greatly improved his opportunity. Soon he forsook commerce, and began taking portraits in wax. By virtue of some studies which he made from the antique, he obtained a fortunate introduction to Flaxman, in whose studio, in 1807, he became a pupil, and there he remained for seven years. In 1809 he entered the Academy schools, gaining silver and gold medals in quick succession. He was made an associate in 1817. In 1818 he executed for the British Literary Institution the beautiful statue which established his reputation, 'Eve at the Fountain.' In 1821 he was elected a full member of the Royal Academy. From this time until 1858 he was a busy man, and a constant exhibitor; the execution of portrait statues and busts occupying the greatest share of his attention. In the region of ideal art his taste led him rather towards domestic than classical subjects. Nagler gives high praise to a representation, in high relief, of 'Motherly Love.' Kindred subjects, the 'Mother and Child,' 'Group of Children,' and the like, were favourites of his, and were often repeated. Of his portrait statues, perhaps the best known are his Charles James Fox and Lord Mansfield in St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster. He had among his sitters many distinguished men, including Stothard, Fuseli, Flaxman, Byron, Haydon, and the Duke of Wellington. Of his connection with the duke an amusing account is preserved by Haydon. It shows the sculptor to have been at once a cool-headed and high-spirited man. Amongst purely fanciful subjects, besides those already referred to, 'The Graces,' 'Eve listening to the Voice,' and 'A girl preparing for the Bath' may be mentioned. In 1863 Baily, who for some years then past had done little, was made an 'honorary retired academician,' and exhibited no more. He died at Holloway on 22 May 1867. He stands high in his profession as an artist, but was not careful enough of the money his talent procured, and the last years of his long life were much embarrassed. A writer in the 'Art Journal' (July 1867) says: 'The years of his prolonged life were actively passed in upholding the dignity and purity of his art, and in its annals his name must always be referred to as one of the most successful and accomplished British sculptors of the nineteenth century.'

[Art Journal, 1867; Athenæum, 1 June 1867; Haydon's Life and Letters, 3 vols., edited by Tom Taylor; Nagler's Künstler-Lexicon, ed. 1833; Redgrave's Dict. of Eng. School.]

E. R.

BAILY, FRANCIS (1774–1844), an eminent astronomer, was the third son of Mr. Richard Baily, banker, of Newbury, Berkshire, where he was born 28 April 1774. Placed in a London mercantile house at the age of fourteen, the acquaintance of Priestley developed his native taste for experimental inquiries. But though known amongst his young companions as the 'Philosopher of Newbury,' love of adventure was as yet stronger in him than love of science, and his seven years' apprenticeship had no sooner expired than he sailed for America 21 Oct. 1795. The narrative of his experiences as a traveller is contained in an extremely curious 'Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 and 1797,' edited by Professor De Morgan in 1856, twelve years after the death of the author. They include two narrow escapes from shipwreck, a voyage in an open boat down the Ohio and Mississippi from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and a return journey to New York across nearly 2,000 miles of 'wilderness' uninhabited except by Indians. A matrimonial project, vaguely indicated in connection with some steps towards naturalisation and permanent residence in the United States, proving abortive, he landed at Bristol 1 March 1798, and went home to Newbury. The roving tendency, none the less, was still strong upon him. In May 1799 he volunteered to travel in the service of the African Association, having formed a plan of exploration on the Niger, which, he informed Sir John Stepney, 'he would have gone through any trials' to carry out. Funds, however, were deficient; and after some futile thoughts of a commission in the engineers or militia, he accommodated himself to the prosaic destiny of a stockbroker, entering into partnership, about the end of 1799, with Mr. Whitmore, of the London Stock Exchange.

With characteristic thoroughness, Baily now engaged in commercial pursuits. He became a consummate man of business, earn-

ing, besides a considerable fortune, an unsurpassed reputation for integrity and intelligence. His complete identification with his profession was shown in a pamphlet defending its rights against the encroachments of the city of London in 1806, as well as by the active part taken by him in the exposure of the Berenger fraud in 1814. To his sagacity in preparing the evidence the success of the prosecution was considered to be in great measure, if not wholly, due; and the three reports (printed 1814–15) of the committee appointed by the Stock Exchange to investigate the subject were drawn up by him. A series of remarkable publications meanwhile attested his varied powers. The first of these was entitled 'Tables for the Purchasing and Renewing of Leases' (1802, 2nd ed. 1807, 3rd 1812). Its success encouraged him to pursue the subject in two works of standard authority, the 'Doctrine of Interest and Annuities analytically investigated and explained' (1808), and the 'Doctrine of Life-Annuities and Assurances analytically investigated and practically explained' (1810). The fourteenth chapter of the latter, separately reprinted with the title 'An Account of the several Life-Assurance Companies established in London, containing a View of their respective Merits and Advantages,' was greedily bought up in two editions (1810 and 1811), and the treatise itself was translated into French under the auspices of the 'Compagnie d'Assurances Générales sur la Vie' (1836). In this country the demand was such that copies sold for 4*l.* and 5*l.*, and the price of an appendix to the second issue (1813), containing an exposition of Barrett's mode of computing life-tables, alone rose to a guinea. This scarcity induced a fraudulent reprint, succeeded by an avowed republication in 1864 (with omission of the fourteenth chapter and appendix), under the care of Mr. Filipowski. Baily's merits as a writer on life-contingencies were undoubtedly very great. The subject was by him first presented in a symmetrical form; a uniform system of notation was introduced; and to a perspicuous and comprehensive view of the labours of his predecessors the results of much original research were added.

His divergence into a new field was marked by the publication, in 1812, of 'A New Chart of History,' accompanied by a 'Description'—of which five editions were sold in three years—exhibiting the chief revolutions of empire during the historical period. The preparation of chronological tables for an 'Epitome of Universal History' (published 1813 in 2 vols. 8vo) led to his first essay in astronomy. A paper 'On the Solar Eclipse which is said to have been predicted by Thales,' read before the Royal Society 14 March 1811 (*Phil. Trans.* ci. 220), proved him a skilled computist; but the date assigned, 30 Sept. 610 B.C., was shown by his own appended investigation of the eclipse of Agathocles (15 Aug. 310 B.C.) to be insecure, and was corrected by Sir George Airy, with the aid of improved lunar tables, to 28 May 585 (*Phil. Trans.* cxliii. 193; *Mem. R. A. S.* xxvi. 139).

His interest in astronomical subjects henceforth grew and developed. He wrote a pamphlet in 1818 summoning attention to the annular eclipse of 7 Sept. 1820, which he himself observed at Kentish Town (*Mem. R. A. S.* i. 135), translated in 1819 Cagnoli's 'Method of ascertaining the Figure of the Earth by means of Occultations of the Fixed Stars,' and powerfully helped to quicken astronomical progress in England by his frequent notices, in the 'Philosophical Magazine,' of foreign improvements and publications. But the establishment of the Astronomical Society formed, in Sir John Herschel's words, 'a chief and deciding epoch in his life.' He was one of the fourteen who met at the Freemasons' Tavern 12 Jan. 1820, and constituted themselves a corporate body with that title. And on Baily, as its acting secretary during the first three years of its existence, devolved the chief labour of its organisation. By him its rules were framed, the routine of its business fixed, its finances set in order. He was a member of every committee, regulated every undertaking, guided every negotiation, drew up nearly every report. By his judicious action the society was, in 1834, put in possession of spacious apartments in Somerset House, and on the death of George IV raised to an equal footing with the Royal Society on the visiting board of the Royal Observatory. He was four times elected its president (for terms of two years), eleven times vice-president, and invariably sat on the council.

In 1825 Baily retired from business, purchased a house and sycamore-shaded garden at 37 Tavistock Place, and devoted himself wholly to astronomy. He was then fifty-one; but in the nineteen years remaining to him he executed labours the extent and value of which it is difficult, in a brief summary, adequately to describe. Although not himself an habitual observer, the scope of his efforts was directed to imparting a higher value to the observations of others, both by connecting them with the past and by assuring them for the future. His revision of star-catalogues alone entitled him, in Sir John Herschel's opinion, to rank amongst

the greatest benefactors to astronomy. Those of Ptolemy, Ulugh Beigh, Tycho Brahe, Halley, and Hevelius, corrected with vast expenditure of time and care, and furnished each with a valuable preface, were printed in 1843 at his cost as vol. xiii. of the 'Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society.' That of Tobias Mayer he revised from the original observations, the publication of which by the Board of Longitude he had procured in 1826, the result forming part of vol. iv. of the society's 'Memoirs,' and appearing also separately (1830). A comparison of most of its 968 stars with their places as given by Bradley was added, besides forty-five supplementary stars.

The perusal, in 1832, of Flamsteed's autograph letters to his ex-assistant, Abraham Sharp, lent to Baily by his neighbour, Mr. E. Giles, induced him to examine the entire mass of his manuscripts, which had lain mouldering for sixty years in the library at Greenwich. He soon came to the conclusion that Flamsteed's character, both personal and scientific, had been grievously misrepresented, and wrote to the Duke of Sussex, president of the board of visitors of the Royal Observatory, suggesting the propriety of a republication of the 'British Catalogue,' with such selections from authentic documents as might serve to rectify prevalent errors in regard to the conduct and motives of its author. The recommendation was adopted, and a massive quarto volume, entitled 'An Account of the Rev. John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal,' was issued under Baily's care, at the public expense, in 1835. This remarkable production threw a flood of light on Flamsteed's relations with his contemporaries. It included several autobiographical fragments, forming a tolerably complete whole, a vast mass of previously unpublished correspondence, besides the revised and annotated catalogue, reinforced with Miss Herschel's list of 564 inedited stars from Flamsteed's autograph entries (previously arranged by Baily in order of right ascension, *Memoirs Roy. Astron. Soc.* iv. 129). Baily's historical introduction, preface to the catalogue, and appendix (issued January 1837) exhibited, in a succinct form, the results of much patient and profound research.

The reduction of the catalogues of Lalande and Lacaille, by which these great stores of celestial information were first rendered practically available, was undertaken, at the instance of Baily, by the British Association in 1837–8. In 1842 he had accomplished the arduous task of deducing the mean from the apparent places of 47,390 stars in the 'Histoire Céleste.' In that of seeing both works through the press (the reduction of Lacaille's 9,766 southern stars having been executed by Henderson) he was overtaken by death. Their publication was, after many delays, completed in 1847, the cost of reduction being defrayed by the association, that of printing by the government.

Early in his astronomical career Baily became impressed with the urgent need of a remedy for the prevalent confusion regarding the corrections for aberration, nutation, &c., and had already in 1822, with the aid of Gompertz, devised a means of simplifying their application, when No. 4 of the 'Astronomische Nachrichten,' containing Bessel's similar but more comprehensive improvement, was put into his hands (*Phil. Mag.* ix. 281). Discarding without a murmur his private claims as an inventor, he immediately proceeded to publish and recommend the method by which they had been superseded. This he most effectually accomplished in the 'Astronomical Society's Catalogue' of 2,881 stars (epoch 1 Jan. 1830), accompanied by tables for reduction constructed on the new system, forming a boon of inestimable value to practical astronomers. It was printed as an appendix to the second volume of the society's 'Memoirs' in 1827. The merit of the compilation can best be estimated by a reference to Sir John Herschel's address in presenting Baily with the Astronomical Society's gold medal, 11 April 1827 (*Mem. R. A. S.* iii. 123).

The same principles were still further extended in the 'Catalogue of the British Association.' Not only the number of stars was increased to 8,377 (reduced to 1 Jan. 1850), but proper motions, when determinable, were inserted, with, in all cases, the secular variation of the annual precessions (see Baily's preface). Resolved upon at the Liverpool meeting of the British Association in 1837, the work was wholly superintended by Baily, and was left by him at his death almost complete. It was published in 1845 at the public cost, and is still in high repute. Owing to the deficiency of reliable materials, however, the places of many of the southern stars included in it were found defective, and were immediately revised by Maclear at the Cape of Good Hope (see, for his list of corrections, *Mem. R. A. S.* xx. 46). The value of this catalogue, as well as of the two others compiled under the same authority (those of Lalande and Lacaille), was much enhanced by the uniform system of nomenclature adopted throughout. This material improvement was the result of Baily's severe labours in revising the boundaries of the constellations, and marshalling into recog-

nisable order the stars composing them. A paper on the subject, read by him before the Royal Astronomical Society 12 May 1843, was appended to the report of a committee (consisting of Herschel, Whewell, and Baily) appointed by the British Association in 1840 to consider the subject (*Report*, 1844, p. 34), and was also reprinted in his introduction to the 'Catalogue.'

The reform of the 'Nautical Almanac' was another of the benefits derived by science from his zeal. It was rendered inevitable by his strictures on its deficiencies in 1819, 1822, and 1829, and the admiralty having, on the death of the superintendent, Dr. Thomas Young, 10 May 1829, submitted the matter to the Astronomical Society, Baily formed one of the deliberating committee, and drew up the report upon which the present National Ephemeris was modelled (*Mem. R. A. S.* iv. 449).

In view of Captain Foster's proposed expedition, Baily devised, in 1828, a simplified kind of convertible pendulum (described in *Phil. Mag.* iv. 137), of which two specimens, of iron and copper respectively, formed part of the scientific equipment of the Chanticleer. The accidental death of her commander (5 Feb. 1831) threw upon him the onerous duty of digesting and completing (by swinging the pendulums in London) the numerous observations made in both hemispheres; and his elaborate and admirable report, presented to the admiralty and ordered to be printed at the government expense, filled the entire seventh volume of the 'Royal Astronomical Society's Memoirs.' The general result of 20,000 experiments gave 1/289·48 for the ellipticity of the earth, showing a most satisfactory agreement with Sabine's of 1/288·40.

Meanwhile Baily had prosecuted independently a research entitling him to a distinguished share of merit in the determination of the length of the seconds' pendulum. Bessel pointed out in 1828 (*Abhandlungen Kön. Ak. der Wiss.* Berlin, 1826, p. 32) that, in the received 'correction for buoyancy,' no allowance was made for the expenditure of force in setting the particles of surrounding air in motion. In order to estimate with precision this neglected element of reduction, Baily had a vacuum-apparatus erected in his house, and there carried out, in 1831-2, a series of most delicate experiments on eighty-six pendulums of every variety of form and material, of which the details were communicated to the Royal Society 31 May 1832 (*Phil. Trans.* cxxii. 399). It appeared thence that the value of the new correction, while varying very sensibly with the shape and size of the pendulum, was in many cases more than double the old. The subject of the length of the seconds pendulum led naturally to that of the national unit of length, defined by act 5 George IV in terms of that (as it had now proved) uncertain quantity. Baily accordingly obtained in 1833 from the Royal Astronomical Society authority to construct for them a tubular scale of five feet (see his admirable report, *Mem. R. A. S.* ix. 35), the accuracy of which had been ascertained by repeated comparisons with the standard yard, when the latter was irreparably injured in the conflagration of the houses of parliament 16 Oct. 1834. A commission of seven, appointed 11 May 1838 to consider the best means of replacing it, included him amongst its members; and to him was entrusted in 1843, by the unanimous desire of his colleagues, the actual reconstruction of the standards of length, in the preparatory experiments for which laborious task he was arrested by fatal illness.

The most arduous and conspicuous labour of his life has still to be adverted to. This was the repetition of the 'Cavendish experiment' for measuring the density of the earth. The principle of this research depends upon the comparison between the observed attractive effects of masses of ascertained weight and density with the known force of gravity at the earth's surface; but its adequate execution is attended by difficulties of the most baffling description. A remark made by Professor De Morgan at the council-table of the Royal Astronomical Society occasioned the appointment, in 1835, of a committee to consider the matter; but no progress was made until Baily offered his services in 1837, and the treasury granted 500*l.* towards expenses. The operation, conducted in an upper room of his house, twelve feet square, lasted from October 1838 to May 1842, and resulted in establishing, within narrow limits of error, that our globe is composed of materials, on an average, 5·66 times as heavy as water (*Mem. R. A. S.* xiv. table vii.) Nevertheless, in spite of precautions incredibly minute, the experiments were vitiated during eighteen months by an unknown cause of error. Ultimate success seemed scarcely to be hoped for, yet Baily resolved to persevere; and to this determination, Lord Wrottesley remarked (*Mem. R. A. S.* xv. 280), it is due that his memoir (occupying the entire fourteenth volume of *Mem. R. A. S.*) 'is hardly less valuable as a lesson upon the nature and use of the torsion pendulum in measuring small forces than as a determination of the mean density of the earth.' It was at length suggested by Professor Forbes that the anoma-

lies in question might be due to the radiation of heat from the leaden masses employed to deflect the pendulum, and proposed gilding both them and the torsion-box. The remedy was completely successful; and the process begun *de novo* in January 1841 was conducted to a successful issue. The printed observations numbered 2,153 (besides upwards of a thousand rejected as untrustworthy), varying in duration from ten to thirty minutes. This memorable labour was rewarded with the Royal Astronomical Society's gold medal (of which Baily thus for the second time became the recipient) 10 Feb. 1843.

The few noteworthy observations of the heavens made by Baily referred, singularly enough, to the subject of his first astronomical investigation. On 15 May 1836, while watching an annular eclipse of the sun at Inch Bonney, near Jedburgh, he witnessed a phenomenon to which he first directed explicit attention, and which, from his vivid description, received the name of 'Baily's Beads.' It consists in the breaking up of the fine solar crescent visible at the beginning and end of central eclipses into a row of lucid points, the intervals separating which at times appear to be drawn out, as the moon advances, into dark lines or belts; the whole being a combined effect of irradiation and the inequalities of the moon's edge. Baily's narrative (*Mem. R. A. S.* x. 1) excited strong interest, and effectively roused astronomers to the importance of eclipses under their *physical* aspect, that of 8 July 1842 being at his suggestion prepared for with this view. Baily observed it from an empty room in the university of Pavia, with the same instrument (a 3½-foot Dollond's achromatic) used at Inch Bonney. The 'beads' were less conspicuous than before; but he was (in his own words) 'electrified' by the unexpected and 'appalling' splendour of the corona, through which rose three vast prominences resembling the 'snowy tops of Alpine mountains when coloured by the rising or the setting sun' (*Mem. R. A. S.* xv. 6). But towards the solution of the magnificent problem thus presented to science he did not live to see any advance made.

In June 1841 he was knocked down by a furious rider while crossing Wellington Street, and lay for a week senseless. Nevertheless, he completely recovered, and was able to resume his experiments in weighing the earth by the end of September. It was not until the spring of 1844 that his health, until then remarkably stable, finally gave way, although he rallied sufficiently to attend commemoration at Oxford, when an honorary degree of D.C.L. (previously, in 1835, received from the university of Dublin) was conferred upon him, in company with Airy and Struve. Soon after his return to London, however, an internal complaint became manifest, and he sank gradually and without pain, expiring 30 Aug. 1844, aged 70. He was at the time president of the Royal Astronomical Society.

The abilities of Francis Baily were not of the highest order. As a mathematician his range was a limited one. He never mastered the refinements of modern analysis, and was frequently indebted to the aid of Professors Airy and De Morgan in working out his investigations. Nor was his mind visited by any of the luminous inspirations of genius. Yet his life presents an almost unique example of laborious usefulness to science. More than to any single individual, the rapid general advance of practical astronomy in the British islands was due to him. To clear discernment of the precise wants of his time he joined untiring activity in supplying them. His organising energy was guided by a tact which rendered it irresistible. Add a rare faculty of order and concentration, with a perfect knowledge of and complete mastery over his powers, and the sources of his almost unparalleled effectiveness as a worker become in some degree apparent. Besides the special tasks executed by him with astonishing thoroughness, precision, and rapidity, he took a leading part in the general conduct of scientific affairs. He was unfailing at the annual visitation of the Royal Observatory during twenty-seven years. He succeeded Babbage in 1839 as permanent trustee of the British Association, and had belonged to its council for two years previously. He aided in the foundation (in 1830) and became vice-president of the Geographical Society, acted, during considerable periods, as vice-president and treasurer of the Royal Society, generally held a seat on the council, and rarely missed one of its meetings from the date of his election as fellow, 22 Feb. 1821. Scientific distinctions were showered upon him. He was a fellow of the Linnean and Geological societies, a corresponding member of the Institute of France, of the Academies of Berlin, Naples, and Palermo, and was enrolled on the lists of the American and Royal Irish Academies. Few men have left behind them so enviable a reputation. He was gentle as well as just; he loved and sought truth; he inspired in an equal degree respect and affection. He was never married; and his sister, Miss Elizabeth Baily (who survived him fifteen years), superintended his hospitable establishment.

[Sir J. Herschel, in Memoirs R. Astr. Soc. xv. 311, published separately under the title Memoir

of F. Baily, Esq. (1845), also prefixed to the Journal of a Tour, with a list of Baily's writings, ninety-one in number; Month. Not. R. Astr. Soc. xiv. 112; Abstracts Phil. Trans. v. 524; Peacock's Address Brit. Ass. 1844, xxxix.; Dublin Review, xviii. 75 (De Morgan on Repetition of Cavendish Experiments).] A. M. C.

BAILY, JOHN WALKER (1809–1873), archæologist, brother of Charles Baily [q.v.], was born 9 Jan. 1809, and died 4 March 1873. He was head of the firm of William Baily & Sons, and master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1862–3. He is chiefly known to archæologists as having formed an important collection of Romano-British and mediæval remains unearthed by excavations in the City of London during the years 1862-72. This collection was purchased in 1881 by the Corporation of London for their museum of City antiquities. In the same year his collection of arms and armour, formed 1835–45, became the property of the Baron de Cosson, of Chertsey.

[Information from Mr. W. Baily; Journal of British Archæological Association, xxx. 349–51; Nicholl's Hist. of the Ironmongers' Company, pp. 417 *n.*, 507.] G. G.

BAILY, THOMAS, D.D. (*d.* 1591), catholic divine, was a native of Yorkshire, and studied at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. in 1546. Soon afterwards he became a fellow of that house, and in 1549 he commenced M.A. In 1554 he served the office of proctor, and in the following year subscribed the Roman catholic articles. He was appointed master of Clare Hall probably about November 1557. When Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, he refused to comply with the change in religion; and on being deprived of his mastership he went to Louvain, where he was admitted D.D. He remained there till January 1576, when he removed to Douay on the invitation of Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Allen, who employed him in the government of the English College, both at Douay and Rheims. In Allen's absence he was usually appointed regent of the college. He had the chief hand in managing the temporalities of the college, while Dr. Bristow regulated the schools, and Dr. Allen himself inspected discipline. Dodd remarks that 'the college was very prosperous under this triumvirate; but as a nation quickly finds the loss of a zealous and able ministry, so it happened to the English College, which, upon their decease, was oppressed with debts and divided by parties.' Dr. Baily, who was succeeded in the vice-presidency of the college by Dr. Worthington, became a prebendary of Cambray when Allen was advanced to the dignity of cardinal in 1587. He died at Douay 7 Oct. 1591.

[Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 46, 58, 382; Diaries of the English College, Douay (index, under 'Bayley'); Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen (index, under 'Bayly'); Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. ii. 108, 545; Lamb's Collection of Letters, Statutes, and other Documents, 175; MS. Addit. 5863, f. 135 *b*.] T. C.

BAIN. [See also BAINE and BAYNE.]

BAIN, ALEXANDER (1810–1877), the author of several important telegraphic inventions, the chief of which was the automatic chemical telegraph, was born in the parish of Watten, Caithness-shire. After having served as apprentice to a clockmaker at Wick, he came up to London in 1837 as a journeyman. He was led, by lectures which he attended at the Adelaide Gallery, to apply electricity to the working of clocks, and was one of the first to devise a method by which a number of clocks could be worked electrically from a standard time-keeper, though the credit of this invention is claimed by Wheatstone as well as by Bain. It is doubtful, again, whether he was the inventor of the first printing telegraph, as this too is disputed. In both cases he was unquestionably very early in the field. He discovered independently the use of the earth circuit, but here he was certainly anticipated by Steinheil. Electric fire-alarms and sounding apparatus were also among his inventions. His most important invention was the chemical telegraph of 1843 previously mentioned. This apparatus could be worked at a speed hitherto impossible, and its invention certainly entitles Bain to the credit of being the pioneer of modern high-speed telegraphy. It is stated that the rate at which the apparatus was capable of working was discovered accidentally, in consequence of the breaking of a spring during an experiment. The machine ran down, but the message was nevertheless properly received. Perhaps the most valuable part of the invention consisted in the use of strips of perforated paper for the transmission of the message. This contrivance was long after adopted by Wheatstone, and is in use in all the existing high-speed systems of telegraphy. He received as much as 7,000*l.* for his telegraphic patents, but the money was wasted in litigation, and he died a poor man. Intemperance was another cause of his non-success in life. In 1873 he received a grant from the Royal Society of 150*l.*, and at the time of his death he was supported by a government pension of 80*l.* a year.

[In 1843 John Finlaison published an account

of Bain's claims to the invention of electric clocks and of the printing telegraph. A description of his chemical telegraph was given in a paper read by Bain before the Society of Arts in 1866 (Soc. of Arts Journ. xiv. 138).] H. T. W.

BAINBRIDGE, CHRISTOPHER (1464?–1514), archbishop of York and cardinal, was born of a good family at Hilton, near Appleby, in Westmoreland. He is said to have been fifty years old at his death (Brown's *Venetian Calendar*, ii. 450), and must therefore have been born about 1464. He studied at Queen's College, Oxford, of which he became provost before 1495, and a liberal benefactor afterwards. He received from the university the degree of LL.D. His first recorded promotion was to the prebend of South Grantham in Salisbury, which he resigned in February 1485–6 for that of Chardstock in the same cathedral; and in April following he was made prebendary of Horton, also in Salisbury. On 26 Feb. 1495–6 he received the prebend of North Kelsey in Lincoln Cathedral, which he resigned in 1500. In 1497 he was made treasurer of St. Paul's. In 1501 he was named archdeacon of Surrey. In September 1503 he was admitted to the prebend of Strensall in York Cathedral, and on 21 Dec. in the same year he was installed dean of York. In 1505 he was also made dean of Windsor, and resigned the rectory of Aller in the diocese of Bath and Wells. Meanwhile he had been appointed master of the rolls on 13 Nov. 1504, and held the office till his elevation to the bishopric of Durham three years later. He was nominated to that see by the king, and had the temporalities restored to him on 17 Nov. 1507, but he only received his bulls in January following (Gairdner's *Memorials of Henry VII*, 106). So rapidly, however, did he advance in the king's favour that in July, only six months later, he was talked of for the archbishopric of York, which had been vacant even before his promotion to Durham (*ibid.* 125). And the rumour proved to be correct, the bull for his translation being dated 12 Sept. 1508.

In 1509 he was sent by Henry VIII as his ambassador to the pope, and arrived at Rome on 24 Nov. Just at this time Julius II had taken alarm at the invasion of Italy by Louis XII, and the friendship of England was of special importance to him. He departed from Rome to relieve Bologna, and was nearly taken prisoner in the war. A faction among the cardinals in the interest of France ventured to summon a council in opposition to him at Pisa. Julius opposed council to council, and made a new batch of cardinals at Ravenna to counterbalance the schismatics. They were created on 10 March 1511, and Bainbridge was one of them. The title given him was Cardinal St. Praxedis. But the first duties he was expected to perform for the warlike pontiff were those of a general, for he was despatched with troops to besiege Ferrara. The pope appointed him legate, but gave him command of the army as well. In October of the same year the pope concluded the Holy League against France, and Henry VIII intimated his adhesion to it through Bainbridge, who continued a steadfast enemy to France to his dying day. At his request even Leo X, who succeeded Julius in the papacy, seems to have been willing to invest Henry VIII with the title of Most Christian king, which Louis had forfeited by raising war against the pope. But the peace made between France and England in 1514 must have prevented Henry's formal acceptance of the title. Bainbridge died on 14 July in that year, just before these negotiations had come to maturity. He had been poisoned by a chaplain in his own service named Rinaldo de Modena. The man was taken and thrown into the castle of St. Angelo, where he not only confessed his crime, but stated that he had done it at the instigation of Silvester de Giglis, bishop of Worcester, the resident English ambassador at the court of Rome, who regarded Bainbridge as his rival. De Giglis, however, who was very influential at Rome, found means to get him to retract his confession; after which he stabbed himself and died in prison. Richard Pace and John Clerk, the cardinal's executors, were eager to prosecute De Giglis, but he maintained that the priest was a madman whom he had dismissed from his own service some years before in England, and his defence was accepted as sufficient.

Bainbridge was buried at the English hospital at Rome, since called the English College. He is said to have been a man of violent temper. His own secretary, Pace, acknowledged that there were faults in his character—indeed, that he had some positive vices; but declared that he was strong in his fidelity to the king, and most outspoken in defence of Henry's interests at Rome when no one else durst utter a word. His epitaph is quoted in Ciaconius and in the 'Biographia Britannica.' He has been confounded by some biographers with Christopher Urswick, almoner to Henry VII, who, bearing the same christian name, was his predecessor in several of his numerous church preferments before he became a bishop.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ii. 702; Biographia Britannica, ed. Kippis (where the name appears under the rather doubtful form of Bambridge); Surtees' Durham, i. lxiv; Le Neve's

Fasti; Baronius; Ciaconius; Calendar of Henry VIII, vol. i.; Venetian Calendar, vol. ii.] J. G.

BAINBRIDGE, JOHN, M.D. (1582–1643), physician and astronomer, son of Robert and Anne Bainbridge, was born at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire. He received his education at the grammar school of this little town, and at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where his kinsman, Dr. Joseph Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich, was his tutor, and where he took the degrees B.A. (1603), M.A. (1607), and M.D. (1614). For some years after leaving the university he kept a school and practised medicine at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, occupying what little leisure he had in following up an early taste for mathematics, especially astronomy. He next removed to London, living 'near Allhallows in the Wall,' and was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians (6 Nov. 1618). In 1619 Sir Henry Savile, whose notice he had attracted by publishing an astronomical description of the comet of the previous year, appointed him to the Savilian professorship which he had just founded at Oxford, and Bainbridge entered Merton College as a master commoner. In the following year he was incorporated doctor of medicine at Oxford, and in 1631 and 1635 was respectively appointed junior and senior reader of Linacre's lecture. With the view to publishing correct editions of the Arabian astronomers, in accordance with the statutes of his professorship, at the age of forty he began the study of Arabic. Among his friends at Oxford was Archbishop Usher, at whose instance he wrote the treatise 'Canicularia,' and to whom he bequeathed his unpublished works.

Speaking of his first astronomical publications, the writer of his life in the 'Biographia Britannica' says with reason that Bainbridge seems to have given in a little too much to the vulgar notion of comets being presages of some impending calamity; but it is only fair to add that he must have quite outgrown such superstition, for the year before his death he wrote 'Antiprognosticon,' in which he points out 'the vanity of astrological predictions grounded upon the grand conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter,' which, he says, 'will recur in almost every twenty years agreeably to the stated laws of nature.' Bainbridge died at his house opposite to Merton College 3 Nov. 1643, and his body was taken to the public schools and an oration pronounced over it by the university orator. He was buried near the altar in Merton College Church, where there is a monument and a long Latin epitaph to his memory.

Bainbridge's published works are: 1. 'An Astronomical Description of the Comet of 1618,' London, 1619. 2. 'Procli Sphæra et Ptolomæi de Hypothesibus Planetarum,' to which was added Ptolemy's 'Canon Regnorum,' 1620. 3. 'Canicularia,' published after his death by Mr. Greaves, Oxford, 1648. He left a number of manuscripts, some of which have been preserved with those of Archbishop Usher in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. These include astronomical, mathematical, and chronological collections, and calculations, a catalogue of his mathematical instruments, and his correspondence with Savile, Usher, and others.

[Munk's College of Physicians, i. 175; Smith's Vitæ quorund. Erudit. et Illustr. Virorum, London, 1703; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), iii. 67; Biographia Britannica; Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 631; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. iv. 594.] P. B.-A.

BAINBRIGG, or BAYNBRIDGE, REGINALD (1545–1606), schoolmaster and antiquary, was born, probably in Westmoreland, about 1556. He matriculated as a sizar of Peterhouse, Cambridge, 12 June 1573, and took his B.A. degree in 1576–7. In 1580 he was appointed headmaster of the grammar school at Appleby, endowed by Queen Elizabeth in 1574 (Carlisle's *Endowed Schools*, ii. 694), and combined his school work with antiquarian and archæological research. He zealously collected all stones bearing ancient inscriptions in the three counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and in 1602 he built a small house in his garden for their preservation. An inscription cut in one of its walls stated that its owner had been teaching at Appleby for twenty-two years, and was fifty-seven years old. The house, with its contents, was standing till the close of the seventeenth century, but the collection appears, soon afterwards, to have been broken up, and no trace of it has since been found. Bainbrigg sent copies of the inscriptions he had brought together to William Camden, who printed them in his 'Britannia,' and acknowledged his indebtedness to 'the very learned Reginald Bainbrigg.' Bainbrigg died in 1606. By his will dated 11 May in that year, he bequeathed his household furniture and a garden to succeeding headmasters of the grammar school, and the annual rental of a small burgage, amounting to 2*s.* 4*d.*, to the head boy for the time being, provided he wrote a copy of Latin verses in praise of himself and two other benefactors of the school. Other lands, building material, and books he left for a new schoolhouse, about

to be erected when he died. Among the Cottonian MSS. at the British Museum (Jul. F. vi.) are the following papers ascribed to Bainbrigg: 1. 'Account of Antiquities in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, with several Roman inscriptions, drawings of altars, figures, and descriptions of the country' (No. 162); 2. 'Genealogica Gospatriciorum et Curwenorum' (No. 163); 3. 'De Baronibus de Kendala et familia de Bruis' (No. 164). An 'Inscription on the Picts' wall sent by Reginald Bainbrigg to Mr. William Camden' is among the Lansdowne MSS. (121, art. 20). Some Latin elegiacs on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, signed 'R. Banningus,' in the 'Lacrimæ Cantabrigienses' (1587), have been attributed to Bainbrigg.

Another REGINALD BAINBRIGG, probably an uncle of the schoolmaster and antiquary, was born at Middleton, Westmoreland, about 1489. He took the degree of B.A. at Cambridge in 1506, of M.A. in 1509, and of B.D. in 1526. He was proctor of the university in 1517, instituted to the rectory of Downham in Essex 27 June 1525, and to that of Stambourne, in the same county, 1 Dec. 1526, and became shortly afterwards master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge. He was made vicar of Bricklesea, Essex, 19 May 1530; of Steeple Barmstead, 13 May 1532; of Great Oakley, 11 Jan. 1537–8. In 1537 he was appointed to a prebend stall at Wells. He probably died in 1554–5 (COOPER'S *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 124; NEWCOURT'S *Diocese of London*).

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. ii. 439; Camden's Britannia, ed. Gough, iii. 148, 157; Charity Commissioners' Report (1823), ix. 638–9.]

S. L. L.

BAINBRIGG, THOMAS (*d.* 1646), master of Christ's College, Cambridge, was 'descended out of the North,' and was not improbably a native of Kirkby-Lonsdale in Westmoreland. He became master of Christ's College in 1620, and was vice-chancellor of the university in 1627. Thomas Baker, the antiquary, calls Bainbrigg 'a severe governor,' and supposes that during his mastership and by his authority the poet Milton was either expelled from the college or rusticated, whereby he missed a fellowship to which another candidate was admitted by royal mandate, 'a circumstance, as is supposed, together with his expulsion, that disgusted him first against the king, clergy, and universities.' Bainbrigg was a benefactor to his college, which flourished greatly under his government. He was accounted a witty man and a good preacher, and a funeral sermon by him, on 16 Oct. 1620, had the effect of seriously awakening the famous independent divine, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who was originally of Christ's College, but subsequently became a fellow of Catherine Hall.

Dr. Burn (*Hist. of Westmoreland*, i. 258) states that Hawkin Hall, the most remarkable building in the parish of Kirkby-Lonsdale, 'was built by Dr. Christopher Bainbridge, master of Christ's College in Cambridge, in the reign of King Charles I,' adding that 'Dr. Bainbridge was born at this place, and married at sixty years of age, and by his wife had nineteen children.' However improbable the latter part of the tale is, it seems of a piece with the whole; for the name of the master of Christ's College was not Christopher, but Thomas. There was indeed a fellow of the college named Christopher Bainbridge at that period, and it is just possible that he may be the person meant. The story of the nineteen children is repeated in the 'Critical Review' for 1778.

The master of Christ's College died at Cambridge in September 1646, and was buried in the parish of St. Andrew the Great on the 9th of that month. Duport has honoured him with a Latin epitaph.

[MS. Addit. 5821, f. 67, 5863, f. 78; Prynne's Tryal of Abp. Laud, 193; Peck's New Memoirs of Milton, 34, 35; Masson's Life of Milton (1881), 123 *n.*, 239; Cambridge Antiquarian Communications, ii. 154; Critical Review, 1778, p. 258.]

T. C.

BAINBRIGG, BAMBRIDGE, or **BEMBRIDGE, THOMAS, D.D.** (1636–1703), protestant controversialist, son of Richard and Rose Bainbrigg, was born at Cambridge. He was educated at the university there, proceeded B.A. in 1654, M.A. in 1661, was incorporated M.A. of Oxford in 1669, became proctor at Cambridge in 1678, there graduated D.D. by royal mandate in 1684, and held for many years the posts of fellow and vice-master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was sometime vicar of Chesterton and subsequently rector of Orwell. He died suddenly at Cambridge, and was buried in Trinity College Chapel, where there is a monument to his memory. In 1687 he published 'An Answer to a Book entitled Reason and Authority, or the Motives of a late Protestant's Reconciliation to the Catholick Church, together with a brief account of Augustine the Monk, and conversion of the English. In a letter to a Friend.' The 'Letter' does not bear Bainbrigg's name, but is generally ascribed to him. It is a courageous and pungent onslaught upon the accredited author of 'Reason and Authority.' The pamphlet assailed—an attack upon Til-

lotson's discourse against transubstantiation —was attributed to Joshua Basset [see Basset, Joshua], for a time master of Sidney College. Bainbrigg thinks that 'it is a grief to have an adversary so weak and yet so confident.' 'He names Pope Gregory and Bede,' he adds, 'but gives not any ground to think that ever he has read over Bede's History or consulted Pope Gregory's Epistles.'

[Chetham Society, Popery Tracts, pt. i.; Cooper's Annals of Cambridge; Gee's Catalogue of Discourses against Popery; Bloomfield's Collect. Cantabr.; Wood's Fasti Oxon.; Grad. Cantabrig.; Dodd's Church History.]

P. B. A.

BAINBRIGGE, Sir PHILIP (1786–1862), lieutenant-general, was descended from an ancient family long resident in the counties of Leicester and Derby. He was the eldest son of Lieutenant-colonel Philip Bainbrigge, of Ashbourne, Derbyshire, and Rachel, daughter of Peter Dobree, Esq., of Beauregard, Guernsey, and was born in London in 1786. He entered the navy as a midshipman in the Cæsar, under Admiral Sir James Saumarez, in 1799, but left it from ill-health. His father, who served under the Duke of York in the expedition to Holland, was killed in the attack on Egmont-op-Zoom on 2 Oct. 1799, and the next year the duke appointed young Bainbrigge to an ensigncy in the 20th regiment. On 13 Nov. 1800 he became a lieutenant, but being then only fourteen years of age, he obtained a year's leave, which he spent at Green's military academy at Deptford, and joined his regiment at Malta in 1801. At the peace of Amiens his regiment was reduced and he was placed on half-pay, but was brought on full pay into the 7th fusiliers. Returning to England in 1803, he was employed in obtaining volunteers from the militia to form the 2nd battalion of the 7th, which when completed was removed to Colchester. Here the troops were reviewed by the Duke of York, and Lieutenant Bainbrigge, who by his zeal and diligence had given much satisfaction, was gazetted, on 17 Oct. 1805, to a company in the 18th Royal Irish, and joined the 1st battalion of the regiment in the West Indies. After the taking of Curaçoa from the Dutch in 1807, he was appointed inspector of fortifications in that island, where he made plans of the forts and defences which subsequently recommended him to the authorities at the Horse Guards. He exchanged into the 93rd, and, returning to England, laid his plans and surveys before the Duke of York, who advised him to qualify himself for the staff by studying at the senior department of the Royal Military College at High Wycombe. He entered the college in 1809, and studied so diligently that in a year and a half he passed his examination with distinction. While at the college he invented a protracting pocket sextant, which was favourably noticed by the board of examiners, and enabled him to make surveys with remarkable accuracy and rapidity. On leaving the college Captain Bainbrigge was appointed deputy assistant quartermaster-general in the British army in Portugal. On arriving at Lord Wellington's head-quarters he was posted to the fourth division, commanded by Major-general Cole, and stationed near Torres Vedras, and was at once sent to examine the island of Lyceria, a tract of flat alluvial land in the Tagus, to ascertain whether troops could cross it. He was then brought to headquarters, where for some time he was employed in sketching ground and reporting on positions in various directions, which exposed him to the risk of capture by the enemy who occupied the country. His ability was acknowledged, for in a letter to Marshal Beresford, dated Cartaxo, 4 Jan. 1811, Lord Wellington said he was appointed to the staff of the army on account of the ability he showed at High Wycombe.

He was present at the sieges and storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. As soon as Badajos was taken he was ordered to join the sixth division, under Sir H. Clinton, at Albuera, and take charge of the quartermaster-general's department. On the advance of the army into Spain in 1812, Captain Bainbrigge, who had examined the country which was to become the scene of operations, was brought to headquarters. He was present at the siege of the forts of Salamanca, at the affairs of Costillegos and Costrejon, and at the crossing of the Guarena, his duties being to carry orders and make sketches of the country and positions. On one occasion, being with Lord Wellington on high ground on the right bank of the Tormes watching the enemy crossing the river at Huerta, his lordship suddenly told him to ride in the direction which he pointed out on the other side of the Tormes, to examine the ground and make a sketch of it. He accordingly rode down to the ford of Santa Marta, and crossing over to the ground between the ford and the two Arapile hills, a distance of about three miles, made his sketch while the enemy's skirmishers were in immediate proximity, and brought back a plan in about two hours and a half. It was on part of this ground that the battle of Salamanca was afterwards fought. On another occasion he was ordered to conduct a column of the army then at Pareda,

three leagues off, through a difficult country and in face of the enemy to Vallesa. He did so successfully, and brought the column in the midst of the night safely to its destination. On the day of the battle of Salamanca he was constantly with Lord Wellington, and at a critical moment he carried the order for the advance of General Leith's division.

After this decisive victory he accompanied the army in the advance to Madrid, and from thence to Valladolid and Burgos. He was present at part of the siege of Burgos, and soon after was appointed permanent assistant quartermaster-general with the rank of major. In the retreat from Burgos he rendered very important services through his knowledge of the country, which was considered of so much value that Sir H. Clinton asked for his return to the sixth division, but it was decided that he should remain at headquarters. Major Bainbrigge continued to hold the same position till the end of the war in 1814, and surveyed and sketched the country through which the army passed till it entered France. He was present at the battles of Vittoria and Pyrenees, at the last siege of San Sebastian, and at the battles of Nive and Toulouse. Rewards and distinctions were not lavishly bestowed in those days, and, as Major Bainbrigge had not been in action as the head of his department with a division, but under his seniors at headquarters, he did not receive the gold medal, and could not become a companion of the Bath. Through some strange omission he was not recommended for brevet rank, but on 21 Jan. 1817 this was rectified, when he was promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel.

In 1815 he applied for employment abroad, and joined the British army in its advance to Paris. When he returned home after the peace, he continued to hold the appointment of permanent assistant quartermaster-general until 1841, when he was made deputy quartermaster-general in Dublin. Having attained the rank of major-general, 9 Nov. 1846, he was appointed by the Duke of Wellington to the command of the Belfast district. In 1852 the duke selected him to command the forces in the island of Ceylon. During his stay in Ceylon his unremitting exertions for the welfare of the troops under his command made him beloved and respected by all classes, and his departure, when promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general on 20 June 1854, was much regretted.

In 1838 he was made a companion of the Bath, and subsequently received the 'grant for distinguished service.' On 31 March 1854 he was appointed colonel of the 26th (Cameronian) regiment. For his services in the Peninsula he received the war medal with seven clasps, and on 31 March 1854 he was created a knight commander of the Bath.

In his military career he showed the advantage of scientific knowledge, and much of his success in life was owing to his diligent application of this knowledge in the field. His talents and high sense of duty caused him to be greatly valued as an officer, and esteemed by all who knew him. He died at St. Margaret's, near Titchfield, Hants, on 20 Dec. 1862, at the age of 76.

[Gent. Mag. 1863, xiv. 230; United Service Mag. 1863, part i. p. 271; Times, 29 Dec. 1862; Army Lists for 1801–4–6.] A. S. B.

BAINE, JAMES (1710–1790), one of the most distinguished ministers of the second great secession from the church of Scotland which took the name of 'the Relief Church,' was son of the parish minister of Bonhill, Dumbartonshire, and born in the manse there in 1710. His elementary education was received at the parish school. He afterwards proceeded to the university of Glasgow. He had a brilliant career there and graduated M.A. Having been licensed as a preacher of the gospel, he was presented by the Duke of Montrose to the church of Killearn, the parish adjoining his father's. In 1756 he was translated to the high church of Paisley, and in 1757 had the celebrated Dr. John Witherspoon for a colleague. From the outset he was ardent in support of evangelical doctrine as opposed to the morality which came to be known as 'moderatism.' So early as 1745, he is found promoting a revival of religion in the west of Scotland. In the general assembly and presbytery, and from his pulpit, he stood forth as a zealous defender of the church's spiritual freedom and against all ecclesiastical tyranny. When the general assembly of the church of Scotland in 1752 deposed Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, Baine pleaded for him. Ultimately circumstances determined him to join Gillespie, the founder of the Relief church. He therefore resigned his great living of Paisley, in a letter to the presbytery of date 10 Feb. 1766. Called thereupon 'to the bar of the general assembly,' he made a masterly statement and vindication of himself and Gillespie. He foresaw the issue, viz. that he was declared to be no longer a member of the church of Scotland. He published, on his deposition, 'Memoirs of Modern Church Reformation, or the History of the General Assembly, 1766, with a Brief Account and Vindication of the Presbytery of Relief.' This rare book takes the form of letters to a ministerial friend. His sketches of the 'moderates' are

in the vein made famous later by Witherspoon. On 13 Feb. 1766, he was inducted into the ministry of the first Relief congregation erected in Edinburgh—in College Street. He was soon surrounded by a vast and devoted body of adherents. College Street church remains one of the largest and most important of the now United Presbyterian churches. Prior to his deposition and induction—the latter of which was conducted by Thomas Gillespie, of Carnock and Dunfermline—a tradition runs that he and his people worshipped in Old Greyfriars under the venerable Dr. John Erskine, and sat down together at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there.

Baine had remarkable popular gifts, and even at Killearn his musically modulated voice had earned for him the name of the 'Swan of the West.' His sermons were eloquent and convincing. He was plain-spoken in denunciation of the vices of the day. He came into collision with Foote in 1770 by preaching and publishing a sermon entitled 'The Theatre Licentious and Perverted.' Foote's memorable ridicule of the great evangelist, George Whitfield, stung him. John Kay, the caricaturist portrait-taker, introduced him into his gallery. In 1777 he published a volume of sermons of fairly representative character, though, as is frequently the case, it is very evident that they needed his eye and voice to interpret them. He married the only daughter of Dr. Michael Potter, professor of divinity in Glasgow University, and son of Michael Potter, one of the martyrs of the Bass Rock. By her he had a large family, and representatives remain till now of varied distinction. He died on 17 Jan. 1790, aged eighty.

[Struthers's History of the Relief Church; Anderson's Scottish Nation.] A. B. G.

BAINES, EDWARD (1774–1848), journalist, was born at Walton-le-Dale, Lancashire, on 5 Feb. 1774, his father being a tradesman of Preston in that county. He was sent to the Preston free grammar school at eight years of age, and apprenticed at sixteen to a printer of the town. He gave some promise at this early age of a useful career in life. Before his term of apprenticeship was expired an arrangement was made for completing the period at Leeds in the house of Messrs. Binns & Brown, printers and booksellers, and proprietors of the 'Leeds Mercury.' Young Baines soon won the confidence of his employers and of his new fellow-townsmen by painstaking and industrious habits, and by his uniformly amiable disposition. At the close of his apprenticeship he started in business, at first for a few months with a somewhat unsatisfactory partner, and ultimately on his own account. In March 1801 he became the proprietor of the 'Leeds Mercury,' which had been languishing for several years past in the hands of his former employers. Improved management of the newspaper resulted in a steady increase in its circulation, and it soon became recognised as the leading whiggish paper in Yorkshire. At Baines's death, in 1848, the 'Leeds Mercury' had for many years ranked among the first provincial newspapers of the kingdom.

Baines was now becoming a prominent and valued citizen of his adopted town. He took an active part in parochial affairs, promoted local reforms, and largely aided in the establishment of the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and similar works of usefulness. At the period of the elections which ensued on the accession of George IV he took part in county politics, and the columns of his newspaper were henceforth steadily devoted to the questions of catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and the other whig agitations of the day. During the period of the reform bill agitation Baines was in frequent consultation and correspondence with leading members of parliament as a person of wide information and sound judgment. With all his activity and industry, Baines found the time also to indulge a fancy for topographical research. He produced, in 1823, the 'History, Directory, and Gazetteer of the County of York,' and in 1825 a similar work for Lancashire. Some years afterwards this latter work was expanded into a 'History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster,' published in 4 vols. 4to. Another praiseworthy effort of Baines's was the reclamation of a portion of Chat Moss, in Lancashire; of which he lived to see a large area converted into a fine estate, covered with farms and plantations.

Leeds obtained two members upon the passing of the Reform Act, Macaulay the historian being one of them. Upon Macaulay's resignation in order to accept his Indian appointment, Baines was almost unanimously chosen to be the liberal candidate, and in the result was elected in February 1834 by a small majority over his conservative opponent. He continued to represent Leeds in parliament until failing health compelled him to retire in 1841.

Baines was immediately welcomed in London society, both on account of his social qualities and his untiring efforts to fulfil his civic duties. He was principally involved in questions of factory legislation and the abo-

lition of church rates and of civil disabilities, and gave an independent but hearty support to the Corn Law League. He was a good speaker, and enjoyed much personal influence and even popularity. His retirement from parliament was signalised by the presentation of a testimonial in recognition of his services. He died 3 Aug. 1848, a public funeral being accorded to him.

Baines is recollected as a benevolent, just, and liberal-minded man. He made an excellent local magistrate. He was married in 1798 to Charlotte, daughter of Matthew Talbot, currier, of Leeds, by whom he had eleven children. Of these more than one attained distinction.

Besides the works already mentioned, Baines wrote a 'History of the Wars of the French Revolution from 1792 to 1815: comprehending the civil history of Great Britain and France during that period,' 2 vols. (1818), which was afterwards extended, and became a 'History of the Reign of George III,' in 4 vols. 4to (1823).

[Life, by his Son; Leeds Mercury, 5 and 12 Aug. 1848; Manchester Guardian, August 1848; Timperley's Encyclopædia of Printing, p. 949.] E. S.

BAINES, JOHN (1787–1838), mathematician, was born at Westfield farmhouse in the parish of Horbury, Yorkshire, in 1787. From his boyhood he gave proofs of a strong mathematical bias, and in his latter years was a well-known correspondent of the 'Ladies' Diary,' the 'Gentleman's Diary,' the 'York Miscellany,' and other similar periodicals, which in those days were noted for their geometrical and algebraic problems. He died at Thornhill, near Wakefield, Yorkshire, on 1 May 1838, where for nine years he had been master of the grammar school.

Besides many mathematical contributions to the above-named periodicals, nearly all of which evince considerable talent, we find on p. 24 of the 'Ladies' Diary' for 1833 an article of Baines on Cuvier's 'Theory of the Earth,' written to prove that it is a confirmation of the Mosaic account. From the Latin inscription on his tombstone in Horbury churchyard he appears to have been also skilled in Latin, Greek, and natural science, especially botany, 'in herbis decernendis peritus.'

[Private information; Gentleman's Diary for 1835, pp. 33–46, 1836, p. 48, 1837, &c., and previous volumes; Ladies' Diary for 1833, p. 24, 1836, p. 35, 1837, pp. 15–47.] R. E. A.

BAINES, MATTHEW TALBOT (1799–1860), politician, was the eldest son of Edward Baines, of Leeds, author of the 'History of Lancashire,' and was born 17 Feb. 1799. He obtained a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1820 as a senior optime. He was called to the bar in 1825, and, after practising with success on the northern circuit, was, in 1837, appointed recorder of Hull, and in 1841 became a queen's counsel. In 1847 he entered parliament as member for Hull, which he continued to represent until 1852, when he was chosen for Leeds. Under Lord Russell's administration he became, in 1849, president of the poor-law board, and he held the same appointment in Lord Aberdeen's ministry. After Lord Palmerston acceded to power in 1855, he was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet. Though not a brilliant debater, his solid talents won for him high consideration, and his firmness, impartiality, and special knowledge of the forms of the house pointed him out as a probable occupant of the speaker's chair, had not ill health caused his retirement from public life in April 1859. He died 22 Jan. 1860.

[Gent. Mag., 3rd series, viii. 302; Annual Register, cii. 386.] T. F. H.

BAINES, PAUL. [See BAYNES.]

BAINES, PETER AUGUSTINE, D.D. (1786–1843), catholic bishop, was born on 25 June 1786, at Pear Tree Farm, within the township of Kirkby, near Liverpool, in Lancashire. In 1798 Peter Baines, in company with three brothers named John, Edward, and Vincent Glover, left this country to study for the church at the English Benedictine abbey of Lambspring, in the kingdom of Hanover. He remained at Lambspring for four years and five months as an ecclesiastical student in that then flourishing monastery of SS. Adrian and Dionysius. On 6 April 1803 the abbey of Lambspring was seized, and its territory, some twenty-six miles in circumference, formally occupied by the Prussian government. Students and monks had to scatter back, as they best could, to England. Hospitality was opportunely offered to them by the Rev. John Bolton, chaplain of Lady Ann Fairfax, of Gilling Castle, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Bolton was then living in a commodious presbytery connected with a mission founded by Lady Ann in 1780, for the Benedictines, near York, at Ampleforth, in the parish of Oswaldkirk. There the newly arrived community from Lambspring were cordially welcomed, and there almost immediately afterwards they inaugurated the now well-known Benedictine college of St. Lawrence at Ampleforth.

On 4 May 1803 Peter Baines reached Ampleforth, and before that month was out had assumed the habit of a Benedictine. On 8 June 1804 he made his religious profession, consecrating himself to God in the order of St. Benedict. He was ordained subdeacon at Durham on 16 Sept. 1807 by Bishop William Gibson, the vicar apostolic of the northern district. By the same prelate, two years afterwards, in 1809, he was ordained deacon at Ushaw College; and in the following year, in the old chapel at Ampleforth, was anointed to the priesthood by Bishop Thomas Smith. Baines was employed at an unusually early age as a teacher at Ampleforth. After more than fourteen years in this post he was selected as the one best qualified to undertake the charge of the mission at Bath, where he arrived July 1817. His exceptional gifts then began first to be fully recognised. Conspicuous among these were his eloquence as a preacher, his vigour as a controversialist, and above all, the charm and dignity of his personal bearing. Six years afterwards he was raised to the episcopal dignity as the coadjutor to Bishop Collingridge. He was appointed coadjutor bishop by propaganda decree 13 Jan., and approved by the pope 19 Jan., his brief being dated 4 Feb. 1823. On 1 May 1823, in Townshend Street chapel, Dublin, he was consecrated bishop of Siga, in Mauritania, by Archbishop Murray, assisted by Bishop James Doyle, and by Dr. Edmund French, the warden of Galway.

Three years having elapsed since the time of his episcopal consecration, Bishop Baines fell into such serious ill-health that he made a tour on the continent. During a long stay in Rome he became a great favourite of the then pontiff, Leo XII. His arrival in Rome was in the winter of 1826, his illness at the time being of a most critical character. Loitering as a visitor during the summer of 1827 between Assisi and Porto Fermo, his enfeebled constitution was at length re-established by the climate and by repose. The reputation acquired by him in England grew rapidly at Rome. Leo XII, not long before, had opened the pulpit of the Gesù, in the Corso, to a succession of English preachers. The church, which had been comparatively empty, was crowded to excess whenever Bishop Baines was announced. Cardinal Wiseman, where he describes the effect of these discourses in his 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes' (p. 206), speaks of the easy and copious flow of his words, the elegance of his imagery, and the solidity of his arguments, and adds that Bishop Baines's great power was in his delivery, in voice, in tone, in look, and gesture. 'His whole manner,' he remarks, 'was full of pathos; there was a peculiar tremulousness of voice which gave his words more than double effect, notwithstanding the drawback of a provincial accent and occasional dramatic pronunciations.' And Cardinal Wiseman states, on the authority of Monsignore Nicolai, who had received the assurance from the lips of the pontiff, that Baines 'was the person destined in the mind of Leo to be the first English cardinal.' Quite unexpectedly, however, the whole project fell through at the last moment, owing to the illness and death of Leo XII on 10 Feb. 1829.

Bishop Collingridge, to whom Baines had hitherto acted as coadjutor, but of whom he was now of right the successor, died on 3 March 1829. So soon as he could arrange his affairs, Bishop Baines hastened back from Rome to England to assume his responsibility as the vicar apostolic of the western district. During the previous year (1828) he had been appointed by Leo XII domestic prelate of his holiness and assistant at the pontifical throne. He now, in the spring of 1829, obtained permission from Pius VIII to become secularised, having by that time been no less than five-and-twenty years a Benedictine. Before the year was out, in the December of 1829, he had secured to himself the realisation of the noblest day-dream of his life by completing the purchase of Prior Park. The property which then passed into his hands consisted of a stately mansion, erected at about the middle of the last century by Ralph Allen [see Allen, Ralph], surrounded by nearly 200 acres of land. On its coming into the possession of Bishop Baines, the two wings, attached to the central structure by open corridors, were replaced by two noble colleges, one of which, St. Peter's, was set apart for lay, and the other, St. Paul's, for ecclesiastical students. Although in the carrying out of this great enterprise the date of the foundation was nominally 1 May 1830, it was not until the July of that year that it was formally opened. Its success after a little time was commensurate even with the sanguine anticipations of its originator. A disastrous fire destroyed the centre building, with the exception of its four walls and its superb Corinthian portico, on 30 May 1836. From that time until the close of his life Bishop Baines had to contend, as he heroically did to the very last, with an ever increasing load of anxieties. Death came to him in the end with startling suddenness. On 5 July 1843 he assisted pontifically at the opening, on the quay at Bristol, of St. Mary's Church, then recently purchased from the Irvingites. Having returned to Prior

Park towards evening in apparently his usual health, he was found dead in his bed early on the following morning by his man-servant. An apoplectic stroke was the immediate cause of death, but more than a year previously, early in the March of 1842, he had had a paralytic seizure. His funeral obsequies took place on 13 July 1843. At the lying-in-state, upwards of 13,000 persons passed round the catafalque. His remains, temporarily deposited at Prior Park, were a few years afterwards removed to St. Gregory's College, Downside.

Bishop Baines was the author of numerous controversial writings, sermons, lectures, and pastorals.

[Four boxes of manuscripts (in the handwriting of Bishop Baines and of Monsignor Thomas Brindle, the first President of the Colleges of SS. Peter and Paul) preserved among the archives of Prior Park, have been carefully examined for the authentication of facts in this memoir. Beyond this, reference may be made to the following authorities: Corrispondenza fra S.E.R. Wilmot Horton, Membro del Parlamento e Consigliere Privato di sua Maestà Britannica, e Monsig. Pietro A. Baines, Vescovo di Siga, Coadj. Vic. Apost. nel Distretto occidentale d'Inghilterra, Prelato Domestico a sua Santità, ed Assistente al soglio Pontificio, Roma, 1829, con licenza de' Superiori; Memorial Notice in the Weekly and Monthly Orthodox Journal of June 1849; Dr. George Oliver's Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in the counties of Cornwall, &c., 8vo, 1857, pp. 233–6; Cardinal Wiseman's Recollections of the Last Four Popes and of Rome in their Time, 8vo, 1858, part ii. chap. vii.; W. Maziere Brady's Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, A.D. 1400 to 1875, 8vo, Rome, 1877, pp. 312–18 and 327–9.] C. K.

BAINES, ROGER. [See BAYNES.]

BAINES, SIR THOMAS, M.D. (1622–1680), the lifelong companion of Sir John Finch, M.D., was born about 1622. He was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Henry More, and took the degree of B.A. in 1642, and M.A. in 1649. An accident brought him under the notice of John Finch, then at the same college, and from this time they became inseparable friends. Having accompanied Finch to Italy, Baines was created doctor of physic at Padua, and he received the same degree from Cambridge on his return to England in 1660. On 8 March of the same year he was chosen Gresham professor of music, and in May he was elected, along with Sir John Finch, a fellow extraordinary of the College of Physicians, London. From 1664 to 1670 he was at Florence, where Finch was ambassador. On his appointment, in 1672, to accompany Sir John Finch to Tuscany, in the character of physician, he received the honour of knighthood. Some years afterwards he was transferred, along with Finch, to Constantinople. He made arrangements for discharging his professorial duties by deputy, but, on account of his prolonged absence, he was deprived of the chair before the news of his death, at Constantinople, 5 Sept. 1680, reached England. His remains were embalmed by Sir John Finch, who brought them to England on his return thither, and deposited them in the chapel of Christ's College, Cambridge. Finch died shortly afterwards, and was buried in the same grave, above which there is an epitaph in Latin to their joint memories by Henry More.

[Hutchinson's Biographia Medica, i. 52–3; Ward's Gresham Professors, 227–232; Munk's Roll of the College of Physicians, i. 301–2.]
T. F. H.

BAINES, THOMAS (1822–1875), artist and African explorer, was born in 1822 at King's Lynn, where his father was the master of a small vessel. After learning heraldic painting with a coach-builder, his love of travel led him to Cape Colony, where he arrived in 1842. From 1848 to 1851 he accompanied the British army in the Kafir war as artist, and in 1855 joined an expedition which was appointed under Mr. A. Gregory to explore North-west Australia. His energy and skill during this appointment secured for him the special thanks of the colonial government, and in 1858, at the recommendation of the Royal Geographical Society, he was appointed artist to the Zambesi expedition under Livingstone, whom he accompanied as far as Tete in the Portuguese territory. In 1861 he joined Chapman in his expedition from the south-west coast to the Victoria Falls, when, besides making a complete route survey, and collecting much information for the naturalist and man of science, he made a large number of sketches and paintings. His drawings of the Victoria Falls, reproduced in coloured lithographs, form a handsome folio published in 1865. Remaining in England till 1868, he then started in charge of an expedition to explore the gold-fields of the Tati. He mapped and wrote a valuable description of the route thither from the capital of the Transvaal republic. His last journey was amongst the Kafirs, everywhere carefully laying down his routes and making sketches of the scenery and people. On 8 May 1876 he died of dysentery at Durban, Natal, when preparing to explore the country north of the Tati.

[Journal of R. Geog. Soc. xlvi. cxli, &c., also xli. 100; T. Baines's Gold Regions of S.E. Africa, and his Explorations in S.W. Africa. To the latter a biographical sketch is prefixed by Mr. H. Hall, F.R.G.S.; and a French translation of the work by M. Belin de Launay was published in Paris in 1868.] R. E. A.

BAINES, THOMAS (1806–1881), journalist and local historian, the third son of the late Edward Baines, M.P., was born at Leeds in 1806. In 1829 he settled in Liverpool as editor of the 'Liverpool Times' newspaper, and for thirty years was an active promoter of liberal interests in Lancashire. In 1852 he published a valuable history of the commerce and town of Liverpool, and in 1867 'Lancashire and Cheshire Past and Present,' having in 1859 settled in London at the Liverpool Office as a parliamentary agent. His last work, 'Yorkshire Past and Present,' was published in 1875; and on 31 Oct. 1881, he died at his residence, Seaforth Hall, near Liverpool. Two minor books of his were 'Agricultural Resources of Great Britain and the Colonies,' and 'Observations on the River Plate.' His county histories are characterised by fulness of details, clearness of statement, and orderly arrangement.

[Leeds Mercury, 2 Nov. 1881.] R. E. A.

BAINHAM, JAMES (*d.* 1532), martyr, was, according to Foxe, a son of Sir Alexander Bainham, who was sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1497, 1501, and 1516, though his name does not occur in any of the pedigrees of the family. He was a member of the Middle Temple, and practised as a lawyer. He married the widow of Simon Fish, author of the 'Supplication of Beggars.' In 1531 he was accused of heresy to Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, who imprisoned and flogged him in his house at Chelsea, and then sent him to the Tower to be racked, in the hope of discovering other heretics by his confession. On 15 Dec. he was examined before Stokesley, Bishop of London, concerning his belief in purgatory, confession, extreme unction, and other points. His answers were as far as possible couched in the words of Scripture, but were not satisfactory to the court, and his approval of the works of Tyndale and Frith was evident. The following day, being threatened with sentence, he partially submitted, pleading ignorance, and was again committed to prison. In the following February he was brought before the bishop's chancellor to be examined as to his fitness for readmission to the church, and after considerable hesitation abjured all his errors, and, having paid a fine of 20*l.* and performed penance by standing with a faggot on his shoulder during the sermon at Paul's Cross, was released. Within a month after he repented of his weakness, and openly withdrew his recantation during service at St. Austin's church. He was accordingly apprehended and brought before the bishop's vicar-general on 19 and 20 April. One of the articles alleged against him was that he asserted Thomas Becket to be a thief and murderer, an opinion which the king adopted within a very few years. He was sentenced as a relapsed heretic and burned in Smithfield on 30 April 1532. In the 'Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII' (v. app. 30) there is a notice of a contemporary account of an interview between him and Latimer, the day before his death.

[Foxe's Acts and Monuments, iv. 697; Harl. MS. 422, f. 90.] C. T. M.

BAIOCIS, JOHN DE. [See BAYEUX.]

BAIRD, SIR DAVID (1757–1829), general, was the fifth son of William Baird of Newbyth, who was grandson of Sir Robert Baird, Bart., of Saughton, and cousin and heir of Sir John Baird, Bart., of Newbyth, and was born at Newbyth in December 1757. His father died in 1765, but his mother managed to obtain an ensigncy for him in the 2nd regiment in 1772. He joined his regiment at Gibraltar in 1773, and returned with it to England in 1776. In 1778 he was promoted lieutenant, and in the September of the same year, being then nearly twenty-one and of great height and fine military bearing, he was selected by Lord Macleod, a Scotch neighbour of his mother's, to be captain of the grenadier company in the Scotch regiment just raised by him, and at first called the 73rd, but afterwards famous as the 71st Highland light infantry. In 1779 the regiment embarked for India, captured Goree on the way, and after spending three months at the Cape reached India in January 1780. When Lord Macleod arrived, Hyder Ali was besieging Arcot, and his regiment was at once attached to a force under Sir Hector Monro, which was destined to relieve that city, and also to succour a force under Colonel Baillie, which was in danger of being cut off by Hyder Ali. To assist Baillie a small detachment, including the grenadier company of Macleod's regiment under Captain Baird, was sent off by Monro in advance. After a night march it effected a junction with Baillie, but on the next day the whole force was cut to pieces by Hyder Ali and his son, Tippoo Sahib. Baird had been severely wounded, and was left for dead, but nevertheless managed, with two companions, to find his way to the French camp. The

French treated the prisoners kindly, but were soon obliged to surrender them to their ally. Hyder Ali treated the captives with oriental barbarity, and had not Captain Lucas volunteered to bear two sets of irons, Captain Baird, though wounded and nearly dead, would have been heavily ironed. The captive officers lived for three years and eight months in most terrible agony, seeing their fellows going mad, and dying of fever, and knowing that many of them were taken from prison only to be poisoned or tortured to death. Nevertheless they managed to keep up their spirits, and Baird mentions that in three successive years they gaily drank the king's health on the 4th of June. At last, in March 1784, the remaining officers were released, and Captain Baird joined his regiment, and had the bullet, which had lodged in his thigh three years before, extracted. In 1787 he became major in his regiment, and came home to England in 1789. He purchased the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment in 1790, but, owing to the slowness of his agent, was not gazetted till after Moore, Cavan, and Ludlow, a mistake which, on two occasions, lost him the command-in-chief of an army.

In 1791 Lieutenant-colonel Baird returned to India, and was at once appointed by Lord Cornwallis to the command of a brigade of sepoys in the war against Tippoo. With it he did good service in reducing the southern hill forts of Mysore, and was present in 1792 at the operations of Lord Cornwallis and General Medows before Seringapatam. In 1793 he took Pondicherry, almost without resistance, from the French, and in 1795 was promoted colonel, and appointed to command at Tanjore. Here he got into considerable trouble by opposing the resident, who, under the direction of Lord Hobart, the governor of Madras, was doing his best to procure the annexation of Tanjore. The consequences might have been serious had not the 71st regiment been at this time ordered home after an absence of eighteen years, when Lieutenant-colonel Baird and one sergeant were the only survivors of the original establishment. The regiment was in splendid condition, so much so that whenever a European regiment arrived in India it was always sent to the quarters of the 71st to learn how a regiment should be conducted in India; but the men were now drafted into various other regiments, and only the officers and headquarters returned home. On his way to England Colonel Baird touched at the Cape, and was implored by Lord Macartney, the governor, to remain there as brigadier-general, for the opposition of both officers and men to Sir David Dundas, who commanded in the colony, was so great that a mutiny was expected. Baird, therefore, remained at the Cape till 1798, when he was promoted major-general, and ordered to proceed to India with the Scotch brigade and 86th regiment. Major-general Baird was disappointed to find that, owing to the number of general officers in India, he could only receive the command of the first European brigade instead of a division in the second war with Tippoo, and was especially chagrined that the important command of the Nizam's contingent should be given to Colonel Arthur Wellesley instead of himself. Nevertheless, from his thorough knowledge of Indian warfare and his former experience in Mysore, he did good service, and when the storming of Seringapatam was determined on, he volunteered to lead the storming column. The confidence of the troops in him was unbounded, and the former prisoner of Hyder Ali successfully stormed Seringapatam on 4 May 1799, and Tippoo Sultan fell in the assault. Wearied with his exertions he requested to be relieved, and Colonel Wellesley was ordered to relieve him, and immediately afterwards appointed governor of Seringapatam. Baird felt that he had won this lucrative appointment, and indignantly complained to General Harris. Of course General Harris had a perfect right to bestow the governorship on whomsoever he pleased, and Lord Wellesley afterwards declared that he would have himself appointed his brother; yet there can be no doubt that it was Baird who had taken Seringapatam, and not Wellesley or Harris. Baird's temper was not improved when Lord Wellesley took him to Calcutta and gave him the subsidiary command at Dinapore, and he openly remonstrated when he found the governor-general's brother appointed to command an important expedition to the Spanish islands, and that too without surrendering his lucrative post at Seringapatam. This time Lord Wellesley felt obliged to yield, and the command of the expedition, the destination of which was now altered, was transferred to Baird.

When Lord Wellesley heard that the English army in the Mediterranean under Sir Ralph Abercromby was ordered to capture the French army which had been left in Egypt by Bonaparte, he determined that a force should co-operate from India, and Baird obtained the command. Arthur Wellesley was appointed second in command, but illness detained him at Bombay, and Baird reaped the whole credit of the operations. He reached Cosseir, on the Red Sea, in June 1801, and determined to march across the desert to the Nile. The march was a most difficult one; it was the middle of summer, the country

was unknown, and the commissariat had broken down. But the intrepidity of Baird and the ingenuity of Auchmuty, his adjutant-general, overcame all obstacles, and the army reached the Nile in safety. Baird then dropped down the river in boats, and joined General Hutchinson, who had succeeded Sir Ralph Abercromby, three days after the surrender of Cairo. The Indian troops were, however, in time to co-operate in the taking of Alexandria. After General Hutchinson's departure a dispute arose between Lord Cavan, who succeeded him, and General Baird, his junior by a few days, as to whether the Indian force should be combined with the English army, or be maintained as a separate force. The dispute was eventually settled by Baird's official appointment as second in command in Egypt. Baird's expedition had particularly caught the fancy of the English people; his march across the desert had something romantic in it; catchpenny lives of him with bad pictures, and harrowing accounts of his former imprisonment, were largely circulated, and he became a popular hero. But his actual rewards were not great; his dispute with Lord Cavan had excited the displeasure of the military authorities, and he was only made a knight of the Crescent by the sultan, and colonel of the 54th regiment by the king. He returned to India in 1802, was warmly received there, and given the command of the northern division of the Madras army. On the approach of the Mahratta war he prepared his division for active service; but when Major-general Arthur Wellesley received the most important command he perceived at last that he had no chance against the governor-general's brothers, and threw up his command in disgust. He then started for England, but on the way home was taken prisoner by a French privateer, and retaken before he reached France. He had, however, given his parole, and was formally exchanged with the French general Morgan.

On reaching England, after twenty-four years' nearly continuous absence in the East, he was received with enthusiasm by the people, and knighted by the king. He did not stop long at home, but in 1805 was promoted lieutenant-general, and ordered to command the army which was to recapture the Cape of Good Hope. He was particularly fitted for this task, as he knew the ground thoroughly from his former sojourn there as brigadier-general. The expedition left England in August 1805, and reached the Cape on 5 Jan. 1806. The operations there were extremely short. On Jan. 8 he defeated General Janssens, the Dutch general; on 10 Jan. Cape-town surrendered; and on 18 Jan. the Dutch general surrendered. But unfortunately Sir Home Popham, the commodore on the station, a restless ambitious man, persuaded Sir David to lend him a brigade under General Beresford, to assist in a filibustering expedition against Spanish South America. General Beresford himself was taken prisoner, and though General Auchmuty, who came out with reinforcements, had a temporary success in taking Monte Video, the utter failure of General Whitelocke made the ministry eager to find scapegoats. Baird was one scapegoat, and in July 1806 he received a curt letter informing him that his successor, as governor of the Cape, was on his way. In January 1807 he left the Cape in great indignation, but on reaching England he found that the ministry had been changed, and Baird was appeased by being at once appointed to the command of the first division in the great expedition then preparing to invade Denmark, and seize the Danish fleet, under Lord Cathcart. The expedition was a simple one; but the bombardment of Copenhagen was under the immediate supervision of the first division, and during it Sir David was wounded in two places. On his return he was removed from the colonelcy of the 54th to that of the 24th regiment, which had two battalions, and told he might expect a more important command. In September 1808 he sailed from Cork with 10,000 men, to reinforce Moore's army in Spain, and to take up the appointment of second in command. He reached Corunna on 8 Oct., and at once detached General Mackenzie to reinforce Cradock at Lisbon. The Spanish authorities at Corunna would not allow him to land, and sent him to Vigo, whence he was sent back to Corunna. At last, on 19 Oct., he was allowed to land one brigade, but did not get his whole army ashore till 22 Oct. He then advanced towards Moore as he had been ordered, and reached Astorga on 19 Nov. There he waited, while Moore remained at Salamanca, until at last Baird was directed by Moore to move on Villa Franca. Fortunately he did not march till 4 Dec., for on 7 Dec. he was ordered to retreat on Corunna. On 20 Dec. the two armies met at Mayorga, and the terrible retreat was continued. Baird's troops were not in good condition, and whether it was that Baird had lost his vigour or was not a good general of retreats, there can be no doubt that his men straggled very much, and that their discipline was very poor compared with that of the reserve, who had to fight a battle nearly every day. At last Corunna was reached, and as the ships were not there a pitched battle was inevitable. Baird was to command the right wing, but he was not long in the field,

as early in the action his left arm was broken by a cannon-ball. He was at once carried to a transport, where his arm was amputated, and where he heard the news of Moore's death and of the safe embarkation of the troops, and received Hope's famous report, which he at once sent home by his aide-de-camp, Captain Gordon. On reaching England he was made a K.B., and in the following year a baronet.

Corunna was the last of Sir David Baird's battles, and he never again commanded an army in the field. Whether it was want of political influence or the presence of some prejudice against him cannot be certainly said; but it is certain that even his earnest application for the government of the Cape in 1813 was refused, and he could not serve in the Peninsula under Lord Wellington, his junior. In spite of much unmerited neglect his latter years were very happy; he married a great heiress, Miss Campbell-Preston, and in 1814 became full general. At last the veteran could no longer be passed over, and in 1819 he was made governor of Kinsale. In 1820 he became commander of the forces in Ireland in succession to Sir G. Beckwith, and a privy councillor; but had to resign in 1822, when the office was reduced to a lieutenant-general's command. In 1829 he was made governor of Fort George; on 29 Aug. in that year he died at the age of 72. His widow erected an obelisk to him at Crieff, and employed Theodore Hook to write his life, which was published in 1832.

If Baird was not a very great general, he was certainly a gallant soldier, and the prisoner of Hyder Ali, the stormer of Seringapatam, and the general of the march across the desert, will deservedly remain a popular hero. There was a chivalrous gallantry in his nature which made the old pun, 'Not Baird, but Bayard,' particularly applicable to him.

[The principal authority for Baird's life is his Life by Theodore Hook, 2 vols. 1832; and for his differences with Harris should be consulted Lushington's Life of Lord Harris, 1840. For the Egyptian campaign should be consulted Sir Robert Wilson's Campaign in Egypt, and Mémoires relatifs à l'expédition anglaise partie du Bengale en 1800 pour aller combattre l'armée de l'Orient, par M. le comte de Noë, Paris, 1826. For his campaign in the Peninsula see Napier's Peninsular War, book iii.; Notes on the Campaign of 1808–9 in the North of Spain, in reference to some passages in Lieut.-Colonel Napier's History of the War in the Peninsula, and in Sir W. Scott's Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, by Lieut.-Colonel T. S. Sorell, military secretary and aide-de-camp to Sir David Baird during the campaign, 1829, with Napier's reply, published in his Answer to various Criticisms, 1832, and republished at the end of the last volume of his history.] H. M. S.

BAIRD, GEORGE HUSBAND, D.D. (1761–1840), principal of the university of Edinburgh, was a native of the parish of Borrowstounness (or Bo'ness) on the Forth, Linlithgowshire; his father, a landed gentleman of Stirlingshire, rented a farm from the Duke of Hamilton. Born in 1761, Baird received his primary education in the parish school of Bo'ness, and, on the family's removal to a newly purchased property, named Manuel, in West Lothian, at the parish school of Linlithgow. He was a plodding, persevering, and well-mannered, rather than a brilliant schoolboy. In 1773, in his thirteenth year, he was entered as a student in humanity (Latin) and Greek at Edinburgh. He speedily came under the favourable notice of Principal Robertson, the historian, and Professor Dalzel, and others, because of his devotion to his class-work and marked progress. Not content with the tasks of the university classes, he carried on simultaneously philological and philosophical researches. He was associated therein with Finlayson—afterwards a professor at Edinburgh—and Josiah Walker. The ripened fruit of these extra-collegiate studies was shown in his exceptionally varied and accurate knowledge of nearly all the living languages of Europe.

In 1784 he was recommended by Professor Dalzel as tutor in the family of Colonel Blair, of Blair. In 1786 he received license as a preacher of the gospel from the presbytery of Linlithgow of the kirk of Scotland. In 1787 he was presented to the parish of Dunkeld by the Duke of Athole, through influence brought to bear by his friend Finlayson. Before leaving for his parish he had met with Robert Burns, then the observed of all observers. In his old age he delighted to tell of his having repeatedly met with the 'Ayrshire ploughman.' He religiously preserved his copy of the poet's first volume, published at Kilmarnock in 1786—his name being among the subscribers. Baird was evangelical rather than of the 'moderates,' but family ties threw him a good deal into the cultivated circle of the Robertsons and Blairs and their school. Whilst parish clergyman at Dunkeld he was resident in the duke's family, and superintended the education of his grace's three sons. The late Lord Glenlyon was wont to speak gratefully of his tutor's earnestness and accuracy in instruction. In 1789–90 he was presented to the large and important parish church of Edinburgh, known as 'Lady Yester's,' but the ducal house of Athole persuaded him to decline the call. In 1792 he accepted another Edinburgh presentation, viz. to New Greyfriars church. Contemporaneously he

was elected and ordained to the professorship of oriental languages at Edinburgh. He had won for himself so high a reputation that in 1793, on the death of Principal Robertson, he was appointed his successor in the principalship. He was then in his thirty-third year. As principal he was called upon to punish a breach of the discipline of the university committed by three students who subsequently attained to pre-eminent distinction. A challenge had been addressed to one of the professors, and the parties implicated in the misdemeanour were Lord Henry Petty (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne), Henry Brougham (afterwards Lord Brougham and Vaux), and Francis Horner (afterwards M.P.) These students were summoned before the Senatus Academicus. Only Brougham appeared, and the rebuke of the principal was so delivered and accepted that a warm friendship ensued, and lasted long after Brougham had entered public life.

In 1799 Principal Baird was translated to the new North parish church. In 1801, on the death of Dr. Blair, he was appointed his successor in the high parish church, where he remained until his death.

He married the eldest daughter of Thomas Elder, Esq., lord provost of Edinburgh. Towards the close of his life he threw his whole soul into a scheme for the education of the poor in the highlands and islands of Scotland. He submitted his proposals to the supreme court of the kirk—the general assembly—in May 1824, advocating with statesmanlike breadth of view enlarged education in the great centres, and especially the extension of the system to the neglected Celtic race. The general assembly of 1825 gave its sanction to the scheme, and it was launched most auspiciously. His intellectual and social influence provided all over Scotland for the education of the poor. In his sixty-seventh year, when enfeebled in health, he traversed the entire highlands of Argyll, the west of Inverness and Ross, and the western islands, from Lewis to Kintyre. In his sixty-eighth year he similarly visited the north highlands, and the Orkneys and Shetland. Through his influence Dr. Andrew Bell, of Madras, bequeathed 5,000*l.* for education in the highlands of Scotland. In 1832 the thanks of the general assembly were conveyed to him by the moderator for the year, the illustrious Dr. Thomas Chalmers, then in the zenith of his oratorical powers. Baird died on 14 Jan. 1840, at Manuel, near Linlithgow, in his seventy-ninth year.

[Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Kay's Edinburgh Portraits; Lives of Drs. Chalmers and Candlish; Mackelvie's Life and Poems of Michael Bruce; private correspondence; Anderson's Scottish Nation.]

A. B. G.

BAIRD, JAMES (1802–1876), a wealthy ironmaster and benefactor to the church of Scotland, was born at Kirkwood, 5 Dec. 1802. He was the fourth son of Alexander Baird, by Jean, daughter of Mr. James Moffat, of Whitburn. Alexander Baird was almost exclusively a farmer and miller until he made his first purely commercial venture by leasing, in 1809, the Woodside coalworks, near Dalserf, which he managed in addition to his land, and to which he added in 1816 the coalfield of Rochsolloch, near Airdrie, and, in 1822, the coalfield of Merryston. James received his early education at the parish school of Old Monkland, and, the circumstances of the family having improved, passed a short time at the university of Glasgow (*Scotsman*, 21 June 1876). In May 1826 Alexander Baird, then of Lockwood, and his sons William, Alexander, and James, obtained a lease from Mr. Hamilton Colt, of Gartsherrie, of the coalfields of Sunnyside, Hollandhirst, and New Gartsherrie. In 1828 the Bairds became ironmasters as well as coalowners by acquiring a forty years' lease of the ironstone in the lands of Cairnhill, adjoining Gartsherrie. They afterwards erected blast furnaces, the first of which was put in blast 4 May 1830, and when in the same year the founder of the firm went out of the business, his sons formed a partnership, under the style and title of William Baird & Co. Alexander Baird died at Newmains in 1833. James Baird assumed in 1830 the active management of the business, and especially gave his attention to the improvement of the machinery. The result of his improvements was to raise the production of a furnace from 60 to 250 tons a week. By 1842 the Gartsherrie works boasted their full number of sixteen furnaces. The Bairds proceeded to acquire coal and iron works in other parts of Lanarkshire, as well as in the counties of Ayr, Stirling, Dumbarton, and Cumberland. Under the title of the Eglinton Iron Company, they added works at Eglinton 1846, Blair 1852, Muirkirk and Lugar 1856, and Portland 1864, and thus possessed between forty and fifty furnaces, with a power of turning out 300,000 tons of iron per annum, and of giving employment to nearly 10,000 men and boys. The brothers invested their revenues in the purchase of land, and the estates acquired by the family in the course of their career represented in round numbers the sum of 2,000,000*l.* James Baird represented the Falkirk group of burghs in the House of Commons from 1851–2 and 1852–7,

being the same constituency which was represented, in 1841–6, by his brother, William Baird, the first conservative returned by a burgh constituency in Scotland after the Reform Act. Retiring from parliament in 1857, James Baird devoted much of his time to religious and educational questions, and built and endowed a large number of schools. He was a firm believer in the teaching of the Bible in schools, and a staunch supporter of the so-called 'use-and-wont' platform. In 1871 he founded the 'Baird Lectures' for the defence of orthodox teaching, and his liberality culminated in a gift of 500,000*l.*, made in 1873, to the established church of Scotland, which he passed over to a body described as the 'Baird Trust,' 'to assist in providing the means of meeting, or at least as far as possible promoting the mitigation of, spiritual destitution among the population of Scotland.' The benefaction was well intended, but it did not escape exception as being 'hampered by conditions distasteful to not a few of the more liberal members of the establishment' (*Scotsman*, 21 June 1876). A month before his death, Baird was credited with the design of devoting a second 500,000*l.* for the advancement of the higher education of the ministers of all presbyterian denominations, but no mention of this was made in his will. All the brothers of James Baird predeceased him, and by the death of Robert Baird in 1856 he succeeded to the estate of Auchmedden in Aberdeenshire. Besides being owner of smaller properties in Ayrshire, James Baird acquired the considerable estates of Cambusdoon in Ayrshire in 1853; of Knoydart in Invernesshire in 1857; and of Muirkirk in Ayrshire in 1863. He was a magistrate for Lanarkshire, and a deputy-lieutenant for the counties of Ayr and Inverness. He was twice married: the first time, in 1852, to Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Robert Lockhart, of Castle Hill, Lanarkshire, who died in 1857, and secondly, in 1859, to Isabella Agnew, daughter of Admiral James Hay, of Belton, Haddingtonshire, who survived him. He had no children by either marriage; and the firm, of which he continued a member to the last, and the annual profits of which in prosperous years were believed to exceed 1,000,000*l.*, consisted, at the time of his death, of himself and three nephews. He 'left property valued at 3,000,000*l.* sterling' (Irving, *Annals of our Time*). Baird died after a few weeks' illness on 20 June 1876, at Cambusdoon, near Ayr, and was buried on the Friday following, 23 June, by the side of his first wife at Alloway, whose church he had endowed.

[Sir Bernard Burke's Vicissitudes of Families, 1869; Jeans's Western Worthies (Glasgow), 1873; Irving's Annals of our Time; Kings of British Commerce, 1876, part i. pp. 23–31; Times, Dundee Advertiser, and Edinburgh Courant, 21 June 1876; Falkirk Herald, 22 June 1876; Glasgow News, 21 and 24 June 1876; and Scotsman, 21 June and August 1876.] A. H. G.

BAIRD, Sir JOHN (1620–1698), of Newbyth in Aberdeenshire, judge, son of James Baird of Byth in the same county, advocate, and for some time commissary of Edinburgh, and Bathia, daughter of Sir John Dempster of Pitliver, was admitted advocate on 3 June 1647. It must have been about the same year that he married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Hay of Linplum, by whom he had four children, three sons and one daughter, viz. John, born on 4 Oct. 1648; Margaret, born on 23 Dec. 1649; John, born on 23 Sept. 1652; and William, born on 12 Nov. 1654. He appears to have been knighted by Charles II on his accession to the throne of Scotland in 1651. In the correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian (1616–67) we find him referred to as Sir John, under date 1653. Thenceforward his name occurs with some frequency in that correspondence, and usually in such a connection as to suggest that he was regarded as a person of some weight and sagacity. Like his father he belonged to the covenanting party, and was considered of sufficient consequence to be excluded from the operation of the Act of Indemnity passed by the parliament of Scotland in 1662, being then mulcted in the sum of 2,400*l.* His eminence at the bar, however, could not be ignored, and in 1664 he was created an ordinary lord of session, assuming the title of Lord Newbyth. In the Scottish parliaments of 1665 and 1667 he represented Aberdeenshire, and sat on the committee of taxation in the former, and on that of supply in the latter, parliament. He was not returned to the parliament of 1669. In that year a grant of the barony of Gilmertoun within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, made in his favour by the crown in 1667, was ratified by the parliament. In 1670 he was nominated one of the commissioners to negotiate the then projected treaty of union between England and Scotland. In 1680 his youngest and only surviving son, William, was created knight baronet. By reason of his opposition to the arbitrary measures of the government he was superseded in the office of lord of session in 1681, Sir Patrick Ogilvie of Boyne being appointed in his place. He acted as commissioner of the cess for the shire of Edinburgh in 1685, and also as commissioner of supply for the same county. On the accession of

the Prince of Orange he was re-appointed ordinary lord of session (1689), and retained his seat upon the bench until his death in 1698. In the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh are preserved certain papers in the handwriting of Lord Newbyth, being a collection of decisions ranging from 1664 to 1667, and a collection of practiques belonging to the period between 1664 and 1681.

[Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland and England (Spalding Club), ii. 415; Corresp. of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian (1616–1667), 375, 384, 391–6, 508; Nicholl's Diary (1650–1667). 428; Fountainhall's Hist. Notices (1661–1688), ii. 333–4; Brunton and Haig's Hist. Acc. of the Senators of the Coll. of Justice, 391; Leven and Melville Papers (1684–1691), 307; Acts of the Parls. of Scotland, vii. 425*b*, 527*b*, 530*a*, 539*a*, 584, viii. 463*b*, ix. 69*a*, 137*a*; Beatson's Political Index. iii. 75, 111; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, ii. 607.] J. M. R.

BAIRD, JOHN, D.D. (*d.* 1804), Irish divine, came to Dublin from the Isle of Man, and was ordained minister of the presbyterian congregation of Capel Street 11 Jan. 1767. Here he ministered for ten years, not very happily, and in 1777 he was compelled to resign. Shortly after doing so he brought out the first and only volume of a projected series on the Old Testament; a work of some learning, originally delivered as lectures at Capel Street, and dedicated (12 Nov. 1777) to James Trail, bishop of Down. Baird soon afterwards conformed, and on 7 Sept. 1782 was appointed by the crown to the rectory of Cloghran, near Dublin, where he died unmarried early in 1804. He published 'Dissertations, Chronological, Historical, and Critical, of all the Books of the Old Testament; through which are interspersed Reflections, Theological and Moral,' &c., Dublin, 1778, vol. i. (extending to Exod. xx.)

[Armstrong's Appendix to Ord. Serv. of James Martineau, 1829, p. 100; Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland, 2nd ser. 1880; Adams's Hist. of Santry and Cloghran Parishes, 1883.] A. G.

BAIRD, JOHN (1799–1861), Scotch divine, the eldest son of the Rev. James Baird, who was successively minister of Legertwood, Eccles, and Swinton, all in Berwickshire, was born at Eccles 17 Feb. 1799, and educated in the grammar schools of Whitsome and Kelso. Later he proceeded to the university of Edinburgh, where, in 1823, he founded the Plinian Society for the study of natural history, and was its first president. Going to Ireland in 1825, he was for some time engaged by the Irish Evangelical Society as one of their preachers. In 1829 he was ordained minister of Yetholm, Roxburghshire, where he died 29 Nov. 1861. A colony of gipsies, who were little better than heathens, had long been settled at Kirk Yetholm, and Baird set himself resolutely to reclaim these people, and to make them christians and useful members of society. The work was done in connection with a society formed in Edinburgh for the 'Reformation of the Gipsies in Scotland,' and it met with a considerable amount of success. Baird wrote the 'Scottish Gipsies' Advocate,' Edinburgh, 1839, and contributed an 'Account of the Parish of Yetholm' to the 'New Statistical Account of Scotland.' A memoir of him, by W. Baird (London, 1862), contains a list of words used by the gipsies of Yetholm, compared with Grellman's list of the continental gipsy language, and the corresponding words in Hindustani.

[Memoir by Dr. W. Baird; Geo. Smith's I've been a Gipsying, 322, 330, 331.] T. C.

BAIRD, WILLIAM, M.D. (1803–1872), physician, was born at Eccles, and educated at the High School, Edinburgh. He studied medicine at Edinburgh, Dublin, and Paris, and entered the service of the East India Company as surgeon. He was a zoologist of considerable ability, and communicated several papers to the Zoological and Linnean Societies. In 1829 he helped to establish the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, which served to extend the pursuit of natural science. In 1850 his important work on the 'Natural History of British Entomostraca' was published by the Ray Society, and in 1858 he published a 'Cyclopædia of the Natural Sciences.' For some time he practised in London, but eventually accepted an appointment in the zoological department of the British Museum, which he held from 1841 to the time of his death on 27 Jan. 1872.

[Obituary Notice in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. xx.] R. E. T.

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